

A NEW VARIORUM EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE

Founded by Horace Howard Furness (1833-1912), continued by
Horace Howard Furness, Jr. (1865-1930), and now issued under
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JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS, General Editor

HENRY THE FOURTH, PART I

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A NEW VARIORUM EDITION
OF
SHAKESPEARE

HENRY THE FOURTH
PART I

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PREFACE

Shortly before his death in 1930, the late Dr. Horace Howard Furness, Jr., entrusted to the present editor the task of completing the Variorum edition of *I Henry IV*, which had been begun a few years before under his direction. Since Dr. Furness's death, *The New Variorum Shakespeare* has passed into the hands of The Modern Language Association of America, under whose auspices this volume is published. For the generous and gracious guidance and counsel given him by Dr. Furness, the editor here records his deep and abiding gratitude.

The work has been carried on chiefly at the Yale University Library, the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Boston Public Library, and the Trinity College Library, Cambridge. To the librarian, and to members of the staff, of each of these libraries, for their assiduous and active help, and especially to Dr. J. Q. Adams of the Folger Shakespeare Library, who has read the manuscript and given his expert advice on many matters, the editor's debt of gratitude is great.

Few departures have been made, in this volume, from the Furness tradition. With some reluctance Dr. Furness agreed to the adoption of the text of the First Quarto rather than of the First Folio, for reasons made clear in the section on The Text in The Appendix. The editor has thought it wise to make a more thorough collation of the various copies of each quarto than has been deemed necessary in the earlier volumes of this series. The stage-history of the play in England and America is presented in more detail than has been usual: this has been done at the expense of excluding all account of productions on the Continent and all records of costuming and staging. It has, for practical and economic reasons, been necessary to ignore the great mass of derivative plays, operas, drolls, novels, pseudo-biographies, and the like, of which Falstaff has been the inspiration and the central figure.

In his selection of the material to be included in this Edition the editor has endeavored to keep in mind the needs of students, teachers, scholars, and all lovers of Shakespeare.

S.B.H.

Berkeley College,
Yale University.
January, 1936

THE PLAN OF THIS EDITION

In this edition the attempt is made to give, in the shape of Textual Notes, on the same page with the Text of the First Quarto, 1598, all the various readings from the Second Quarto down to recent representative critical editions of the play; then, as Commentary, the notes which the editor has thought sufficiently significant, not only for the purpose of elucidating the text, but at times as illustrations of the history of Shakespearean criticism. In the Appendix will be found criticisms and discussions which, on the score of length, could not be conveniently included in the Commentary. Citations from commentators are generally given verbatim, with occasional slight modification for the sake of brevity or clarity.

LIST OF EDITIONS COLLATED IN THE TEXTUAL NOTES

Fragment of earliest Quarto	[Q ₀]	1598
<i>The First Quarto</i>	[Q ₁]	1598
<i>The Second Quarto</i>	[Q ₂]	1599
<i>The Third Quarto</i>	[Q ₃]	1604
<i>The Fourth Quarto</i>	[Q ₄]	1608
<i>The Fifth Quarto</i>	[Q ₅]	1613
<i>The Sixth Quarto</i>	[Q ₆]	1622
<i>The First Folio</i>	[F ₁]	1623
<i>The Second Folio</i>	[F ₂]	1632
<i>The Seventh Quarto</i>	[Q ₇]	1632
<i>The Eighth Quarto</i>	[Q ₈]	1639
<i>The Third Folio</i>	[F ₃]	1664
<i>The Fourth Folio</i>	[F ₄]	1685
N. ROWE (First edition)	[Rowe i]	1709
N. ROWE (Second edition).	[Rowe ii]	1714
A. POPE (First edition)	[Pope i]	1723
A. POPE (Second edition)	[Pope ii]	1728
L. THEOBALD (First edition).	[Theob. i]	1733
L. THEOBALD (Second edition)	[Theob. ii]	1740
T. HANMER (First edition).	[Han. i]	1744
W. WARBURTON	[Warb.]	1747
L. THEOBALD (Third edition)	[Theob. iii]	1752
L. THEOBALD (Fourth edition)	[Theob. iv]	1762
Dr. JOHNSON	[Johns.]	1765
E. CAPELL	[Cap.]	1768*
T. HANMER (Second edition)..	[Han. ii]	1770
JOHNSON-STEEVENS Variorum..	[Var. '73]	1773
JOHNSON-STEEVENS Variorum.	[Var. '78]	1778
JOHNSON-STEEVENS Variorum.	[Var. '85]	1785
J. RANN	[Ran.]	1787
E. MALONE	[Mal.]	1790

* For date, see below, p. xii.

G. STEEVENS.	[Steev.]	1793
REED-STEEVENS Variorum	[Var. '03]	1803
REED-STEEVENS Variorum	[Var. '13]	1813
BOSWELL-MALONE Variorum	[Var.]	1821
S. W. SINGER (First edition)	[Sing. i]	1826
C. KNIGHT (First edition)	[Knt. i]	1839*
C. KNIGHT (Second edition)	[Knt. ii]	1842*
J. P. COLLIER (First edition)	[Coll. i]	1842
H. N. HUDSON (First edition)	[Huds. i]	1852*
S. W. SINGER (Second edition)	[Sing. ii]	1856
N. DELIUS	[Del.]	1857
A. DYCE (First edition)	[Dyce i]	1857
J. P. COLLIER (Second edition)	[Coll. ii]	1858
H. STAUNTON (First edition)	[Sta. i]	1858
J. O. HALLIWELL (First edition)	[Hal. i]	1859
R. G. WHITE (First edition)	[Wh. i]	1859
CAMBRIDGE (First edition, W. G. CLARK and W. A. WRIGHT)	[Cam. i]	1863-4
A. DYCE (Second edition)	[Dyce ii]	1864
T. KEIGHTLY	[Ktly.]	1864-6
J. O. HALLIWELL (Folio edition)	[Hal. ii]	1865
H. STAUNTON (Second edition)	[Sta. ii]	1870
A. DYCE (Third edition)	[Dyce iii]	1875
J. P. COLLIER (Third edition)	[Coll. iii]	1877-8
H. N. HUDSON (Harvard edition)	[Huds. ii]	1880*
R. G. WHITE (Second edition)	[Wh. ii]	1883
CAMBRIDGE (Second edition, W. A. WRIGHT)	[Cam. ii]	1891
C. KNIGHT (Pictorial edition revised)	[Knt. iii]	n.d.
C. KNIGHT (Cabinet edition)	[Knt. iv]	n.d.

<i>The Ninth Quarto</i> (BETTERTON'S Acting Version)	[Qs]	1700
T. JOHNSON'S edition, printed in The Hague	[T. J.]	1710
T. JOHNSON, second edition	[T. J. ii]	1721
Acting Version	[Act. Ver. 1763]	1763
J. P. KEMBLE'S Acting Version	[Oxberry]	1822
GLOBE (CLARK and WRIGHT)	[Glo.]	1864
W. J. ROLFE (Friendly edition)	[Rlf.]	1884
W. A. WRIGHT	[Wr.]	1897
F. W. CHANDLER (Tudor Sh.)	[Tud.]	1911
R. P. COWL and A. E. MORGAN (Arden Sh.)	[Ard.]	1914
W. J. CRAIG (Oxford Sh.)	[Ox.]	1916
R. P. COWL and A. E. MORGAN (Arden Sh., 2nd ed.)	[Ard. ii]	1919

The last twelve editions cited I have not collated beyond referring to them in certain disputed passages, and recording occasional readings that have significance of one sort or another. The Cambridge edition of 1863, with its return to the First Quarto as the most authentic text, has practically settled the major textual problems of the play, and has been followed by

* For date, see below, p. xii.

most editors since. W. J. Craig's Oxford edition of 1916 is an unfortunate exception to this rule. The present text is that of the First Quarto of 1598, of which even the punctuation is reproduced.

Three copies of the First Quarto exist—Garrick's copy, in the British Museum; Capell's copy, in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge; and the Devonshire copy, now in the Huntington Library. The British Museum copy lacks Sigs. Eiv and Kiv. The so-called facsimile of Q₁, published by Griggs in 1881, was taken from the Devonshire copy, and is full of inaccuracies. I have retained the traditional designation (Q₁) for this Quarto, in spite of the fact that a fragment of an earlier printing (Q₀) exists. For discussion of this fragment see Appendix: The Text, p. 344. I have collated a photostat of the Devonshire copy of Q₁ with the other two existing copies; and of the many variant readings in these three copies of the same edition, I have recorded in the Textual Notes only those that throw some light on the meaning of the text. For a discussion of the other Quartos, see Appendix: The Text.

In the Textual Notes the symbol Qq indicates the substantial agreement of Q₁₋₈, and the symbol Ff, the substantial agreement of F₁₋₄. I have not recorded the first appearance of modern spellings, nor insignificant variations in punctuation, nor obvious misprints.

The sign + after Ff, Rowe, or Pope, indicates the substantial agreement of all subsequent editions through Var. '73, *except Cap.*

The words *et cet.* after any reading indicate that it is the reading of all editions not already mentioned.

The words *et seq.* indicate the substantial agreement of all *subsequent* editions.

When *Varr.* precedes Ran., Steev., or Mal., it indicates the agreement of the Variorums of 1773, 1778, and 1785; when *Varr.* follows Ran., Mal., or Steev., it indicates the agreement of the Variorums of 1803, 1813, and 1821.

Conj. signifies a conjecture by an editor, which he has not adopted in his text.

Coll. MS. refers to Collier's copy of the Second Folio, bearing in its margin manuscript annotations.

In citing plays, or quoting from them, the Acts, Scenes, and Lines of the Cambridge edition are followed. References to *Henry IV, Part I* refer to the present text.

There is no real evidence for attributing the editions of 1710 and 1721 to Lord Lansdowne. These texts, in general, follow Rowe i. Both were printed in The Hague by T. Johnson because of the copyright law of 1709. Jacob Tonson owned the copyright. T. Johnson's monogram on the title-page, T J., might well be mistaken for Tonson's, J. T. I am indebted for information on this subject to Mr. Henry N. Paul, of Philadelphia. I have collated the 1710 and 1721 editions with Rowe and have noted in the Textual Notes only the occasional departures from Rowe's text.

Capell's edition is undated; but I have assigned to it the date 1768 on the basis of the following reference in his *Notes* (1779) "Preface to the Reader: The editor of Shakespeare's plays in ten volumes octavo, published in 68, but prepared some years earlier, in that work laid before you the plan . . . that he meant to pursue. . . . In consequence . . . you now receive all the articles he promised."

Knight's first (Pictorial) edition is undated, but the Preface to the *Henry IV* volume is dated May 18, 1839, and I have therefore accepted that as the date of Knt. i. In former volumes of the Furness edition, Knt. ii. has been dated 1865 (see *Coriolanus*, p. 740); but in the Barton-Ticknor Collection in Boston, I have found an 1842 edition by Knight, with the words *The Second Edition* on the title-page. I have therefore referred to this 1842 edition as Knt. ii. I have not been able to establish dates for the Knight Pictorial Revised and Cabinet editions, but have referred to them as Knt. iii and Knt. iv.

The dates assigned to Hudson editions are the dates on which they were copyrighted. There are many re-issues of each.

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T H E
HISTORY OF
HENRIE THE
FOURTH;

With the battell at Shrewsburie,
betweene the King and Lord
Henry Percy, surnamed
Henrie Hotspur of
the North.

With the humorous conceits of Sir
Iohn Falstaffe.

[ORNAMENT]

AT LONDON,
Printed by *P. S.* for *Andrew Wise*, dwelling
in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of
the Angell. 1598.

The title-page of the second edition, the Quarto of 1599, adds, after "Falstaffe.", "Newly corrected by W. Shake-speare." It was printed "by S. S for Andrew Wise." The title-page of the third edition, the Quarto of 1604,

is identical with that of 1599, except for "Printed by Valentine Simmes, for Mathew Law, and/are to be solde at his shop in Paules Churchyard,/at the signe of the Fox/1604." The title-page of the fourth edition, the Quarto of 1608, retains the phraseology of the former editions, but is "Printed for Mathew Law, and are to be sold at/his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of /the Foxe. 1608 " The fifth edition, the Quarto of 1613, is "Printed by W. W for Mathew Law," &c. [as in Q₄, 1608]. The title of the play in the First Folio, 1623, is "The First Part of Henry the Fourth,/with the Life and Death of HENRY/Sirnamed HOT-SPVRRE."—[ED]

[Dramatis Personæ

King Henry the Fourth.

Henry, *Prince of Wales*, } *Sons to the King*
Prince John of Lancaster, }

Worcester, }
 Northumberland, }
 Hot-spur, }
 Mortimer, } *Enemies to the King.*
Archbishop of York, }
 Dowglass, }
 Owen Glendower, }
Sir Richard Vernon, }
Sir Michell, }

Westmorland, } *Of the King's Party.*
Sir Walter Blunt, }

Lords attending the King.

Sir John Falstaff.

Poins.

Gads-hill

Peto.

Bardolph.

Lady Percy, Wife to Hot-spur.

Lady Mortimer, Daughter to Glendower, and Wife to Mortimer.

Hostess.

Sheriff, Vintner, Chamberlain, Drawers, 2 Carriers, Travelers, and Attendants.

Scene ENGLAND]

[Rowe's list, printed above, is the earliest list of characters prefixed to the play. Rowe ii, Pope, Theob, Han., and Warb add "*Companions to Falstaff*." after the names Poins—Bardolph. Johns. omits both "*Enemies to the King*." and "*Companions to Falstaff*."

Capell re-arranges and amplifies as follows:

After "*Prince John of Lancaster*,"

"*Earl of Westmoreland*, } *Friends to the King.*
 and *Sir Walter Blunt*, }

Scroop, <i>Archbishop of York;</i>	} <i>Confederates, and Enemies to the King</i>
Henry Percy, <i>Earl of Northumberland,</i>	
Thomas, <i>Earl of Worcester, his Brother,</i>	
Henry, <i>surnam'd—Hot-spur, his Son,</i>	
Edmund Mortimer, <i>Earl of March,</i>	
Archibald, <i>Earl of Douglas, a Scotchman;</i>	
Owen Glendower, <i>a Welshman;</i>	
<i>Gentleman, Friend to the Archbishop;</i>	
<i>and Sir Richard Vernon,</i>	
<i>Sir John Falstaff, an irregular Humorist;</i>	
Poins, Peto, Gadshill, <i>and Bardolph, his Companions</i>	
<i>Lady Percy, Hot-spur's Wife, Sister to Mortimer.</i>	
<i>Lady Mortimer, Daughter to Glendower.</i>	
<i>Hostess of a Tavern in East-cheap.</i>	

Scene, dispers'd, in England, and Wales "

Var. '73 follows Johns. Var. '78, and subsequent editions, follow, in general, Capell —Ed.]

THE HISTORIE OF Henry the fourth.

[*Actus Primus. Scæna Prima.*]

*Enter the King, Lord Iohn of Lancaster, Earle of
Westmerland, with others.*

King.



O shaken as we are, so wan with care,
Find we a time for frighted peace to pant,
And breath short winded accents of new broiles
To be commencte in stronds a far remote :

4

THE HISTORIE OF Henry the fourth.] Qq. *The First Part of Henry the Fourth, with the Life and Death of HENRY Sirnamed HOT-SPURRE.* Ff, Rowe, Wh. i. *The First Part of Henry IV.* Pope, et cet., with the following variations: Han., Cap., Var. '78, et seq., read *The First Part of King Henry IV*; Knt, Coll. iii read *King Henry IV, Part I.*

Actus...Prima.] Ff. Om. Qq. Act I. SCENE I. Rowe. Act I. SCENE I. London. Pope. Act I. SCENE, the Court in London Theob. Act I. SCENE I. The Court in London. Han., Warb., Johns., Varr., Ran. Act. I. SCENE I. London. A Room in the Palace. Cap., etc., with the following variations: Coll., Del, Wh. i., read: Act I. SCENE I. *London. An Apartment in the Palace*; and Cam., Glo., Wh. ii, Tud, Ox., Ard., read: Act I. SCENE I. *London. The Palace.*

the King] Qq, Ff, Huds. 1 King Henry Rowe, et cet. [These variants are not recorded hereafter.—Ed.]

Lord...Lancaster] Qq, Ff, +, Cam., Glo., Wh. ii, Rlf, Tud., Ard Om Cap., et cet.

Earle of Westmerland] Qq, Ff, +, Ox. Westmoreland, Blunt, Dering MS., Cap., Huds. i. earl of Westmoreland, Sir Walter Blunt, Var. '78, et cet.

with] and Rowe, et seq.

1. wan] worn Coll MS.

2. peace] Peace Tud.

3. breath] breathe Q1, F4, Rowe, et seq., except Cap.

4. stronds] Storms F3F4. strands Dyce, Sta, Hal. i, Wh, Glo., Coll. iii, Rlf., Tud.

remote.] Qq, Ff, Rowe. remote? Ran. remote. Pope, et cet

1-29.] DAVIES (*Dram. Misc.*, 1785): The action of the play begins early in the reign of Henry IV. . . . Shakespeare thought it would best answer his purpose to represent the king labouring with sickness, and resolving on his recovery to visit the Holy Land, in conformity with his prior declaration in

[1-29]

Richard II, to expiate the murder of his sovereign. All our historians agree in this proposed expedition of Henry, which, on a close examination, seems not to be very well founded in probability. The crusades at the beginning of the 15th century had almost entirely ceased. Besides, Henry was too sagacious to leave his kingdom, with a title so doubtful as his was. If so weak and worthless a man as Prince John could, in the absence of his brother Richard at Jerusalem, excite such disorders as to make it necessary for that king to quicken his return, what had not Henry Bolingbroke to apprehend from one who had a fairer title to the crown than himself? The expedition to the Holy Land seems to have been a feint—ELTON (ed. 1889, p. 11) Bolingbroke, whom Richard has tried to defraud, with perfect justice has put him down, in order to get back his own property. But then Bolingbroke, in order to become king, has had Richard murdered, and in his turn falls under the curse—the only strong speech Richard ever utters—pronounced against him and his fellow rebel [*Richard II*, V, 1, 55 ff.] “Northumberland, thou ladder, where-withal/The mounting Bolingbroke ascends my throne,/ . . . And he shall think that thou, which know’st the way/To plant unrightful kings, wilt know again,/ Being ne’er so little urged, another way / To pluck him headlong from the usurped throne.” The fulfilment of this curse occupies *Henry IV*, Bolingbroke, as if conscious of it, at the end of *Richard II*, vows “I’ll make a voyage to the Holy Land.” With the reiteration of this vow, *Henry IV* opens, but it is balked by the curse operating exactly as Richard had foretold—by the schism of the Percies . . . We hear no more of the atoning crusade after the first scene of *Part I*, but it lingers in the king’s mind, and in *Part II* is twice publicly on his lips . . . (p. 77) In his opening speech Henry speaks in a strain very little penitent. He is a mouthpiece for Shakespeare the patriot. The English plays are full of these solemn, vibrating outbursts. The first words of this speech are on a height to which the poet rises in an instant whenever he chooses, throughout the play, from the world of Poins and Bardolph.—AX (*Rel. of Sh. to Holinshed*, 1912, pp. 11, 13) The first events in this play do not immediately connect with the last ones in *Richard II*, but are separated from them by a space of more than two years. [One year, according to Shakespeare; cf. I, i, 28.—ED.] . . . In the king’s introductory speech, Shakespeare summarizes the events between his accession and the time at which the play opens. In *Richard II*, the insurrection of the Duke of Aumerle was the last of these “broils” represented on the stage. The subsequent difficulties which arose with France, Henry’s war with Scotland, and several plots against his life, are entirely omitted by Shakespeare.—COWL (ed. 1914, p. xiv): Shakespeare here already begins to diverge from Holinshed who assigns this project of a crusade to the last year of Henry’s reign (*Chron.*, ed. 1808, iii, 57).

1. wan] COLLIER (*Notes & Emend.*, 1852-3): An alteration, but a questionable improvement [see Textual Notes], by the Corrector of the Folio, 1632.—SINGER (*Text of Sh.*, 1853): Here, at least, Mr. Collier is candid; and tacitly confesses that the authority of the Corrector is not sufficient to sanction any interference with the text which is not a self-evident improvement.

2, 3.] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): That is, let us soften [suffer?] Peace to rest without disturbance, that she may recover breath to propose new wars.—MASON

No more the thirsty entrance of this foile 5
 Shal dawbe her lips with her own childrens bloud,
 No more shall trenching war channel her fields,
 Nor bruife her flourets with the armed hooves
 Of hostile paces those oppofed eies,
 Which like the meteors of a troubled heauen, 10

5 *more*] *mote* Q₈
entrance] *bosom* Dering MS.
Entrails F₄, Rowe, T J, Johns.
 (conj.), Douce, Vaughan. *entrants*
 Var. '73 (conj.), J P Kemble
Erinnys Mason (1785), Steev, Var.
 '03, Var '13, Hal 11

soile] *isle* Thirlby MS (1765).
 6 *dawbe her lips*] *daubed be* Johns.
 (conj.).

dawbe] *daube* Q₆Q₆, F₁ *dambe*

F₂F₃. *damb* F₄, Rowe i, T. J (1710).
damp Rowe 11, T J (1721), Theob,
 Johns *dawb* Pope, Han, Cap.
trempe Warb *daub* Var '73, et seq.
her lips] *his lips* Q₈.

8 *flourets*] Q₁₋₅. *flowers* Q₆₋₈
Flourets F₁, et seq.

armed] *armd* Q₈.

9. *paces*] *pases* Q₂Q₈ *pacers* Thirl-
 by MS, Vaughan.

eies] *arms* Han. *files* Warb.

(*Comments on Last Ed of Sh*, 1785) I do not agree with Johnson in thinking that the words mean *let us find* or *let us suffer* I think they mean *do we find*?—ELTON (ed. 1889) Let us find.

4 *stronds*] DYCE (ed. 1857)· Malone, and some other editors retain the old spelling, *stronds*, though in *The Merchant of Venice*, I, i, 171, they print *Colchos strand*. In early books we frequently meet with passages where the word is spelled *strond* and yet pronounced *strand*, e g, *The Taming of the Shrew*, I, i, 164, 5. "That made great Jove to humble him to her hand, / When with his knees he kist the Cretan *strond*."

5, 6] THEOBALD (*Letter to Warburton*, Jan 13, 1729/30): Sure this is a very hard and obscure expression. I presume the sense is, "blood-thirsty invasion of this country shall no more stain it with its own children's gore" but is that the idea conveyed by "thirsty entrance"?—IBID (ed. 1733) I take this to be the meaning: that the *thirsty* earth, chapt and flawd with *drought*, shall no more *damp* or *moisten* her lips, or surface, with her own children's blood. The *dry* earth drinking in this manner is a very natural allusion, and frequent with our author. So, in his . . . *III Henry VI* [II, iii, 15]. "Thy brother's blood the thirsty earth hath drunk"; and *Titus Andronicus* [III, i, 14]. "Let my tears stanch the earth's dry appetite." [UPTON (*Crit Observ*, 1746) gives a similar interpretation—ED.]—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): That these lines are absurd is soon discovered, but how this nonsense will be made sense is not so easily told, surely not by reading *trempe* [see Textual Notes]. . . I think *thirsty entrance* must be wrong, yet know not what to offer. We may read, but not very elegantly, *thirsty entrails* . . . *daubed be*. The relative *her* is inaccurately used in both readings; but to regard sense more than grammar is familiar to our author. We may suppose a verse or two lost between these two lines. This is a cheap way of palliating an editor's inability; but I believe such omissions are more frequent in Shakespeare than is commonly imagined—STEEVENS (Var. '73): The following conjecture may be thought very far-fetched, and yet I am willing to venture it, because it often happens that a wrong reading has

[5,6]

affinity to the right I would read: *the thirsty entrants*, i.e., those that set foot on this kingdom through thirst of power. . . . Whoever is accustomed to the old copies of this author will generally find the words *occurents*, *consequents*, *ingredients*, *spelt occurrence*, *consequence*, *ingredience* . . . By *her* lips Shakespeare may have meant the lips of Peace —[STEEVENS also admits the possibility of THEOBALD's interpretation, which CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779) adopts —ED.]—MALONE (*Suppl. to Var.* '78, 1780). Mr. Steevens's conjecture is so likely to be true that I have no doubt about the propriety of introducing it into the text. It should be observed that supposing these copies to have been made out by the ear, . . . the transcriber might easily have been deceived, for *entrance* and *entrants* have nearly the same sound . . . A similar mistake has happened in the first scene of *Henry V*, where we meet in the first folio: "With such a heady currance scowering faults" instead of "With such a heady current scowering faults." . . . —RITSON (*Remarks*, 1783): Never, sure, was there so much *drumleing*, nor (except in this edition of 1778) so many wild and absurd conjectures as this simple passage has given rise to. For so simple it certainly is, as that the little meaning it has may be easily discovered by the most ignorant, however *doctors* may differ about it. . . . Everyone talks familiarly about Mother Earth, and they who live upon her face may, without impropriety, be called her children. The allusion is to the Barons' Wars —MASON (*Comments*, 1785): By *Erinnys* [see Textual Notes] is meant the Fury of Discord. The *Erinnys* of the soil may be considered as an uncommon mode of expression . . . but it is justified by a passage in the second *Aeneid* of Vergil, where Aeneas calls Helen—*Trojae et patriae communis Erinnys*. An expression somewhat similar occurs in *I Henry VI* [IV, vii, 77]: "Is Talbot slain? the Frenchmen's only scourge, / Your kingdom's terror and black Nemesis?" It is evident that the words "her own children," "her fields," etc., must refer to "this soil"; and that Shakespeare in this place, as in others, uses the personal pronoun, *her* instead of *its*.—[DAVIES (*Dram. Misc.*, 1785) commends the ingenuity of Johnson and Steevens, but prefers the simpler explanation offered by Theobald.—MALONE (ed. 1790) has lost confidence in *entrants*, and believes that if there is no corruption in the text, Theobald's interpretation is correct, though Shakespeare here speaks "licentiously."—MALONE (note in Steevens's ed. of 1793) quotes in support of Theobald's interpretation *Genesis* iv, 2: "Thou art cursed from the *earth*, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood."—ED.]—STEEVENS (ed. 1793): Mr. Mason's conjecture (which I prefer to any other) may receive support from N. Ling's *Epistle* prefixed to *Wisdom's Commonwealth*, 1598: "I know there is nothing in the world but is subject to the *Erinnys* of ill-disposed persons." . . . Shakespeare could not have designed to open his play with a speech the fifth line of which is obscure. . . . All that is wanted in this emergency seems to be a just and striking personification, or rather, a proper name. . . . The name furnished by Mr. Mason may be safely admitted into our text, as it affords a natural introduction to the train of imagery that succeeds. . . . I subjoin that *Erinnys* was inserted . . . with the deliberate approbation of Dr. Farmer.—SEYMOUR (*Remarks*, 1805): The personification is a little harsh, but the same thought is to be found in our poet's 19th Sonnet: "Devouring time, blunt thou the lion's paws, / And

[6 dawbe]

make the earth devour her own sweet brood"—DOUCE (*Illust.*, 1807) To the assertion [made by Steevens] that a just and striking personification is all that is wanted, the answer is that we have it already. *Soil* is personified, they are her lips and her children that are referred to. . . . It is highly improbable that *Erinnys* should have been mistaken for *entrance*. . . . Are instances common where the *capital letter* of a proper name has been lost? And lastly, to turn Mr. Steevens's words against himself, it is not probable that Shakespeare would have opened the play with a speech . . . which contained a name of such infrequent occurrence—COLERIDGE (*Lectures*, 1818). I think Theobald's interpretation right . . . The obscurity is of the Shakespearean sort.—[JACKSON (*Examples of Errors in Sh*, 1818) defends the reading of F₄, *entrails* for *entrance*, as does BOSWELL (Var. ed. 1821), comparing the line with one in *Antony and Melinda*. "Now lions' half-clem'd entrails roar for food."—SINGER (ed. 1826) accepts Theobald's interpretation, as do KNIGHT (ed. 1839), COLLIER (ed. 1842), and WHITE (ed. 1850)—ED.]—KNIGHT (ed. 1839) *Entrance* could not be a misprint for *Erinnys*. . . . Steevens's first conjecture, *entrants*, came within the proper sphere of editorial emendation, the suggestion of Douce, *entrails* [but see Textual Notes] is not far beyond it. But why is the original text to be disturbed? . . . A correspondent suggests *crannies* for *entrance*, and there is authority for this in a line of the old *King John*, with reference to blood—"closing the crannies of the thirsty earth." I should prefer *crannies*, did not *entrance* give a perfectly clear meaning.—[COLLIER (ed. 1858) points out that in Peele's *Arraignment of Paris* (Dyce's ed., i, 53), *entrails* is printed for *entrance*, where Paris talks about the entrails of his ears.—DYCE (*Strictures on Collier*, 1859) defends Peele's use of *entrails*.—CUNNINGHAM (*N. & Q.*, Feb., 1918) is the most recent supporter of the reading of F₄, *entrails*, and adduces as evidence line 1446 of Marlowe's *Faustus*, where there appears the misprint of *entrails* for *entrance* in the Quarto of 1611, though *entrance* is printed correctly in the Quarto of 1604.—ED.]—COWL (*Sources of Henry IV*, 1928): This passage appears to be based on (a) memories of the text of *The Scottish History of James IV* and (b) a concept of folk-lore: (a) *James IV*, V, i: "the thirstie earth is broke with many a gap", V, vi. "this thirstie soyle, choakt up with blood"; (b) the concept of an earth deity whose lips the thirst of the parched earth causes to be daubed with blood. . . . The difficulty in the passage arises from the fusion of two distinct concepts of the 'soil,' a difficulty enhanced by the personification of the material soil, 'thirsty,' and of the earth deity, 'her lips.' [The earth is conceived as a *blood-thirsty* mother, now sated with the blood of her children. The *entrance* is, obviously, her mouth, i.e., the surface of the soil, through which the earth may be said to drink.—ED.]

6. dawbe] THEOBALD (ed. 1733): The sense of the passage, the antithesis, requires the reading *damp*.—WARBURTON (ed. 1747): *Trempe*, from the French *tremper*, properly signifies the moistness made by rain. [N. E. D., 1926, does not recognize *trempe* as English.—ED.]—EDWARDS (*Canons of Crit.*, 1748): Why must Shakespeare thus continually be made to use improper French words, against the authority of the copies, instead of proper English? To *damp* signifies to moisten; which is the precise sense Mr. Warburton requires.

Al of one nature, of one substance bred, 11
 Did lately meete in the intestine shocke
 And furious clofe of ciuill butcherie,
 Shall now in mutuall welbefeeming rankes,
 March all one way, and be no more oppos'd 15

14. *mutuall*] *naturall* Qs.

Tremper signifies something more, to dip, to soak — HEATH (*Revisal of Sh*, 1765). Surely Shakespeare wrote in English; see the common reading, *damp* . . . I think it not impossible that he wrote *dawb*. — MALONE (*Second Appendix to Suppl.*, 1783). Daub, the ancient reading, . . . is confirmed by a passage in *Richard II* [I, iii, 125, 6] "For that our kingdom's earth should not be soiled / With that dear blood with which it hath been fostered" — CHEDWORTH (*Notes on Obscure Passages*, 1805): The *p* of *damp* being reversed, it becomes *damb* [cf. Textual Notes] — SEYMOUR (*Remarks*, 1805). I insert an observation of the printer's "Lord Chedworth has fallen into a curious mistake. the *p* reversed, *damp* becomes *damd*. Stick to your last, my Lord!"

her lips] MALONE (ed. 1790): Refers to *soil*, not to *peace* [line 2]. Shakespeare seldom attends to the integrity of his metaphors — ELTON (ed. 1889). *Her lips* refers to *entrance*, *her own* to *soul*.

7. *trenching*] ELTON (ed. 1889). "Trench-digging," not "encroaching." N. E. D (1926). Cutting, carving. Trench *upon* encroach.

9. *paces*] [The second edition of the Cambridge Shakespeare (1891) quotes VAUGHAN (*New Readings*, 1878-1886) as suggesting *prances* for *paces*. This, and many other of Vaughan's suggestions which he withdrew in the second edition of his work, I have thought it unnecessary to include in the Textual Notes of this edition.—Ed.]

9-16.] WARBURTON (*Letter to Birch*, fol. 138, verso, 1738). This beautiful similitude has been strangely deformed by the insertion of those monstrous *Eyes* [line 9] in the front. The stupid transcribers, seeing *meteors* in the next line, the Sun, called the Eye of Heaven, came across their heavy imaginations, so they substituted *eyes* for *files*, the true reading [cf. Textual Notes]. But what are eyes meeting in intestine shocks and marching all one way? That *files* is the true word appears not only from the integrity of the metaphor, but from the nature of those meteors to which they are compared: namely, the streaks of red that represent the lines of armies. — IBID. (ed. 1747). Out of mere contradiction, the Oxford editor [Hanmer] would improve my alteration of *files* to *arms*, and so loses both the integrity of the metaphor and the likeness of the comparison. — JOHNSON (ed. 1765): This passage is not very accurate in expression, but I think nothing can be changed — CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779). *Eyes*, poetically, for the whole person; *pars pro toto* — WRIGHT (ed. 1897). *Eyes*, after doing duty in their literal sense and being compared to flashing meteors, are changed to the opposed warriors who . . . now march all one way. So, *paces*, just before, denote the warhorses. Warburton . . . appears to have thought that the English soldiers in Henry's or Shakespeare's time wore scarlet.

10. *meteors*] HUDSON (ed. 1880): Meteor was used in a much more general sense than we attach to the word. It might include the Aurora Borealis, which

Against acquaintance, kindred and allies. 16
 The edge of war, like an ill sheathed knife,
 No more shall cut his maister therefore friends,
 As far as to the sepulcher of Christ,
 Whose soldiour now, vnder whose blessed crosse 20
 We are impressed and engag'd to fight,
 Forthwith a power of English shall we leauy,
 Whose armes were moulded in their mothers wombe,
 To chafe these pagans in those holy fields, 24

16 allies] all eyes Q₁
 20 Whose whose] His whose Thirl-
 by MS His the Becket
 soldour] soldiers Q₈, T. J., Heath,
 Var. '73.
 22 Forthwith a] Forth with a Q₃
 Forthwith A Jackson (1818).
 leauy] lead Thirlby MS, Cap,
 Var '78 (conj), Ran. leuy Q₂₋₈, Ff,
 et cet

23. mothers] Qq, F₁₋₃ Mother's F₄,
 Rowe, Pope, Han, Var. '85, Sing.,
 Coll, Huds., Wh. 1., Hal 11, Ktly,
 Ox mothers' Theob, et cet.
 wombe] wombs Q₈₋₈, Cap,
 Varr, Ran., Dyce 11, 111.
 24. chase these] chastise the Thirlby
 MS., Vaughan
 in] from Dering MS., Heath

sometimes has the appearance of hostile armies engaged in battle So, in *Paradise Lost*, II, 533 ff: "As when, to warn proud cities, war appears Waged in the troubled sky, and armies rush To battle in the clouds"—COWL (ed 1914). See Florio, *New World of Words*: "Meteors, certain imperfectly mixt bodies, consisting of vapours drawn up into the middle region of the air, and sent out in different forms; as rain, hail, snow, wind, thunder, lightning."

13. close] SCHMIDT (1874): Hostile meeting, grapple.

14 mutual] ELTON (ed 1889): "Helping each other". the primary sense. There is also a touch of the next sense, "united."

17. edge] SCHMIDT (1874): Sword; cf. *Coriolanus*, V, vi, 113: "Stain all your edges on me"

19-27] JOHNSON (ed 1765) The lawfulness and justice of the *holy* wars have been much disputed, but perhaps there is a principle on which the question may be easily determined If it be part of the religion of the Mahometans to extirpate by the sword all other religions, it is, by the law of self-defence, lawful for men of every other religion, and for Christians among others, to make war upon Mahometans—GIBBON (*Hist. Decline and Fall of Rom. Emp.*, 1788, VI, 9) If the reader will turn to the first scene of the first part of Henry IV, he will see in the text of Shakespeare the natural feelings of enthusiasm; and in the notes of Dr. Johnson the workings of a bigotted though vigorous mind, greedy of every pretence to hate and persecute those who dissent from his creed—BOSWELL (Var. ed. 1821) Mr. Gibbon's petulant remark was a gross misrepresentation of Dr Johnson's meaning. He does not say that Mahometans may be persecuted because their creed is false—REED (*Lectures: Eng. Hist. and Sh.*, 1855): Whether this purpose was prompted by desire to make atonement for such criminality as accompanied his accession, by the ecclesiastical service of a crusade, or with the more politic design of diverting

Ouer whole acres walkt those bleffed feet, 25
 Which 1400 yeares ago were naild,
 For our aduantage on the bitter crosse
 But this our purpose now is twelue month old,
 And booteleffe tis to tell you we wil go
 Therefore we meet not nowe : then let me heare 30
 Of you my gentle Cofen Westmerland,
 What yesternight our counfell did decree
 In forwarding this deere expedience. 33

28. *now is twelue month*] *is twelue* Wh, Hal, Ktly, Rlf, O^x *now is*
month Q₄₋₆ *is but twelue months* *twelve months* Sta.
 Q₇Q₈, *is a tweluemonth* Ff, +, Cap, 30. *Therefore*] *Therefore*, Theob,
 Varr, Ran., Mal, Steev., Varr., Warb., Johns., Var. '73.
 Sing., Knt, Coll., Huds., Del., Dyce, 33. *this* *has* Q₇Q₈.

the thoughts of the nation from the question of his title, it can hardly be doubted that the thought was seriously entertained by the king.—AX (*Rel. of Sh. to Holmshed*, 1912, pp. 13, 14): On Dec. 21, 1400, the Emperor of Constantinople came "into England to sue for aid against the Turks. The king bore all his charges and presented him with gifts" (Holmshed, III, 17.)

19-22.] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): To *levy* a power as far as to the sepulchre, is an expression quite unexampled, if not corrupt. We might propose *lead*, without violence to the sense or too wide a deviation from the traces of the letters —MALONE (ed. 1790): I have no doubt the text is right. Our author is not always sufficiently careful to make the end of his sentences agree in construction with the beginning —BOSWELL (Var. ed. 1821): This expression, says Mr Gifford (in his Jonson, v, 138) is neither unexampled nor corrupt; see Gosson's *School of Abuse* (1587; i, 4). "Scipio, before he levied his forces to the walls of Carthage, gave his soldiers, etc." [N. E. D. (1908) gives no example of *levy to*; but Malone's explanation is adequate.—ED.]

28. *now . . . month*] DYCE (ed. 1864): The reading of the earliest quartos is objectionable because of the following "meet not *now*," line 30 —ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, p. 62): *A* was frequently inserted before a numeral adjective [cf. Textual Notes], for the purpose of indicating that the objects enumerated are regarded collectively as one. . . . (p. 63): This usage is not common in Shakespeare, however, except after *one*: "But one seven years" —*Coriolanus*, IV, i, 55.—COWL (ed. 1914): To supply the loss of *now*, which dropped out of the text in Q₃₋₆ [*i. e.*, Q₄₋₆], Q₇ reads *is but twelue months*, and Ff *is a twelue-month*.

30. *Therefore . . . nowe*] MALONE (Var. ed. 1785): "Not on that account do we now meet; we are not now assembled to acquaint you with our intended expedition."

31. *Cosen*] HUDSON (ed. 1880): Ralph Neville, the present Earl of Westmoreland, married for his first wife Joan, daughter to John of Gaunt by Catherine Swynford, and therefore half-sister to Henry IV. *Cousin*, in old English, bears much the same sense as *kinsman* in our time.

33. *deere*] N. E. D. (1897): Important.

West. My liege, this haste was hot in question,
 And many limits of the charge fet down 35
 But yesternight, when all athwart there came
 A post from Wales, laden with heavy newes,
 Whose worst was that the noble Mortimer,
 Leading the men of Herdforshire to fight
 Against the irregular, and wild Glendower, 40
 Was by the rude hands of that Welchman taken,

34. *haste*] *host* T. J.

Herdforshire Q₇Q₈.

39. *Herdforshire*] *Herdforshire* Q₄Q₅.

40. *irregular*,] *irregular* Q₅, et seq.

Herdforshire Q₆, Ff, Rowe, et seq.

41. *hands*] *bands* Thirliby MS.

expedience] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): Expedition.—STEEVENS (ed. 1793): So, in *Antony and Cleopatra* [I, ii, 170]. "I shall break / The cause of our expedience to the queen." N. E. D. (1897): That which requires speed; an enterprise, an expedition.

34. *hot* . . . *question*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Hotly discussed

35. *limits* . . . *charge*] COLLIER (ed. 1842): Bounds of the expense.

36. *athwart*] COWL (ed. 1914): Perversely, thwarting our purpose.

38-46] [See Appendix. Sources of the Plot. Holinshed.—ED.]—AX (*Rel of Sh. to Holinshed*, 1912, p. 15): The description of the battle is derived from Holinshed: the number of the slain, 1000, and even expressions agree, or are similar. The poet follows his source in not stating wherein the shameful cruelty of the Welsh women consisted. Later on, Holinshed (III, 34) gives the details of this shameless villainy.

38. *Mortimer*] See note on I, iii, 80, *brother in law*.

39. *Herdforshire*] WALKER (*Sh. Vers*, 1854, p. 1): Hereford is a dissyllable.

40. *irregular*,] SCHMIDT (1874): Lawless. [The use of the comma after *irregular* perhaps illustrates a principle of rhetorical punctuation discussed by SIMPSON (*Sh. Punct.*, 1911, p. 26), *i. e.*, the use of the comma to mark emphasis. In this use the comma follows the word to be stressed. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, I, i, 188: "Love, is a smoke made with the fume of sighs"; and *Antony and Cleopatra*, II, vi, 64: "I have heard that Julius Caesar, Grew fat with feasting there."—ED.]

41. *taken*] BAYFIELD (*Study of Sh. Vers*, 1920, p. 252), [whose contention is that abbreviated and clipped words in the text of Shakespeare are the work of editors, and that the poet himself preferred the full forms, here discusses the forms *taken* and *tane*]: In twelve Quarto plays, the Q texts give *tane* 32 times, *taken* 4 times. . . . Three of these examples of *taken*, and three of *tane*, end a line. If we consider these six together, we shall see how little *tane* is likely to have been the form that came from Shakespeare's pen: "Of your fair flesh to be cut off and *tane*" (*Merch. of Ven.*, I, iii, 145); "My liege, the Duke of Buckingham is *taken*" (*Rich. III*, IV, iv, 533); "Was by the rude hands of that Welchman *taken*" (*I Henry IV*, I, i, 41); "According to our threefold order *tane*" (*I Henry IV*, III, i, 60); "O, I have *tane* / Too little care of this" (*Lear*, III, iv, 32); "King Lear hath lost, he and his daughter *tane*" (*Lear*, V, ii, 6).

A thoufand of his people butchered, 42
 Vpon whofe dead corpes there was fuch mifufe,
 Such beaftly fhameleffe transformation
 By thofe Welch-women done, as may not be 45
 Without much fhame, retould, or fpoken of
King. It fees then that the tidings of this broile,
 Brake off our bufineffe for the holy land.
Weft. This matcht with other did, my gracious L
 For more vneuen and vnwelcome newes 50

42 *A thousand*] *And a thousand* Ff, Rowe, Varr., Mal, Steev., Var. '03, Var. '13, Sing, Knt, Del., Sta, Wh i, Hal ii, Ktly, Rlf, Ox *And near a thousand* T J (1721). *And a full thousand* Cap. *And 'bove a thousand* Vaughan

butchered] *butcherd* Qs, T. J. (1721).

43 *Vpon*] *On* Wh ii.
corpes] F1F2, Var. '73 *corps* Q2-s, F3F4, Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han., Warb, Johns., Cap, Var. '78, '85, Ran., Mal., Steev., Var. '03, '13, Sta., Hal. ii *corpse* Var., Sing., Knt i, iii, Coll., Huds. i, Del., Hal. i, Wh i, Cam., Glo., Ktly, Rlf, Tud.,

Ard corpses Knt ii, iv, Wh ii *corpse* Walker (1860), Dyce, Huds. ii, Ox *corpes* Sta (conj.)

45. *those*] *the* Thirlby MS
 46 *retould*] *re-told* Ff *be told* Rowe ii

49 *This matcht*] *This match* Q2Q3, *This matcht*, F3F4. *This, matcht* Rowe, et seq

did] *did* Q2. *like* Q3Q4Q6. *like*, Q5Q7Q8, F1-3, Rowe ii, Pope, Han., Knt, Del, Wh. i, Ox. *like*, F4, Rowe i.

L] *Lord*, Q5-s, Ff, et seq.
 50. *For more*] *Far more* Q5-s, Ff, Rowe, Pope, Knt. i, iii, Wh i *Farther* Han.

... (p. 254): In other places the Quarto's contraction gives us a false stress: cf. *I Henry IV*, V, ii, 22 "And his corruption being *tane* from us"; here we want "taken from us."

42.] HUDSON (ed. 1852) We prefer the reading of Qq, not only as having better authority, but because it makes the connection plainer between *a thousand people* and *whose dead corpse*. Of course *being* is understood before *butchered*, and *corpse* is used as a collective noun

43. *corpes*] DYCE (ed. 1857): *Corps* and *corpes* might be considered as the plural of *corp*, if other passages in our author's writings did not forbid us to suppose so, e. g., "My poor *corpes*" (*Twelfth Night*, II, iv, 62), "Again possess her *corps*" (*Winter's Tale*, V, i, 58)—COWL (ed. 1914): *Corpes*, i e., *corpses*, as in *II Henry IV*, I, i, 192. So, Middleton, *Chaste Maid*, II, ii: "The dead *corps* of poor calves."

49-55.] AX (*Rel. of Sh to Hol.*, 1912, p. 15): The first two historical events alluded to are the overthrow of Mortimer by Glendower, June 22, 1402, and the battle of Holmedon, or Humbleton, where Hotspur gained a decisive victory over Archibald, Earl of Douglas, on Sept. 14, 1402. . . . These two battles are dramatized by the poet as simultaneous, that the news of the two might reach London at the same time. But on the very day of Mortimer's defeat, another battle was fought between the Scotch and the English, the battle of Nisbet in Teviotdale, where the Scots under Patrick Hepburne were also

Came from the North, and thus it did import, 51
 On holly rode day the gallant Hotspur there,
 Yong Harry Percy, and braue Archibold,
 That euer valiant and approued Scot,
 At Holmedon met, where they did fpend 55
 A sad and bloody houre :
 As by discharge of their artillery,
 And shape of likelihood the newes was told .
 For he that brought them in the very heat
 And pride of their contention, did take horfe 60

51. *did*] *doth* Var. '85
import] *report* Qs-s, Ff, Rowe,
 Knt, Del
 52. *holly rode*] *holy roode* Qs, et seq
 53. *Archibold*] *Archibald* Qs, et seq.
 54. *euer*] *euery* Qr. *very* Qs.
 55-75] *At bloody/Hour artill-*
ery/ Ktly
 55, 56] Qq, Ff, Rowe. *At Holmedon*
spent a sad and bloody hour Pope,
 Theob, Han, Warb, Johns, Var
 '73 *At Holmedon met,/Where .*
hour,/Cap, Var '78, et cet.
 55. *met*] *met in arms with all their*
powers, Ktly (conj)
they] *they both* T J (1721).
 58. *the*] *Om* Qs.
 59. *them*] *them*, Qs-s, Ff, Rowe,
 Mal, et seq. *at* Pope, Theob., Han,
 Warb., Johns., Cap, Varr, Ran
 60. *contention*,] Qq, Ff, +, Wh. 1
contention Cap, et cet.

vanquished . If Shakespeare learned the date of Mortimer's battle, which Holinshed does not give, he thought it perhaps more compatible with historical fidelity to roll the two battles into one, because, although differing in date, they had the same issue.

52. *holly rode*] Holy-rood, or Holy-cross, day, September 14

54. *approued*] SCHMIDT (1874): Tested, tried.

55. *Holmedon*] WRIGHT (ed 1897): Humbleton in Northumberland

55-57] MORGAN (*Some Problems of Sh.'s Henry IV*, 1924, p. 17) finds signs of curtailment of text at this point. Lines 1-54 are smooth and regular. Then irregularities begin. Lines 55 and 56 are metrically imperfect, and there seems to be scant connection between line 56 and line 57

57, 58.] COWL (ed. 1914): As was reported by the messenger who had heard the discharge of artillery, from which he inferred the probability of a hotly contested fight. At Holmedon only archers were engaged, but Shakespeare may have misunderstood Holinshed's statement that "with the violence of the English shot they (the Scotch) were quite vanquished and put to flight."

57. *artillery*] Ax (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol.*, 1912, p. 16): When the poet speaks of artillery and gunpowder (cf. I, iii, 56, 60), we must consider such allusions anachronisms. At that epoch gunpowder was being used for siege-guns (cf. Holinshed, III, 39. Henry IV, besieging Berwick, caused a piece of artillery to be planted against the town), but it was not yet employed for field guns or muskets. . . . Shakespeare could have read . . . in Holinshed's *History of Scotland*, that Henry Hotspur assailed the Scotch with an incessant shot of arrows.—COWL (ed. 1914): *Artillery* formerly included bows as well as guns, but that Shakespeare had the latter in mind is clear from the context.

Vncertaine of the iffue any way.

61

King. Here is deere, a true industrious friend,
Sir Walter Blunt new lighted from his horfe,
Staind with the variation of each foile,

64

62. *deere*] *a deare* Q₅, et seq. Varr, Ran, Mal, Steev, Varr.,
a *true*] and *true* Q₅₋₈, Ff, +, Sing., Knt., Coll, Huds, Del, Dyce,
Cap., Varr, Ran, Mal., Steev., Varr., Sta., Hal, Ktly., Rlf.
Sing., Huds., Del, Dyce, Sta., Hal., 63. *Walter*] *Water* Q₇.
Ktly. 64. *Staind*] *Strain'd* F₁, Deryng
true industrious] *true-industri-* MS.
ous Theob ii, iii, Warb, Johns, *variation*] *variations* Q₇Q₈.

60. *pride*] N. E. D. (1909). *Glory*; *I Henry VI*, IV, vi, 56. "Fight by thy father's side . . . let's die in pride."—COWL (ed. 1914): *Height*.

62 ff.] LLOYD (*Essays*, 1858): In the first scene we have an example of the conscious and prepared self-counsel of the king. He opens the council with the enunciation of a plan that he knows must stand over, implying piety while policy is his motive, and asks, with an air of innocence [lines 47, 48], for obsolete news, while he has a messenger at his back ready to be produced—MORGAN (*Some Problems of Sh.'s Henry IV*, 1924) The king, who has been so far dependent on Westmoreland for news concerning the civil broils, suddenly is possessed of detailed information which he imparts to Westmoreland. Clearly the king is without this knowledge when the scene opens. It seems equally clear that Blunt has not arrived at the beginning of the play, and it is noticeable that in Qq his name is not included in the stage-directions giving the first entrants. . . . It seems probable that a passage including Blunt's entry has been excised. [For Morgan's theory, in detail, see Appendix: Sources of the Plot, 12. If Morgan's contention that this scene has been cut is sound, and it seems at least plausible, Lloyd's theory of the king's politic prearrangement and handling of the situation presented in scene i loses some of its force. It is unlikely, however, that the king, at the beginning of the scene, was ignorant of the disturbing news from Wales which had interrupted the meeting of his council on the previous night and which had "broken off his business for the Holy Land." His opening speech is, therefore, insincere; he allows Westmoreland to be the bearer of ill news; he reserves for himself the rôle of introducer of the bearer of good tidings; and in the excitement which follows, over the further problems arising from Hotspur's victory, the plans for a crusade are forgotten.—ED.]

63. *Blunt*] KNIGHT (ed. 1839): There is dramatic propriety in making Sir Walter, the dear friend of the king, bring the "smooth and welcome news" of victory; and in this the poet is neither borne out nor contradicted by the *Chronicles*. An entry, however, has been found in the *Pell Rolls* of a grant of forty pounds a year "to Nicholas Merbury . . . the first person who reported for a certainty to our lord, the king, the good, agreeable, and acceptable news of the success of the expedition at Holmedon."

64. *Staind . . . soile*] THEOBALD (ed. 1733): This was looked on, I apprehend, in a ludicrous light by some carpers; at least, I find it parodied in an old comedy, and applied to a person in a scuffle tumbled into the dirt: "Your

Betwixt that Holmedon and this feat of ours : 65
 And he hath brought vs fmothe and welcom newes,
 The Earle of *Douglas* is difcomfited,
 Ten thoufand bould Scots, two and twenty knights
 Balkt in their own blood. Did fir Walter fee 69

65. *that*] *tha* F₂ *the* F₃F₄, Rowe. (conj.). *Bak'd* Grey (1751), Var. '73
 66. *welcom*] *welcomes* F₁. (conj. by Warton). *Bark'd* Lettsom
 68. *two*] *three* Theob., Warb., Johns., (1853), Wh (conj.).
 Act. Vers. 1763. *blood. Did*] *blood did* Q₅Q₆, Ff,
 69. *Balkt*] *Balk'd* F₁F₂, Pope, et Rowe, + *blood, did* Q₇Q₈, Cap.,
 seq. *Balk'd* Johns. (conj.), Heath, Han. ii, Var '78, et seq.
 Cartwright (1866), Ktly (1867), Wh

band and doublet torn from your neck and back, and your brave breeches stain'd with the variation of each soil" (*Merry Mulkmaids*, II, ii).

66. *smothe and welcom*] COWL (ed. 1914): Epithets antithetical to "un-even" and "unwelcome" in line 50.

welcom] WALKER (*Crit. Exam. of Text*, 1860, i, 233) gives examples of the frequent omission and frequent interpolation of final *s* in the first folio [see Textual Note] Cf. V, ii, 7 "in *other* faults" (*others*, Q₆-F₂); and V, iii, 13 "Lord Staffords death" (*Lords* F₁). Because of the frequency of this practice, Walker makes the following conjectures: *Holmedon* for *Holmedons*, I, i, 70; *discontent* for *discontents*, I, iii, 189, *ague* for *agues*, III, i, 67, and *cuckoo-bird* for *cuckoos bird*, V, i, 60

67-73] See Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Holinshed.

68 *two*] THEOBALD (*Letter to Warburton*, Jan 13, 1729/30): Considering how faithful our author was in following history, we have the warranty of both Hall and Hollingshead to read *three*.

69. *Balkt*] GREY (*Crit. Notes*, 1754): *Balkt* should be read *Bak'd*, the blood being coagulated and congeled upon their cloaths and bodies. The same expression is used in *John*, III, iii, [42, 43]: "Or if that surly spirit, melancholy, / Had bak'd thy blood and made it heavy-thick"—WARTON (Var. ed. 1773, Appendix, vol x): *Balk* is a ridge of land: here is a metaphor, and perhaps the poet meant, in his bold and careless manner of expression, . . . "a ridge of dead bodies, piled up in blood." If this be the meaning, we might add to the pointing "*Balk'd*, in their own blood." I once conjectured "*bak'd*" . . . but I prefer the common reading. A *balk*, in the sense here mentioned, is a common expression in Warwickshire and the northern counties. It is used in the same signification in Chaucer's *Plowman's Tale*.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): Either *balk'd* or *bak'd*, *i. e.*, encrusted over with blood dried upon them. Passages from Heywood's *Iron Age* may countenance the latter conjecture: "Troilus lies embak'd in his cold blood", again "*bak'd* in blood and dirt"; and again "*as bak'd* in blood"; also *Hamlet* [II, ii, 436] "With blood of fathers . . . *Bak'd* and impasted."—TOLLET (Var. ed. 1778): Lay in heaps or hillocks in their own blood. . . . Mr. Pope, in the *Iliad*, has the same thought: "On heaps the Greeks, on heaps the Trojans bled, And thickening round them rose the hills of dead."—LETTSOM (*New Readings in Sh*, 1853): *Bark'd*, *i. e.*, coated with dry and hardened blood, as a tree is coated with bark. . . . It is not un-

On Holmedons plaines, of prifoners Hotspur tooke 70
 Mordake Earle of Fife, and eldest sonne
 To beaten Douglas, and the Earle of Athol,
 Of Murrey, Angus, and Menteith . 73

70 Holmedons] Holmedon Qs-s, Thirlby MS., Walker (1860).

plaines,] plaines Qs, Cap, Var '78, '85, Ran, Mal, Steev., Varr, Sing 1, Knt, Coll, Huds, Del, Dyce, Sta, Hal plaines Qs-s. Plaines Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob, Han, Warb, Johns, Sing. ii, Cam, Ktly, Wh ii plain. Thirlby MS, Var '73 plaines, Wh 1

71. Mordake] Murdoch Tud.

Earle] the Earl Pope, Theob, Han., Warb., Johns, Cap, Varr, Steev., Var. '03, '13, Sta, Cam, Glo, Dyce ii, iii, Hal ii, Ktly, Huds ii, Wh ii, Rlf, Ox., Ard.

and eldest] and the eldest T J. (1721) the regent's Ran.

72-73.] Unto the beaten Douglas, and the Earls/Of Athol, Murry, Angus, and Menteith. Han. To beaten Douglas; and with him the earls/Of

Athol, etc Cap To beaten Douglas, and the earls/Athol, Murray, etc Var '73. To beaten Douglas, and the earls/Of Athol, etc. Var '78, '85 The beaten Douglas, and the earls/Of Athol, etc Ran. To beaten Douglas, and the earls of Athol, /Of Murray, and of Angus and Menteith Ktly.

72 To] The Theob (conj), assuming that a line has been lost before 72 Earle] Earls T J. (1721), Pope, Theob, Han., Warb., Johns, Cap, Varr., Ran., Steev, Varr., Sing., Huds, Dyce, Hal, Wh. ii, Ktly, Coll. iii, Ox

Athol] Athole Tud

73. Of] The earls of Seymour. Murrey] Marry F2-4 Moray Tud.

Angus] and Angus Vaughan.

Menteith] the bold Menteith Coll. MS

common in Scotland today to hear people talk of blood barking upon a wound.—WHITE (*Sh Scholar*, 1854): How can there be the least hesitation in changing the obvious misprint *balkt* to *balk'd*?—WHITE (ed 1859). Probably *balk'd*; or, more probably, *bark'd*. . . . See *Guy Mannering* (ed. 1857, p. 202): "the best way's to let the blood barken on the wound."—T. F. F. (*Notes and Queries*, Jan 31, 1885). *Bark'd*, cf *Hamlet*, I, v, 71. "And a most instant tetter bark'd about . . . All my smooth body" This is the reading of the Qq, though we get the alternative, *bak'd*, in the Ff.—NICHOLSON (*Notes and Queries*, May 9, 1885). *Balk'd*, in whichever of two cognate senses we take it, exactly expresses the result of such a sanguinary battle. . . . Such slaughter must have resulted not in heaps, but in ridges, of the dead, . . . ridged in a solid mass by coagulated blood.

70-73. prisoners . . . Menteith] THEOBALD (*Letter to Warburton*, Jan. 13, 1729/30): There is one historical difficulty in this speech which I cannot get over without your accurate and sagacious assistance: "Mordake, the Earl of Fife, and eldest son" Now my first question is, are two distinct persons here spoken of, or is Mordake described as both Earl of Fife and son to Douglas? But Mordake was a Stewart, and eldest son to Duke Robert, governor of the realm. . . . Then who is this eldest son to beaten Douglas? Hotspur took Archibald, Earl of Douglas, himself prisoner at Holmedon. . . . He is the Douglas, and is so called a few lines backward. . . . Douglas who is taken prisoner and is earl himself would hardly be described as the eldest son of his

[71. Earle]

dead father, Douglas, who had been formerly defeated by the English. I almost suspect that a line is lost, by which Mordake is described as eldest son of Duke Robert, Governor of Scotland, and that then we ought to read [in line 72] "the beaten Douglas," for in the list of prisoners taken, Douglas is mentioned second by both Hall and Holingshead. "and of the prisoners among others were these, Mordake Earl of Fife, son to Governor Archembald Earl of Douglas, which in the fight lost one of his eyes, Thomas Earl of Murrey, &c." Thus the quotation stands in honest Holingshead; and, upon second thought, a comma being omitted after the word Governor, might not our poet take the blunder of the press upon trust, and think Earl Douglas was the Governor and that Mordake was his son?—But then another difficulty arises, that, though Douglas was said to be beaten, we have no account of his being one of the prisoners. I must not leave this question without reminding you of two other passages in the play, which, whether they will clear up or embarrass, ought to come into view, they are [I, iii, 259–262], where we have mention of Douglas' son, by which it would seem the poet means the earl himself [*Letter torn*] and [III, ii, 112–115]. Here I have guessed *ta'en his son* for *ta'en him once*, for it is not true that Hotspur thrice defeated the same Douglas. He killed one Douglas in the 11th of Richard II; he defeated [*Letter torn*] in the 1st of Henry IV, and he took this descendant [*Letter torn*].—CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779). It may perhaps be right to give historical truth to both these passages [I, i, 70–73 and I, iii, 261] which may be done by reading the first of them thus "Prisoners to Hotspur are Mordake the earl of Fife, and he himself The beaten Douglas; and with him etc." And the other "And make the regent's son your only mean, etc."—STEEVENS (Var. ed 1778). The want of a comma after *governor* in Holinshead's account makes the words *Mordake . . . Douglas* appear to be the description of one and the same person, and so the poet understood them; but by putting the stop in the proper place it will be manifest that Mordake . . . was the first prisoner, and that Archibald, Earl of Douglas, was the second.—BOSWELL-STONE (*Sh's Holinshed*, 1896, p. 132). The Governor, or Regent, of Scotland was Robert Steward, Duke of Albany, whose eldest son was "Mordake earl of Fife." As in the play Murdach Steward is called "eldest son" it would seem as if Shakespeare must have known one or both of the excerpts relating to the battle of Homildon, which I quote from Holinshead's *History of Scotland*. "In this army there was with the Dowglas, Murdocke (eldest sonne to Duke Robert) earle of Fife, Thomas erle of Murrey, George earle of Angus"; and "Archembald earle of Dowglas, Murdocke Steward, eldest son to duke Robert the governor, George earle of Angus . . . were taken prisoners"—AX (*Rel of Sh to Hol*, 1912, p. 16): In naming Mordake, Earl of Fife, and, separate from him, the Earl of Menteith, Shakespeare repeated Holinshead's mistake, who names the earls of Athol and Menteith, after speaking of Mordake, Earl of Fife, who was also Earl of Menteith.

71. Earle] MALONE (ed. 1790): *Earl* is used as a dissyllable. Mr. Pope, not perceiving this, reads *the Earl*.—RITSON (*Cursory Crit*, 1792): Mr. Pope could no more have conceived Shakespeare capable of writing such a line than he could have written it himself: these discoveries were reserved for a second-sighted Hibernian.—CHEDWORTH (*Notes on Obscure Passages*, 1805): I do not

And is not this an honorable spoile ?

A gallant prize ? Ha coofen, is it not ? In faith it is 75/76
West. A conquest for a Prince to boast of.

King. Yea, there thou makst me fad, and makst me sinne
 In enuy, that my Lord Northumberland
 Should be the father to so blest a sonne : 80
 A sonne, who is the theame of honors tongue,
 Amongst a groue, the very straightest plant,
 Who is sweet fortunes minion and her pride,
 Whilst I by looking on the praise of him
 See ryot and dishonour stain the brow 85

76, 77. *In faith...boast of.* Qq, Ff, *West.* *In faith, it is a conquest for a*
 Rowe, Knt. ii (conj). *West.* *In prince/To boast of.* Mal. *West.*
faith, a conquest.. boast of. Pope, *In faith,/It is a conquest for a Prince*
 Theob., Han., Warb., Johns. *West.* *to boast of.* Steev., et cet.
It is a conquest...boast of. Cap., Var. 80. *to* of Qs., Ff., +, Cap., Varr.,
 '73. *West.* *'Faith, 'tis a conquest..* Ran., Mal., Steev., Var. '03, '13,
boast of. Var. '78, '85, Ran., Huds., Sing. i, Knt., Del., Wh. 1, Hal. ii.
 Coll. MS., Coll. ii, Dyce ii (conj).

know how to pronounce *Earl* as a dissyllable—BOSWELL (Var. ed. 1821):
 Without reading *Earl* as a dissyllable, the line will not be more defective than
 many which occur.

72. *Earle of Athol*] FRENCH (*Sh. Genealog*, 1869): At the date of the battle
 of Holmedon, there was virtually no Earl of Athol, that dignity having been
 resigned to the crown in 1341. . . . There is, however, in Rymer's *Foedera*, a
 safe-conduct granted to Walter Stewart, Earl of Athol and Caithness, dated
 June 8, 1404

73. *Menteith*] COWL (ed. 1914): One of the titles of Murdach Earl of Fife.
 In making two persons of one Shakespeare follows Holinshed.

76. *In . . . is.*] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): In the first and best quarto these
 words stand at some distance from [*Ha coosen, is it not?*], a circumstance that
 was but lately attended to, which leads the editor now to imagine that they
 might be designed for line 77, which should finish, then, at *Prince* the king's
 reflection which follows is rather more apposite to such a conclusion; and the
 line itself accords better with the generality of those in the play, being what
 the grammarians call acatalectic, or having nothing redundant.—CAMBRIDGE
 EDITORS (1864). Dr. Nicholson proposes: "A gallant prize? Ha, cousin, is it
 not, in faith? *West.* It is a conquest, etc." For, he says, "in faith" sounds too
 familiar to be addressed by a subject to a king.

78-90.] HUDSON (ed. 1852): Where are we to find the center and the vital
 unity of this play? What is the "key-note" which guides and controls its
 harmonies? Doubtless it is to be sought in the character of the Prince of
 Wales, and in the wonderful change alleged to have taken place in his behavior.
 . . . Accordingly, in the very first scene this matter is put before us as upper-
 most in the king's mind.

83. *minion*] See note on I, ii, 25.

Of my young Harry. O that it could be prou'd 86
 That some night tripping fairy had exchang'd,
 In cradle clothes our children where they lay,
 And cald mine Percy, his Plantagenet,
 Then would I haue his Harry, and he mine : 90
 But let him from my thoughts. What think you coofe
 Of this young Percies pride ? The prifoners
 Which he in this aduenture hath furprizd
 To his own vfe, he keepes and fends me word
 I fhall haue none but Mordake Earle of Fife. 95

86. *that it could*] *could it* Pope, *Coz* Rowe, et seq, with the exception
 Theob., Han., Warb., Johns. of. *Cousin* Pope, Theob., Han., Warb.,

87. *tripping*] *tripling* Theob. iv. Johns., Var. '73.

88. *lay*] *say* Q₂.

89. *cald*] *call* Warb.

91. *coose*] *Cuz* Q₇Q₈. *Coze* Ff.

93, 94 *surprizd...use*,] *surpriz'd.. use*
 Q₃, et seq

86-90 O . . . mine] KNIGHT (ed. 1839). But, say the critics, the king was thirty-five years old at the battle of Holmedon, and his wish was very absurd, for Hotspur was born in 1366, and Prince Henry some twenty years later. Everything in its place! We desire the utmost exactness in matters where exactness is required. Let History proper give us dates to the very hour; but let Poetry be allowed to break the bands by which she would be earth-bound. When Shakespeare shows us the ambitious, irascible, self-willed, but high-minded and noble Hotspur, and places in contrast the thoughtless, good-tempered, yielding, witty, but brave and chivalrous Henry, we have no desire to be reminded that characters so alike in the energy of youth have been incorrectly approximated in their ages by the poet.—COWL (*Sources of Henry IV*, 1928, p. 36): Daniel, *Civil Wars*, 1595; IV, 34 "young Hotspur" Henry Percy was 39 at the date of the battle of Shrewsbury. The Prince was born in August, 1387. Cf. III, ii, 103.

92-95. The prisoners . . . Fife.] TOLLET (Var. ed. 1778): Percy had an exclusive right to these prisoners, except the Earl of Fife. By the law of arms, every man who had taken any captive whose exemption did not exceed 10,000 crowns had him clearly for himself, either to acquit or ransom.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): Percy could not refuse the Earl of Fife to the king, for being a prince of the blood royal, son to the Duke of Albany, brother to King Robert III, Henry might justly claim him by acknowledged military prerogative.—COURTENAY (*Com. on Hist. Plays of Sh.*, 1840): The denial of prisoners . . . is mentioned by Holinshed on the authority of Hardyng, who says that Northumberland gave up his prisoner, the Earl of Fife, "but Sir Henry, his son, then would not bring His prisoners in no wise to the king" As a follower of the Percies, Hardyng is entitled to credit on this point, but the king's demand of the prisoners does not appear among the alleged causes of the rebellion, nor is it dwelt on by other writers of the time. The only official document with which I am acquainted prohibits the captors from permitting their prisoners to

West. This is his vnclcs teaching. This is Worcester, 96
 Maleuolent to you in all aspects,
 Which makes him prune himfelfe, and bristle vp 98

97. *aspects*] *respects* Deryng MS, 98 *prune*] *plume* Han, Warb,
 Thirby MS. Johns

return to Scofland on ransom, but does not require the persons or value of the prisoners (Rymer, viii, 278 Writ directed to the two Percies and others, 22 Sept. 1402).

96, 97.] See Appendix: Sources of the Plot. Holinshed.—COURTENAY (*Com on Hist. Plays*, 1840): Shakespeare imputes a peculiar degree of hostility to Worcester. . . . Hardyng says that the three Percies jointly endeavoured to persuade Henry not to assume the crown, and makes no distinction between them. . . . Holinshed calls Worcester "the procurer and setter forth of all the mischief." . . . This is copied from Walsingham, but he only says,—"*inventor (ut dicitur) totius mali.*"—AX (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol*, 1912, p. 17). That Worcester should, immediately after the battle, have given his kinsman counsel not to deliver the prisoners seems to me unlikely. According to Holinshed (III, 23) and the dramatist himself (II, iv, 333), the earl was in London at the time of the battle, and did not leave until a short time before the battle of Shrewsbury. [The "Worcester is stolne away tonight" of II, iv, 333 indicates nothing as to his whereabouts at the time of the battle of Holmedon.—ED.] . . . In reality the whole affair is likely to have happened at a far slower pace than represented by Shakespeare. . . . In III, 21, Holinshed says, after speaking of the siege of the Castle of Cocklawes which Hotspur undertook after the battle of Holmedon, "the first two months passed and no likelihood of rescue on the part of the Scotch appeared, but ere the third month expired, the Englishmen, sent for to go with the king into Wales, raised the siege . . . leaving the noblemen prisoners with the Earl of Northumberland and with his son the Lord Percy." Three months after the battle there was no question of the non-surrender of the prisoners. . . . (p. 18). In the course of the ensuing winter, Worcester, who according to Holinshed (III, 22) did give his relations advice to retain the prisoners, may have sent a secret message to Northumberland.

97. Maleuolent . . . aspects] HENLEY (Var. ed 1785): An astrological allusion. Worcester is represented as the malignant star that influenced the conduct of Hotspur.—N. E. D. (1888): Aspect,—the way in which the planets look upon each other, transferred to their joint look upon the earth. The astrological sense is the earliest.

aspects] ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, p. 388): [Ben Jonson holds] that all verbs coming from the Latin . . . hold the accent as it is found in the first person of those Latin verbs [and that] all dissyllabic nouns . . . when they are regarded as derived from verbs are accented on the second syllable. . . . Aspect: "There would he anchor his aspect and die" (*Antony and Cleopatra*, I, v, 33); "Than in a nuncio's of more grave aspect" (*Twelfth Night*, I, iv, 27).—N. E. D. (1888): Accented aspect by Sh., Milton, and Swift.

98. *prune*] GREY (*Remarks upon a Late Edition*, 1751) accuses Warburton of implying, by his note "To this the Oxford Editor gives his fiat," that the reading *plume* originated with him and not with "the Oxford editor," Hanmer.

The crest of youth against your dignity.

King. But I have sent for him to answer this : 100

And for this cause a while we must neglect

Our holy purpose to Jerusalem. 102

—HEATH (*Reversal of Sh. Text*, 1765, p. 243). Mr. Warburton assures us [that the reading should be *plume*] with as much confidence as if he had stood at Shakespeare's elbow. I cannot help being a little doubtful. I even more than doubt whether Mr. Warburton has not mistaken the poet's meaning. According to his reading it is Worcester's malevolence that makes him plume himself, *i. e.*, think highly of his own worth. But this is quite reversing the order of nature, and putting the effect for the cause . . . Let us see if we cannot make better sense of the despised common reading . . . *prune*. It is well known that birds prune their feathers with their bills to make them lie smooth and even. The sense then is, Worcester's malevolence makes him prune his feathers in order to carry a fair outside, and hide from discovery his being ruffled, at the same time that he bristles up the crest of youth, or eggs on young Hotspur, to insult your dignity.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): I am not so confident as those two editors [Hanmer and Warburton]. The metaphor is taken from a cock who, in his pride, prunes himself, *i. e.*, picks off loose feathers to smooth the rest. *Plume* and *prune*, spoken of a bird, is the same. N. E. D. (1909): Prune: to plume oneself, pride oneself. [Is it not Worcester's teaching which makes *Hotspur*, not Worcester, prune himself?—ED.]

99 crest] N. E. D. (1893). Comb, tuft of feathers or the like, on an animal's head, used figuratively as a symbol of pride

100.] COWL (ed. 1914). This is not according to Holinshed.

101, 102.] AX (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol.*, 1912, p. 18.): All these deviations from Holinshed [see Ax's notes, *supra*.—ED.] are scarcely perceptible; but there is another deviation, not from Holinshed but from the logical action of the play itself . . . The king's plan to go to Jerusalem presupposes an entirely appeased political situation. . . . Therefore if his first speech is to be taken as sincere, the king must not know of Mortimer's defeat nor of Hotspur's victory. The victory was, indeed, an additional ground for undertaking the crusade, but the news of Hotspur's denying the prisoners . . . was sufficient to annihilate the other plan. The king does not know of Glendower's victory; that is certain. [It seems practically certain that he *does* know of Glendower's victory, and that throughout the scene he is playing the part of innocent ignorance; see note on I, i, 62 ff.—ED.] And he does not seem to have had any knowledge of the battle of Holmedon when Westmoreland ceases speaking. . . . But he must have spoken already to Blunt; for he tells us all the details of the battle, and praises Hotspur. . . . Then, on a sudden, he calls Hotspur proud (we find the transition from praise to blame very abrupt) . . . and finishes by saying that he *has sent* for him to answer this. . . . Consequently, the reason why the holy purpose to Jerusalem could not be performed was already existent in the king's knowledge before he uttered his very first words, and these therefore cease to appear any longer sincere. These irregularities are far from injuring the beauty of the play, . . . they cannot be discovered on the stage, they are only to be found by reading word by word, . . . and these dramas were not intended to be read.

Coofen on wednesday next our councel we wil hold

At Windfore, fo informe the Lords :

104

But come your selfe with fpeed to vs againe,

For more is to be said and to be done,

Then out of anger can be vttered.

West. I will my liege.

Exeunt. 108

[*Scæna Secunda*]

Enter prince of Wales, and Sir Iohn Falstaffe.

Falst. Now *Hal*, what time of day is it lad ?

Prince. Thou art fo fat-witted with drinking of olde

2

103, 104. *Coosen ..Windsore,* Qq, Ff, Rowe. *On Wednesday next our councel we will hold/At Windsor, cousin;* Cap. (conj) *Cousin, on Wednesday next, our Councel we/Will hold at Windsor;* T. J. (1721), Pope, et cet.

104. *so] and so Ff.*

informe] informer Q₁

106 *said...done] done...said* Anon. (Cam. ed)

107. *vttered] utter'd* Johns.

108.] Om. Seymour.

Scæna Secunda] Ff. Om. Qq.

SCENE II. Rowe, Pope. Scene, an Apartment of the Prince's Theob

SCENE II. An Apartment of the Prince's Han, et seq, with many minor variations (e. g., SCENE II Another Room in the Palace. Cap., Mal.) and a few more radical changes (e. g., SCENE II. The Same An

Apartment in a Tavern. Sta. SCENE II London The Painted Tavern in the Vintry Hal. i. SCENE II. The Same. Before a Tavern. Dyce ii, iii SCENE II The Same. A Street. Coll iii)

prince of Wales] Qq, Cap., Cam., Glo, Rlf., Tud., Ard. Henry Prince of Wales Ff, et seq., with the following exceptions. Prince Henry Huds., Dyce, Wh, Hal.

and. *Falstaffe]* Sir Iohn Falstaffe, and Pointz. Ff.

Sir Iohn] Om. Mal., Coll., Huds., Del., Dyce, Hal., Cam., Glo., Rlf., Tud, Ox., Ard.

Falstaffe] *Falstafte* Q₂₋₄ [The various spellings of Falstaff's name are not noted hereafter. In Q₁ the spelling *Falstafte* prevails.]

2. *of]* Om. Pope, Theob., Han., Warb, Johns., Var. '73.

103, 104.] See Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Holinshed.

106, 107.] JOHNSON (ed. 1765) 'More is to be said than anger will suffer me to say' more than can issue from a mind disturbed like mine.

106, 108.] COWL (ed 1914): If we adopt Seymour's proposal [for line 108], and that anonymously made in the Cambridge Shakespeare [for line 106], the scene will conclude with the conventional riming couplet.

I, ii.] DELIUS (*Die Prosa in Sh. Dramen*, 1870): The striking contrast between the serious and the comic elements of the plot is sharply marked by Shakespeare's use of verse and prose. The language of the Prince of Wales, now prose, now verse, marks his connection with each of the constituent parts of the play. Note particularly his use of verse at the serious close of comic

facke, and vnbuttoning thee after fupper, and sleeping
 vpon benches after noone ; that thou haft forgotten to de- 4
 maunde that truelie which thou wouldest truelie knowe.
 What a diuell haft thou to do with the time of the daie ? 6

4 *after noone*] in the *afternoone* Ff, Johns., Wh. i. *after-noon* Ran.
 Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han, Warb., 6 *a*] *the Sing* i, Huds.

scenes. The prose which rules the Falstaff scenes maintains consistently a grace and finish, a vivacity and life, unequalled elsewhere. A brilliant example is the opening conversation of I, ii. This brilliant prose is contrasted with the ordinary language of stable-boys in II, i — ELTON (ed. 1889, p. xvi). The distinction between verse and prose is marked almost too rigidly. By the time of *Hamlet*, Shakespeare has gained much more respect for prose, and uses it for much higher purposes.

Scene-heading] STAUNTON (ed. 1858). According to modern editions this scene takes place in a room of the king's palace. Now, not to dwell on the improbability of the Prince of Wales surrounding himself with vulgar companions . . . in such a place, we are compelled to infer that he was not in the habit of making the Court his home. In the last act of *Richard II*, the king asks, "Can no one tell me of my unthrifty son? 'Tis full three months since I did see him last." And in a subsequent scene of the present play [II, iv, 403], when Falstaff personates the monarch, one of his enquiries, founded upon his knowledge of the prince's habits, is, "Where hast thou been this month?" — HALLIWELL (ed. 1859): The stage-direction, *The Painted Tavern in the Vintry*, is conjectural. . . . See what is said as to the prince's habits in *Richard II*, and his father's statement [*Ibid.*, V, iii] that he daily frequented the London taverns, such as "stand in narrow lanes." A room in one of these taverns, not the Boar's Head [for cf. line 150] appears best adapted to the context here. The painted Tavern is selected because it is in one of those localities mentioned by Stowe as the resort of the princes — CLARKE (Globe ed. 1864): We learn from tradition that the prince had a mansion, called Cold Harbour, granted to him as Prince of Wales, not far from Eastcheap. [It is safe to assume that the exact location of this scene was, to Shakespeare, a matter of no importance. — ED.]

I-152.] COLERIDGE (*Lect. and Notes*, 1818). In this, the first introduction of Falstaff, observe the consciousness and the intentionality of his wit, so that when it does not flow of its own accord, its absence is felt and an effort is visibly made to recall it. Note also, throughout, how Falstaff's pride is gratified in the power of influencing a prince of the blood . . . by means of his wit.

I-12.] VOLTAIRE (*Dict. Phil.*, 1765, v, 105). In Corneille we should never find such a charmingly natural conversation between a prince of the blood, heir to the throne, and a general [*sic*] of the army. . . . How has Bishop Warburton refrained from blushing in commenting on the infamous grossness of this passage? — GENTLEMAN (*Introd.* to Bell's ed., 1773): Though there does not appear much solid matter in this conversation between the prince and his fat favorite, yet it seems to open their characters with such equivocal oddity that it cannot fail to entertain.

vnles houres were cups of facke, and minutes capons, and
 clockes the tongues of Baudes, and Dialles the signes of 8
 leaping houfes, and the bleffed funne himfelfe a faire hot
 wench in flame-couloured taffata ; I fee no reafon why 10
 thou fhouldft be fo fuperfluous to demaunde the time of the
 day.

Falst Indeeде you come neere me nowe *Hal*, for wee
 that take purfes go by the moone and the feuen ftars, and 14

11. so] Om Q₂₋₃
 13. come] came F₂₋₄

14. and the] and Q₂, s, Ff, +, Cap.,
 Varr, Ran., Mal., Steev, Varr,
 Sing, Knt., Hal. ii

1. what . . . lad? TILLEY (*Jour. Eng. and Ger. Phil.*, 1918 and 1925) suggests that this question takes an additional significance in the light of the Puritans' attitude toward proper employment of time, and asserts that it was also used, in Elizabethan times, to indicate tardiness of apprehension on the part of the person questioned. He compares Falstaff's question here with *As You Like It*, III, ii, 283 and with *Love's Labour's Lost*, II, i, 127; and he quotes the *New English Dictionary*: to know what o'clock it is—to know the real state of things.

3. sacke] Cf. note on I, ii, 108, Sacke . . . Sugar.

4, 5 forgotten . . . knowe] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): The prince's objection seemed to be that Falstaff had asked him in the *night* the time of *day*.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778). This cannot be received as the objection of the prince; for presently the prince says: "Good morrow, Ned," and Poins replies "Good morrow . . .". The truth may be that Shakespeare had forgot that the scene commenced at night. [But what evidence is there that the scene commenced at night? The "good morrows" cited by Steevens would indicate that if Shakespeare had any time-scheme in mind, he thought of this scene as occurring in the morning. Moreover, the robbery at Gadshill is to occur "to morrow morning by foure a clocke" (lines 119, 120), and the journey to Gadshill will consume at least eighteen hours. That there is confusion in the time-scheme is shown by lines 153, 154, "ride with us tomorrow," not "ride with us today, at once!" and by lines 183, 184, "meete me tomorrow night in Eastcheape, there ile sup," in which speech the prince seems to forget that the robbery is to occur at once. In this opening conversation, however, the prince and Falstaff are merely literally passing the time of day, and Shakespeare uses this light conversation as an opportunity for sketching the tastes and habits of Falstaff.—ED.]

8, 9 Dialles . . . leaping houses] COKE (*Institutes*, ed. 1644, Pt. III, cap. xcvi, p. 205). *Brothel-houses*. . . Before the reign of Henry VII there were eighteen of these infamous houses, . . . afterwards twelve only were permitted, and had signs painted on their walls; as a Boares Head, the Cross Keyes, the Gun, the Castle, the Crane, the Cardinal's Hat, the Bell, the Swan, etc. [See note, I, ii, 40, RUSSETON.—ED.]

10. flame-couloured taffata] COWL (ed. 1914): An allusion to red gowns worn

not by *Phæbus*, he, that wandring knight so faire · and I
prethe fweet wag when thou art a king, as God faue thy 16
grace · maieftie I should fay, for grace thou wilt haue none.

16. *prethe*] *prethee* Q₃₋₈. *prythee* spellings of this phrase are not noted
F₁. *pray thee* F₂₋₄, +, Cap, Varr., hereafter]
Ran, Mal, Steev, Varr, Sing, i, Hal. a] Om. Q₂, et seq.
ii. *prythee* Knt., Dyce, Hal. i, Cam, 17. *none*] Qq, Ff, Rowe i., Cap.
Wh. ii. *pr'ythee* Coll., Huds., Del., *none*—Rowe ii, et cet.
Sing. ii, Sta, Wh. i. [The various

by courtezans. Cf. *Ram Alley*, IV, i, where a bawd sues a courtesan for the loan of a red taffeta gown. Also *All's Well*, II, ii, 20.

14. go by] COWL (ed. 1914): Tell the time by So, Davenport, *King John and Mahilda*, I, ii "When our dials retrograde do run, We leave to look on them and go by the sun "

seuen stars] HALLIWELL (ed. 1859): The seven planets. . . The Seven Stars was formerly a tavern-sign.—HUDSON (ed. 1880): Probably the constellation Pleiades—COWL (ed. 1914): See Minshew "the Pleiades or seven stars," and Dekker, *King's Entertainment* (Pearson, i, 324): "the Moone, Sunne, and the seauene Starres, called the Pleiades "

15 Phœbus . . . faire] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): A line of an old ballad.—STEEVENS (Var ed. 1785). Falstaff starts with the idea of Phœbus, the sun; but deviates into an allusion to *El Donzel del Febo*, the knight of the Sun in a Spanish romance, translated, under the title *The Mirror of Knighthood*, in the age of Shakespeare. This illustrious personage was "most excellently faire" and a great *wanderer*, as those who travel after him through three thick volumes will discover. Perhaps the words "that wandring knight so faire" are part of some forgotten ballad, the subject of this marvellous hero's adventures.—DOUCE (*Illustr. of Sh.*, 1807, i, 415): It is possible that Falstaff may refer to another person, particularly known by the name of The Wandering Knight, the hero of a spiritual romance translated from the French in Shakespeare's time by William Goodyear. . . In all probability John Bunyan used this work in the composition of *Pilgrim's Progress*.—DRAKE (*Sh and his Times*, 1817). The romance [mentioned by Steevens] . . . is the subject of the barber's eulogium in *Don Quixote*.—COLLIER (*Notes and Emend.*, 1852). If doubt were entertained that these words were a quotation, it would be set at rest by the circumstance that they are underscored, as is usual in such cases, by the old corrector.—ANDERS (*Sh.'s Books*, 1904, p. 75) Though distinguished scholars concur with Steevens, I cannot but demur to this view. . . Why should not the sun be likened to a knight-errant—an idea which would seem simple and natural enough in those days when the sun was reckoned as a planet or wandering star?—COWL (ed. 1914): Cf. *The Return from Parnassus*, Part II, III, iv: "You, grandsire Phœbus, with your louely eye, The firmament's eternall vagabond."

17-20. grace] CAMDEN (*Remains*, 1605, ed. 1870, p. 169): Amongst us the Kings had these adjuncts . . . Our liege lord, Our sovereign, &c. . . As for Grace, it began about the time of Henry IV; . . . Majesty, in the time of Henry VIII.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765, *Pref.*): A quibble is to Shakespeare what luminous

Prince. What none? 18

Falst. No by my troth, not so much as will serue to bee
prologue to an egge and butter. 20

Prin. Wel, how then? come roundly, roundly.

Falst. Marry then fweet wag, when thou art king let
not vs that are squiers of the nights bodie, bee called
theeves of the daies beauty let vs be *Dianaes* forrefters, 24

18. *What none*] *What, none* or
What! none Q:Qs, Ff., et seq.

19 *by my troth*] Om. Ff, Rowe.

21. *come roundly*] *come, roundly*
Theob., et seq

23. *bodie*] *beauty* Daniel (1870),
Vaughan

24. *beauty*] *booty* Theob., Han.,
Warb., Quin MS., Acting Version
1763, Johns., Daniel (1870), Vaughan.

vapours are to the traveller, he follows it at all adventures; it is sure to lead him out of his way, and sure to engulf him in the mire. It has some malignant power over his mind, and its fascinations are irresistible . . . A quibble, poor and barren as it is, gave him such delight that he was content to purchase it by the sacrifice of reason, propriety, and truth—PRIESTLEY (*Lectures*, 1777, p. 224) The word *grace* is used in three senses in this passage, and it is true that the three ideas signified by it have no real resemblance . . . Yet since the resemblance in expression seems to be sufficient to make the difference in sense very striking and diverting, it seems to be enough to entitle it to the name of Wit.

20. *egge and butter*] STEEVENS (ed. 1793, note on II, i, 56): It appears from *The Household Book of the Fifth Earl of Northumberland* that buttered eggs was the usual breakfast of my Lord and Lady during Lent.—COWL (ed. 1914): Typical Friday or Lenten fare. . . . The Puritans, who introduced long graces before and after meat, had no mind to fasting and detested an egg and butter as a dish tainted with popery.

21. *then*] HUNTER (ed. 1871) suggests that this may refer back to "when thou art a king" in line 16.

roundly] N. E. D. (1914): Plainly, outspokenly.

23, 24. *vs . . . beauty*] THEOBALD (ed. 1733): I have ventured to substitute Booty for Beauty [suggestion first made by Theob., in letter to Warb., Jan. 13, 1729/30.—ED.], and this I take to be the meaning: Let not us be called Thieves, the purloiners of that Booty, which, to the proprietors, was the purchase of honest labour by Day—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1785): "Let not us that are body-squires to the night, i.e., adorn the night, be called a disgrace to the day." To take away the beauty of the day may properly mean to disgrace it. A squire of the body signified the attendant on a knight.—MALONE (Steev. ed. 1793) There is a pun on the word beauty, which in the western counties is pronounced nearly in the same manner as booty.—WHITE (ed. 1859). Quite generally in Shakespeare's day *body* and *beauty* were, in their vowel sounds, pronounced alike—both of them having in their first syllable the pure or name sound of *o*, and *booty* having also that sound. [We have first the obvious pun on *night* and *knight*, "squires of the (k)night's body"; followed by the more

gentlemen of the shade, minions of the moone, and let men
 lay wee be men of good gouernement, being gouerned as 26
 the fea is, by our noble and chafte mistresse the moone,
 vnder whole countenaunce we steale.

Prince. Thou saiest well, and it holds wel to, for the
 fortune of vs that are the moones men, doth ebbe and flow 30
 like the fea, being gouerned as the fea is by the moone, as
 for prooffe. Now a purfe of gold most resolutely fnatcht
 on Munday night and most dissolutely spent on tuesday
 morning, got with fwearing, lay by, and spent with crying, 34

28 *we steale*] *we—steal* Pope, +, 32. *prooffe* Now] Q₁₋₆, Ff, Knt.
 Cap., Varr., Ran, Mal., Steev., *prooffe* Now Q₇Q₈, Cap *proof* now:
 Varr, Sing, Huds., Sta., Hal. ii, Coll., Huds., Del., Wh 1., Ox. *proof*,
 Ktly. now Rowe, et cet.
 29 *to*] *too* Q₂, et seq. 34. *lay by*] *Layd* by F₂₋₄, Rowe,
 31. *moone*] *Moone*, Q₁₋₈. *Moone*: T. J. (1710). *lug out* Han.
 Ff. *Moon*. Rowe, et seq.

complicated pun, which depends upon Elizabethan pronunciation, *body*, *beauty*, *booty*.—Ed.]

24. *Dianaes forresters*] HENDERSON (Var. ed. 1785): "Exile and slander are justly me awarded, My wife and heir lack lands and lawful right, And me their lord made dame Diana's knight";—so lamenteth Thos. Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, in *The Mirror for Magistrates*.—MALONE (ed. 1790). We learn from Hall that certain persons who appeared as foresters in a pageant in the reign of Henry VIII were called Diana's knights—ROOT (*Classical Mythology in Sh.*, 1903, p. 51). It is as patroness and type of chastity that Shakespeare most often alludes to Diana. . . . Next in frequency are the allusions to her as moon-goddess. . . . Diana as huntress, frequenter of groves, the center of a band of nymphs, appears but little in the authentic plays. . . . The earliest allusion is in *I Henry IV*.

25 *minions* . . . *moone*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1803): As Dr. Farmer observes, Gamaliel Ratsey and his company [of outlaws] "became servants to the moone, for the sunne was too hot for them."

minions] ELTON (ed. 1889): Servants; *Fr.* *mignon*.—N. E. D (1908): One specially favored or beloved.

28. *countenaunce*] COWL (ed. 1914): With a play on the double meaning of countenance, viz, face and patronage.

29. *it . . . wel*] COWL (ed. 1914): "The simile is apt."

34. *lay by*] Warburton (ed. 1747): Swearing at the passengers they robbed, "lay by your arms"; or, rather, a phrase that signified "stand still"—CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779). "Stand!" the salute of a robber.—STEEVENS (ed. 1793): A phrase adopted from navigation signifying by slacking sail to become stationary.—HALLIWELL (ed. 1859) quotes a correspondent who suggests that both *lay by* and *bring in* are sea-terms. [Note the continuance of nautical imagery in lines 35, 36.—Ed.]—HUDSON (ed. 1880): Perhaps a term used by highway-

bring in, now in as low an ebbe as the foot of the ladder,
and by and by in as high a flow as the ridge of the gal- 36
lowes.

Falst. By the Lord thou faust true lad, and is not my
hostesse of the tauerne a most sweet wench? 39

36. *ridge*] *ride* F₂₋₄, Rowe i. *Tide* 38. *By the Lord*] Om Ff, Rowe,
Rowe ii. Knt.

38-54. *and apparant*] Om Words- *my*] *mine* Pope, Theob., Han.,
worth (1883). Warb, Johns, Var. '73.

men to each other while waiting for their victims, and meant "be still" or
"stand close."

35. *bring in*] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): "Bring in t'other bottle," an expression
of jollity.

38. *By . . . Lord*] [The omission of this and similar phrases in the text of the
First Folio is to be explained by the Act of Parliament here appended.—ED.]

3 Jac. I, c., 21. An Acte to Restraine the Abuse of Players. (1605-6)

For the preventing and avoyding the greate Abuses of the Holy Name of
God in Stageplayes . . . Be it enacted . . . That if at any tyme . . . any person
doe or shall in any Stageplay jestingly or prophanely speake or use the Holy
Name of God or of Jesus Christe or of the Holy Ghoste or of the Trinitie, which
are not to be spoken but with feare and reverence, shall forfeit for everie of-
fence . . . Ten Pound . . .

38-50] THEOBALD (*Letter to Warburton*, Jan. 30, 1729/30). This manner of
cross-questioning is not unlike several passages in Plautus, particularly the
Mostellaria, I, iii.—FARMER (Var. ed. 1773, App. II, vol. x): In the *Gallathea*
of Lyly, Phillida says: "It is a pity that nature framed you not a woman.
Gall. There is a tree in Tylos. *Phil.* What a toy to tell me of a tree, being
nothing to the purpose." Ben Jonson calls it a game of vapours.—SREEVENS
(ed. 1793) It is the want of connection to what went before that constitutes
the humour of the prince's question [in line 41].

38, 39. *is . . . wench*] HALLIWELL (ed. 1859). He does not here necessarily
refer to Mrs. Quickly, but perhaps to the hostess of the inn they were then
near, although in *The Famous Victories*, a "pretty wench in Eastcheap" is
alluded to.—ACHESON (*Sh's Lost Years*, 1920, p. 203): In *Henry IV, Pt. I*, the
hostess of the tavern is referred to as a young and beautiful person. . . . In
Part II, she is represented as Mistress Quickly, an old, unattractive, and gar-
rulous widow. In *Part I* she is mentioned only once (III, iii, 88) as Mistress
Quickly. This single mention is evidently an interpolation made at the time
of the revision of the play in 1597.

38. *my*] ABBOTT (*Sh. Grammar*, 1870, p. 160): Though there are many ex-
ceptions, the rule seems to be that *mine* and *thine* are used where the possessive
is to be unemphatic. *Mine* is used before words to which it is so frequently
prefixed as to become almost a part of them, as *mine* host, but the less common
my hostess occurs. . . . Euphony would dictate this distinction. The pause
which we are obliged to make between *my* and a following vowel serves for a
kind of emphasis.

Prin. As the hony of *Hibla* my old lad of the castle, and
is not a buffe Ierkin a most fweet robe of durance? 41

Falst. How now, how nowe mad wag, what in thy

40 *As castle,] As is the hony, my the castle] Castle Ran. (conj.)*
old Lad of the Castle: Ff, Rowe. As 42 How now,] How now? F1.
is the honey, my old lad, of the Castle: How how? F2. How, how? F3, F4,
P. T. (Gentleman's Magazine, 1752), Rowe
Hal (conj) what] what, Q2-Q7Q8, Pope, et
seq

40. *Hibla* . . . castle] ANON (ed. Halliwell, 1859) The words of *Hibla* being omitted in the Folio, . . . I restore, point, and explain thus: "As is the honey, my old lad, of the Castle, . . . i. e., of the Castle Tavern" [cf note on I, II, 8, 9, Dialles . . . leaping houses.—ED].

old . . . castle] ROWE (ed. 1709, p. ix): The part of Falstaff is said to have been written originally under the name Oldcastle.—THEOBALD (ed. 1733). An ingenious correspondent (whom I know only by his signing himself L. H.) hints that this passage proves what Mr. Rowe tells us was a tradition. [This letter from L. H., addressed to Mr. Watts, and dated Dec 16, 1732, is in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D. C.—ED.]—FARMER (Var. ed. 1773): The same as Old Lad of Castile, a Castilian. . . . Gabriel Harvey tells us of "old lads of the castle with their rapping babble"—roaring boys There is therefore here no argument for Falstaff's appearing first under the name Oldcastle.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778, V, 262) Sir John Oldcastle was never a character introduced by Shakespeare, nor did he ever occupy the place of Falstaff. "Old lad" is a familiar compellation to be found in some of our most ancient dramatic pieces. So, in *The Trial of Treasure*, 1567: "What, Inclination, old lad, art thou there?" In the Dedication to *Gabriel Harvey's Hunt is Up*, by T. Nashe, 1598, "old Dick of the Castle" is mentioned.—IBID (Malone's *Supplement*, 1780). In *Pierce's Supplication*, 1593: "And here's a lusty lad of the Castle."—MALONE (*Supplement*, 1780; and ed. 1790) asserts that Falstaff never bore the name Oldcastle, but that Shakespeare imitated, in Falstaff, the character of Oldcastle in *The Famous Victories of Henry V.*—RITSON (ed. Steevens, 1793): Neither evidence nor argument has yet been produced sufficient to controvert the received opinion that the character of Falstaff was originally represented under the name Oldcastle.—[REED (Var. 1813) agrees with Ritson.—HALLIWELL's study of the evidence (*On the Character of Sir John Falstaff*, 1841) established the tradition first cited by Rowe. Excerpts from Halliwell's study, and further details in the Oldcastle-Falstaff controversy are given in the Falstaff section of the Appendix.—RUSHTON (*Sh.'s Euphuism*, 1871, p. 35) maintains that in this passage, at least, the Prince is merely referring to the brothel known as the Castle (see note on I, II, 8, 9), and implying that Falstaff frequented this resort, which was likely to be well known, by reputation at least, to the patrons of the Globe Theatre. That the prince was punning on the name Oldcastle, Falstaff's original appellation; the colloquial name for a roisterer; and, perhaps, the Castle tavern or brothel, seems the most satisfactory explanation of this phrase.—ED.]

quips and thy quiddities? what a plague haue I to doe 43
with a buffe Ierkin?

Prince. Why what a poxe haue I to do with my hostesse 45
of the tauerne?

Falst. Well, thou hast cald her to a reckoning many a
time and oft.

Prince. Did I euer call for thee to pay thy part?

Falst. No, ile giue thee thy due, thou hast paid all there. 50

Prin. Yea and else where, so far as my coine would
stretch, and where it would not, I haue vsed my credit.

Falst. Yea, and so vs'd it that were it not here appar-
ant that thou art heire apparant. But I prethe sweet 54

49 for thee] thee for F₄ thee is Coll. MS.
Rowe, +, Varr., Ran 54 apparant.] apparent—Rowe, et
53. were it not] were it Ff, Rowe. it seq.

41. buffe . . . durance] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): The sheriff's officers were formerly clad in buff. When Falstaff asks whether his hostess is not a sweet wench, the prince asks whether it will not be a sweet thing to go to prison by running into debt to the sweet wench.—STEEVENS (Var ed 1773): The following passage from an old play, *Ram Alley*, may serve to confirm Dr. Johnson's observation: "Look, I have certain goblins in buff jerkins Lye ambuscado . . . *Enter Serjeants.*" Again, in *The Comedy of Errors* [IV, ii, 33]: "A devil in an everlasting garment hath him, A fellow all in buff." In *Westward Hoe*, by Dekker and Webster, 1607, I meet a passage which leads me to believe that a robe, or suit, of durance was of some kind of lasting stuff, such as we call at present *everlasting*.—STAUNTON (ed. 1858): A sergeant's buff leather garment was called durance partly on account of its everlasting qualities, and partly from a quibble on the occupation of its wearer, which was that of arresting and clapping men "in durance."

43. quips] COWL (ed. 1914): In Lyly's *Alexander and Campaspe*, 1584, III, ii, Manes defines a quip as "a short saying of a sharpe witte, with bitter sense in a sweete word." . . . Lat *quippe*, indeed.

quiddities] COWL (ed. 1914): Quirks, quibbles. . . Originally with reference to fine-spun arguments of school-men on the "quiddity" or "whatness" of things. Lat. *quidditas*.

53, 54. Yea . . . apparant] HUDSON (ed. 1880): An intimation that, but for his prospect of the throne, the prince would be credit-broken. To express the thought in full were a greater liberty than Falstaff dares to take.—COWL (ed. 1914): From this passage, and from *The Comedy of Errors*, III, ii, 123, it would appear that *heir* was pronounced as *hair* [as also was *here*—ED.]. On the other hand we read in Harvey, *Three Proper Letters*, 1580: "we have . . . ayer bothe *pro aere* and *pro haerede*, for we say not *Heire* but plain *Aire*."

54-58.] HALLIWELL (ed. 1859): This passage, and the next two speeches, were evidently suggested by speeches in *The Famous Victories of Henry V* [see Appendix, p. 374].

wag, shall there be gallows standing in England when thou art king? and resolution thus fubd as it is with the rusty curbe of olde father Anticke the law, do not thou when thou art king hang a theefe. 56

Prince. No, thou shalt.

Falst. Shall I? O rare! by the Lord ile be a braue iudge. 60

Prin. Thou iudgest false already, I meane thou shalt haue the hanging of the theeues, and so become a rare hangman.

Falst. Well *Hall* well, and in some sort it iumpes with my humour, as well as waighting in the Court I can tell you. 65

Prince. For obtaining of suites?

Falst. Yea, for obtaining of suites, whereof the hangman hath no leane wardrob. Zbloud I am as melancholy 70

56 *resolution*] *resoluo*n Q₄. *reso-*
lution be Ktly

fubd] Q₁₋₆. *snubd* Q₇Q₈, Cap.
fobb'd Ff, et cet

57. *law*] *law* Q₃₋₈. *Law?* Q₇Q₈,
Ff, et seq.

58 *king*] a *King* Q₄₋₆, Ff, +, Knt i,
Coll., Sing. ii, Del, Wh i, Ktly.

60. *by the Lord*] Om. Ff, Rowe,
Pope, Han, Knt.

66. *waighting*] *wasting* Q₃, et seq.
70. *wardrob*] *wardrope* Q₃₋₈ *Ward-*
robe Ff, et seq.

Zbloud] *Zblood* Q₂₋₈. Om. Ff,
Rowe, Knt 'Sblood Pope, et cet.

56. *resolution*] SCHMIDT (1874): Firmness, resoluteness, courage.

fubd] SCHMIDT (1874): Cheated

57. *Anticke*] SCHMIDT (1874): Buffoon.—HUDSON (ed. 1880): Speaking of the law as a venerable buffoon is a right Falstaffian stroke of humor.

60, 61. CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): The poet was a borrower from *The Famous Victories* of the piece of humour contained in this speech, for thus Ned, in that play, the representative not of Falstaff but of Poms: "Shall I be Lord chiefe Justice? By gogs wounds ile be bravest Lord chiefe Justice that ever was in England."

60. O rare] HALLIWELL (ed. 1859): *Skialethera, or a Shadow of Truth*, 1598: "As Caius walks the streets, if he but heare / A black man grunt his note, he cries, *oh rare!* / He cries, *oh rare!* to heare the Irishmen / Cry pippe, fine pippe, whith a shrill accent, when / He comes to Mercer's Chapel; and *oh rare!* / At Ludgate at the prisoners plaine-song there / . . . Briefly so long he hath usde to cry, *oh rare!* / That now the phrase is grown thin and thred-bare."

braue] SCHMIDT (1874): Fine, splendid.

65, 66. *iumpes* . . . *humour*] SCHMIDT (1874): Agrees . . . inclination.

69, 70. *suites* . . . *wardrob*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Suit, a petition, or the cloaths of the offender.—COWL (ed. 1914): The hangman's fee was thirteen pence half-penny, and the felon's clothes were his perquisites. Brome, *A Mad Couple Well Matched*: "I will do some death-deserving thing, though these cloaths go to the hangman for't."

as a gyb Cat, or a lugd beare.

Prin. Or an old lyon, or a louers Lute

72

Falst. Yea, or the drone of a Lincolnshire bagpipe.

71. *gyb*] *gib'd* Dering MS *gib* *gib'd* or *gib'd*)
Pope, et seq. (Tollet conjectures 73 *Lincolnshire*] *Linconshires* Q₄)

71. *gyb* Cat] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Means, I know not why, an old cat — PERCY (Var. ed. 1773) A common term in Northamptonshire for a he-cat — WARTON (Var. ed. 1773, Appendix, vol. x). *Gib* is the abbreviation of Gilbert. . . . Christian names have of old been appropriated to many animals, as Philip to a sparrow, Will to a goat. thus Gilbert was the name of a cat of the male species Tibert, the Old French for Gilbert, is the name of the cat in *Reynart the Fox*. . . In the French *Roman de la Rose* we have "Thibert le chas," which Chaucer translated "Gibbe our cat." . . . In *Gammer Gurton's Needle* we find. "Hath no man stolen her ducks and hens, or gelded Gyb her cat?" The composure of a cat is proverbial. . . . Falstaff means that he is grown as dull and demure as a cat.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778) "Melancholy as a gib'd cat" is a proverb in Ray's *Collection*. . . . I believe a gib'd cat is one that has been qualified for the seraglio, for all animals so mutilated become drowsy and melancholy. . . . In Sidney's *Arcadia* the cat is mentioned as melancholy without reference to castration.—MATHIAS (*Pursuit of Lit.*, 1798, p. 83) Mr. Warton and Mr. Steevens have left it as a matter of doubt whether their own drowsiness and gravity, and that of their brother commentators on this line, was also in consequence of &c.—BOSWELL (Var. ed. 1821) The melancholy of cats generally is spoke of in Lyly's *Midas*. *Gib* was applied to any cat, male or female. So, in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*. "Gib, a fowle fiend might on her light." N. E. D. (1901). A cat, *esp.*, a male cat, in later dialectal use, one that has been castrated.

lugd beare] HUDSON (ed. 1880): A bear made cross by having his ears pulled — N. E. D. (1908) Pulled by the ears Of a bear baited — COWL (ed. 1914). A baited bear. Cf. *Hudibras*, I, iii. "Thy bear is out of peril Though lugg'd, indeed, and wounded ver' ill." And Middleton, *The Changeling*, II, 1: "Like a common garden-bull I do but take breath to be lugged again." Baret, *Alvearie*, has. "To lug, shake, or pull by the ear"

73. *drone* . . . *bagpipe*] STEEVENS (ed. 1793): The dull croak of a frog, one of the native musicians of that waterish country.—IBID. (Var. ed. 1803): I am informed by Sir Joseph Banks that in the neighborhood of Boston in Lincolnshire the noisy frogs are still humorously denominated "the Boston waits." In *The Pleasant . . . Morall of Three Lords and Ladies of London*, 1590, mention is made of "the sweet ballade of the Lincolnshire bagpipes."—BOSWELL (Var. ed. 1821): Robert Armin, *A Nest of Ninnies*, 1608: "At Christmas time . . . amongst all the pleasure provided, a noyse of Minstrells and a Lincolnshire bagpipe were prepared."—HARLOWE (*Notes and Queries*, 1867): I stumbled over this passage at a Lincolnshire vicarage, and asked the vicar whether he had ever heard of a bagpipe peculiar to the county. "Never," he replied, "but I have often heard a bittern so called." In Bewick I find the following description of a bittern: "might be mistaken for a heron, were it not for the

Prince. What faiest thou to a Hare, or the melancholy
of Mooreditch ? 74

Falst. Thou hast the most vnfaury smiles, and art indeed the most comparatiue rascalliest sweet yong Prince. But *Hal*, I prethe trouble me no more with vanitie, I woulde to God thou and I knewe where a commodity of good names were to be bought · an olde Lorde of the coun- 80

76. *smiles*] *smiles* Q₄, F₂₋₄, Rowe, Han, Warb.
Pope 1, Han, Theob. iv, Mal, et seq *rascalliest*] *rascaldest* Q₄₋₈, Ff,
smiles Pope 11, Theob. i-111, Warb., Rowe, Pope, Knt, Coll., Sing. 11,
Johns., Cap, Varr. Ran. Del., Dyce i, Hal i, Wh i, Ktly.
77. *comparatiue*] *incomparative* 79. *to God*] Om. Ff, Rowe, Knt.

singularly resounding cry it makes while on the wing, but this cry is feeble when compared to the hollow booming which it makes during the night from its swampy retreats."—SCHMIDT (1874): Drone, the largest tube of the bagpipe, which emits a continued deep note.—COWL (ed. 1914) In Shakespeare's day the use of the bagpipe seems to have been restricted to Lancashire and Lincolnshire Heywood, *Witches of Lancashire*, III, 1 "a Lancashire bagpipe . . . is able to charme the Diuell." "Lincolne-shire bagpipes" is given first among the proverbs of Lincolnshire by Fuller (*Worthies*, 1662, p. 152). "The bagpipe in the judgment of the rural Midas's carryeth away the credit from the Harp of Apollo himself." Ray cites Fuller, with the remark, "whether that the people here do more delight in the bagpipe or are more cunning in playing upon them."

74. *Hare*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): A hare may be considered melancholy because she is upon her form always solitary, and according to the physis of the times, the flesh of it was supposed to generate melancholy.—STEEVENS (ed. 1793): The Egyptians in their hieroglyphics expressed a melancholy man by a hare sitting in her form.—STAUNTON (ed. 1858) quotes Turberville's *Book on Hunting and Falconry*: "The hare first taught us the use of the hearbe called wyld Succory, which is excellent for those who are disposed to be melancholicke She herself is one of the most melancholicke beasts that is."

74, 75. *melancholy of Mooreditch*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): I do not understand, unless it may allude to the croaking of the frogs.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1773). It appears from Stow's *Survey* that a broad ditch formerly parted Bedlam Hospital from Moor-fields; and what hath a more melancholy appearance than stagnant water? Dekker's *Gull's Hornbook*, 1609: "It will be a sorer labour than the cleansing of Augeas stables or the scowering of Moorditch."—MALONE (*Second Appendix to Supplement*, 1783): More appositely, Taylor's *Pilgrimage*, 1618, "My bodie being tired with travel, and my mind attired in moody, muddy, Moorditch, melancholy."

77. *comparatiue*] EDWARDS (*Canons of Crit.*, 1748, Canon II): [Mr. Warburton and Sir Thomas Hanmer] did not understand the common reading, *comparative*, which Shakespeare uses in the sense of "dealing in comparisons," or "a simile-monger." In this place he uses it as an adjective, but has given us the same word as a substantive in this very play, III, ii, 67.

cell rated me the other day in the street about you fir, but
I markt him not, and yet he talkt very wisely, but I re- 82
garded him not, and yet hee talkt wisely and in the street
to.

Prin. Thou didst well, for wifedome cries out in the 85
streets and no man regards it.

Falst. O thou hast damnable iteration, and art indeed
able to corrupt a faint · thou hast done much harme vpon
me *Hal*, God forgiue thee for it : before I knewe thee *Hal*,
I knewe nothing, and now am I, if a man should speake 90
trulie, little better then one of the wicked : I must giue ouer
this life, and I will giue it ouer : by the Lord and I doe
not, I am a villaine, ile bee damnd for neuer a kings sonne
in Chriftendom. 94

81. *sur*] Om. Cap. (conj.) 88. *vpon*] *vnto* Q₂s, Ff, +, Knt.,
82, 83. *but..wisely*] Om. Rowe ii, Wh. i.
Pope, Theob., Han., Warb., Johns. 89 *I...Hal*] Om. T.J. (1721).
83 *and in*] *in* Q₂s 90 *am I*] *I am* Ff, Rowe, Pope,
85, 86. *wisedome...and*] Om. Ff, Han., Knt.
Rowe. 92. *ouer. by the Lord and*] *ouer by*
86. *streets*] *street* Pope, Han. *the Lord, an* Pope.
87. *iteration*] *attraction* Han., Warb. *by the Lord*] Om. Ff, Rowe,
imitation Thirlby MS. *irritation* Knt.
Heath. *and*] *an* Pope, et seq.

79, 80. *commodity . . . bought*] ELTON (ed. 1889): Quantity; cf. IV, ii, 16.—COWL (ed. 1914): Supply, as in *Measure for Measure*, IV, iii, 4.—REED (ed. Steevens, 1793): In *The Discoverie of the Knights of the Poste*, 1597, sig. C: "In troth they live so so, and it were well if they knew where a commoditie of good names were to be sould."

80-84. *an olde . . . street to*] Falstaff adopts the Scriptural style of the sanctimonious Puritan.

85, 86] GREY (*Crit. Notes*, 1754): *Proverbs* 1, 20; viii, 1.

87. *damnable iteration*] EDWARDS (*Canons of Crit*, 1748, p. 11): A damnable way of quoting or repeating Scripture.—MALONE (Var. ed. 1778): Iteration is right, for it also signified simply citation or recitation. So, in Marlowe's *Faustus*: "Here, take this book and peruse it well, The iterating of these lines brings gold." From the context, iterating here means pronouncing, reciting.—KNIGHT (ed. 1839): Repetition, not recitation. Falstaff does not complain only of Hal's quoting a Scriptural text, but that he has been retorting and distorting the meaning of his words throughout the scene.—N. E. D. (1901): Repetition.

91. *one . . . wicked*] COWL (ed. 1914): In mimicry of the Puritans Falstaff here uses one of their canting expressions. See Overbury, *Characters: A Button Maker of Amsterdam*: "though most of the wicked (as he calls them) be there."

Prin. Where shal we take a purfe to morrow Iacke ?

Falst. Zounds where thou wilt lad, ile make one, an I 96
do not call me villaine and baffell me

Prin. I see a good amendment of life in thee, from
praying to purfe-taking.

Fal Why *Hall*, tis my vocation *Hall*, tis no finne for a 100
man to labor in his vocation. *Enter Poincs.*

96. *Zounds*] Om. Ff, +, Cap, Varr.,
Ran, Mal, Steev, Varr., Sing, Knt.,
Dyce 1, Hal., Ktly.

an] and Q₃—8, Ff, Rowe

97. *not*] *not*, Q₃Q₈, et seq.

101. *Enter Poincs*] Om Ff. (cf.
first stage-direction in scene.) SCENE
III. *Enter Poincs.* Pope. *Enter*
Poincs. (after *him*?, line 104) Theob,
Varr., Ran SCENE III. *Enter*

Poincs. (after *him*?, line 104) Warb.,
Johns. SCENE III. *Enter Poincs.*
(after *Poynes*, line 102) Han. *Enter*
Poincs at a distance. (after *baffell me*,
line 97) Cap (after *purse-taking*,
line 99) Mal., Steev, Varr., Sing.,
Knt, Coll., Huds, Del., Dyce, Sta,
Hal., Ktly, Ox. Sees *Poincs* ap-
proaching. Wh. 1 (cf. also line 105.)

93. *neuer*] CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p 338): Shakespeare uses *never* and *ne'er* in an idiom which, when he wrote, was considered merely a familiarism and no vulgarism as it is at present

95 and 132] HALLIWELL (ed. 1859, ix, 228) Upon the play of *The Famous Victories of Henry V* Shakespeare constructed some of the incidents of *Henry IV*. . . and, to a small extent, this circumstance has operated disadvantageously, the poet's recollection of the older drama having occasionally interfered with the free exercise of his own invention. Thus the prince, in the first instance (line 95), appears as a recognized member of Falstaff's gang . . . but immediately afterwards (line 132) he disclaims the proposal of a robbery, evidently implying that it was a novelty so far as he was concerned —MORGAN (*Some Problems of Sh's Henry IV*, 1924) finds verse-fragments, probably from Shakespeare's earlier play on this subject, in the following prose lines of this scene: 95, 117, 121, 136, 149-50, and, if we substitute the name Oldcastle for Falstaff, in line 155 He finds it significant that verse-fragments preponderate in that part of the scene which is connected with the robbery, for the robbery was certainly an element in the earlier play. See Appendix: Sources of the Plot, XII, Morgan, sections 13, 14.

97. *baffell*] TOLLET (Var. ed. 1778): To treat with the greatest ignominy possible So Holinshed explains it: "Baffulling is a great disgrace among the Scots, and it is used when a man is openlie periured, and then they make of him an image, painted reversed, with his heels upward." (*Chron.*, III, 87 and 121) —NARES (*Glossary*, 1822): A punishment of infamy, inflicted on recreant knights, one part of which was hanging them up by the heels —SINGER (ed. 1826): Something of the kind is implied in [II, iv, 408-9].—N. E. D. (1893): To disgrace a perjured knight with infamy. Spenser, *F. Q.*, VI, vii, 27: "He by the heels him hung upon a tree And bafful'd so."

100, 101. *sinne . . . vocation*] STREEVENS (Var. ed. 1785): This, as Dr. Farmer observes to me, is undoubtedly a sneer on Agremont Radcliffe's *Pub-*

Poynes nowe fhall we knowe if Gadshill haue fet a 102
match. O if men were to be faued by merit, what hole in

102. *Poynes*] *Poynes*, Q₂. *Poines*,
Q₃. *Poines* Q₄Q₅ [Q₄ is the first
text to make *Poins* the speaker of the
following lines, and is followed in this
respect by all subsequent editions
through *Pope*.—*Ed*] *Poynns* Q₆.

Poy. Q₇Q₈ *Pointz*. F₁₋₃ *Poin* F₄,
Rowe, *Pope*. *Poins*!—*Theob.*, et
seq.

103 *match*] *Watch* Ff, *Rowe*, *Knt.*
men] a man Q₃

lique Discourses, 1578, . . [where] the word vocation occurs in almost every paragraph. Thus . . chap xv: "Whether a man being disorderly and unduely entered into any vocation, may lawfully abide in the same"—*Cowl* (ed 1914): Falstaff here repeats in ridicule another Puritan shibboleth. See Middleton, *Family of Love*, III, 11: "*Lapsalve* 'Tis my vocation, boy; we must never be weary of well-doing: love's as proper to a courtier as preciseness to a Puritan."—*IBID* (*Sources of Henry IV*, 1928, p 14): Cf Nashe, *Christ's Tears* (Grosart, iv, 95): "He held it as lawfull for him (since all labouring in a man's vocation is but getting) to get wealth with his sword by the highway side, as the labourer with his spade "

102. *Poynes*] *THEOBALD* (ed 1733): Mr. Pope has given us one signal observation in his Preface to our Author's works. "Throughout the plays," he says, "had all the speeches been printed without the very names of the persons, I believe one might have supply'd them with certainty for every speaker." But how fallible the most sufficient critick may be, this passage in controversy [see Textual Notes] is a main instance. As signal a blunder has escaped all the editors here as any through the whole set of plays. Will anyone persuade me that Shakespeare could be guilty of such inconsistency as to make *Poins* at his first entrance want news of Gadshill, and immediately after be able to give a full account of him? No; Falstaff seeing *Poins* at hand turns the stream of his discourse from the prince, and says, Now shall we know, &c., and then immediately falls into railing and invective against *Poins*. How admirably is this in character for Falstaff! And *Poins*, who knew well his abusive manner, seems in part to overhear him: and so soon as he has returned the prince's salutation, cries, by way of answer, What says, &c.—*JOHNSON* (ed. 1765): Theobald's triumph over the other editors might have been abated by a confession that the first edition [*i. e.*, Q₂, 1599, neither Theobald nor Johnson knew Q₁.—*Ed*.] gave him at least a glimpse of this emendation.—*COLLIER* (ed. 1858): We can see how this blunder originated [see Textual Notes]—Falstaff's exclamation, "*Poins*!" having been mistaken for the prefix to a speech.

Gadshill] See Appendix: Sources of the Plot, XII: Morgan, section 4.—*STEVENS* (ed. 1793). The thief receives his title from the place on the Kentish road where many robberies have been committed. So, in *Westward Ho*, 1606: "Why, how lies she? Troth, as the way over Gadshill; very dangerous." Again, in *The Famous Victories*: "And I know thee for a taking fellow upon Gadshill in Kent."—*IBID*. (Var. ed. 1785). In the year 1558, a ballad entitled *The Robbery at Gadshill* was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company. [This ballad was by Thomas Phaer, who, by a singular coincidence, the very next year, had published in *The Murror for Magistrates* his *How Owen Glendower*,

hell were hot enough for him ? this is the most omnipotent 104
villaine that euer cried, stand, to a true man.

105.] Enter Pointz. Wh. i. Poins comes forward. Coll. iii.

Seduced by False Prophecies, Took upon Him to Be Prince of Wales—WARTON (*Hist. Eng. Poetry*, 1774, iv, 223) "takes opportunity of observing that I have seen an old ballad called Gadshill by Faire. . . . I know not how far it might contribute to illustrate Shakespeare's *Henry IV* The title is promising." I have been unable to discover a copy of this ballad—ED.] See, also, note on I, ii, 120, Gadshill.

102, 103 set a match] GREY (*Crit. Notes*, 1754). Query, set a watch, or, kept a good look-out?—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1785). As no watch is set, I suppose match to be the true reading—MALONE (*Supplement*, 1780): The folio . . . is perhaps right. The same expression occurs in Davenport's *A New Trick to Cheat the Devil*, 1639: "My watch is set, charge given, and all at peace." In a subsequent sentence [II, ii, 47] when Gadshill enters, Poins says, "O, tis our setter," i. e., he whose business it was to set a watch, to observe what passengers went by. That a watch was set on those they intended to rob appears from what Poins says afterwards (lines 155, 156). . . . In the handwriting of our author's time, the two letters, m and w, are scarcely distinguishable. In support, however, of the reading of the quartos, the following passage from Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, 1614, may be alleged: "Peace, sir, they'll be angry if they hear you eavesdropping, now they are setting their match" Here the phrase seems to mean making an appointment—KNIGHT (ed. 1839): Gadshill was in communication with the chamberlain of the Rochester inn, cf. II, 1; and the chamberlain was to "share in the purchase" and was the watch, or spy, that Gadshill had set.—COLLIER (ed. 1842): It seems by the following quotation from *Ratsey's Ghost*, 1606, that "to set a match" was technical among thieves: "I have been beholden to tapsters and chamberlains for directions and setting of matches."—COWL (ed. 1914) gives many examples of the technical use of the word *match*; e. g., Greene, *Art of Conny-Catching* (Grosart, x, 40): "Ye high lawier (highwayman), when he hath no set match to ride about, . . ." And Harrison, *Description of England* (1587, 2nd ed., ii, 16): "Seldome . . . are . . . waifaring men robbed without consent of the chamberlain, tapster, or ostler, where they bait or lie, who give information . . . vpon such matches." But "to set a watch" was also a cant phrase among thieves. See Greene, *Art of Conny-Catching* (Grosart, x, 15). "The thief is called a high lawier, he that setteth the watch, a scripper."—N. E. D. (1914): To set a match. To appoint a meeting.

104. omnipotent] N. E. D. (1909): Used humorously, unparalleled, utter, arrant.

105. true man] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778; note on II, ii, 85): In the old plays a *true man* is always set in opposition to a *thief*. So, in the ancient *Morality, Hycke Skorne*: "And when me list to hang a true-man, Thieves I can help out of prison." Again, *The Four Prentices of London*, 1632: "Now, true-man, try if thou canst rob a thief."—N. E. D. (1926): An honest man as distinguished from a criminal.

Prin. Good morrow *Ned*.

106

Poines. Good morrow sweete *Hal*. What faies Mon-
fieur remorfe ? what faies fir Iohn Sacke, and Sugar
Iacke ? howe agrees the Diuell and thee about thy foule 109

108, 109 *Sacke, and Sugar Iacke?* Wh 11, Rlf, Tud., Ard Sack-and-
Q₁₋₄ *Sacke and Sugar, Iacke?* Q₅₋₈, Sugar? Jack, Cap, et cet
F₂₋₄ *Sacke and Sugar Iacke?* F₁. 109 agrees thee] agree ..thou Pope,
Sack-and-Sugar? Jack! Rowe, +, Ox. Theob, Han, Warb, Johns, Var.
Sack and Sugar? Jack! Cam., Glo, '73

108, 109 *Sacke, and Sugar Iacke?*] The punctuation of Q₁₋₄ is probably erroneous, there is the possibility, however, that the printer is following the punctuation of the author's MS, and that Poins is made to address Falstaff by two epithets. "Sir John Sack" and "Sugar Jack."—COWL (ed 1914) prints with a dash after "Sack," and comments Apparently a pun on the two senses of sack, (1) sack-cloth, (2) sherry.

108. *Sacke . . . Sugar*] JOHNSON (Var. ed. 1773): Sack in Shakespeare's time is probably what we call sherry, which . . . is still drank with sugar.—PERCY (Var. ed., 1773, p. 342) Sack and sugar was a favorite liquor in Shakespeare's time. In a letter describing Queen Elizabeth's entertainment at Killingworth Castle in 1575, the writer says. "sipt I no more sack and sugar than I do malmsey, I should not blush so much" . . . In a MS. of the chamberlains' books of the city of Worcester, I find the following, which points out the origin of our word sack (fr. *sec*). "Anno Eliz xxxiiij. Item. For a gallon of claret wine, and seck, and a pound of sugar . . . iij s."—STEEVENS (Malone's *Supplement*, 1780) The difference between true sack and sherry is distinctly marked in the following passage in *Fortune by Land and Sea*, Heywood and Rowley, 1655. "*Rayns* Some sack, boy! *Drawer* Good sherry sack, sir? *Rayns*. I meant canary. Hast no brain?"—RITSON (*Remarks*, 1783): Sack, according to the information of a very old gentleman, was composed of sherry, syder, and sugar. . . . It does not seem to be at present known; the sweet wine, now so called, being of a different nature.—REED (Var. ed 1785): Moryson, *Itinerary*, 1617, mentioning the Scots, observes 'They drink pure wine, not with sugar as the English.' And again, p. 152. "Gentlemen garraws onely in wine, with which many mix sugar, which I never observed in any other place. . . . And because the taste of the English is delighted with sweetnesse, the wine in the taverns is commonly mixed."—MALONE (ed. 1790): Falstaff's wine was Sherry, a Spanish wine made at Xeres. He frequently calls it sherry-sack. Nor will his mixing it with sugar seem extraordinary when it is known that it was a common practice to put sugar into all wines.—IBID (Steevens ed., 1793): I have found reason to believe that Falstaff's sack was the dry Spanish wine which we call Mountain Malaga. A passage from *Via Recta ad Vitam Longam*, by Thos. Venner, Bathe, 1622, seems to ascertain this: "Sacke is completely hot . . . and of thin parts, and therefore it doth vehemently and quickly heat the body. Some affect to drink it with sugar. . . . Sack taken by itself is very hot and penetrative; being taken with sugar, the heat is somewhat allayed." The author speaks thus of the wine which we

that thou fouldest him on good friday laft, for a cup of Medera and a cold capons legge.

Prince. Sir Iohn stands to his word, the diuell fhall 112

111 *Medera*] *Madura* Theob. iv, Var. '73, et seq.

denominate sack and which was then called canary: "Canarie is of some called *sack*, with this adjunct, *sweet*." It is clear that the wine called sack in that age was thinner than canary, and was a strong, light-coloured, dry wine.—DOUCE (*Illust. of Sh.*, 1807, I, 416) cites many examples of the spelling *secke* as evidence that sack was a dry wine; and refers to Cotgrave's *Dictionnary* *sacke*, vin sec. But he also cites a passage in Guthrie's *Tour through Crimea*, 1802, p. 229, which explains the origin of the word sack as to be found in the goat-skin sacks in which the Spanish carry their wines. He finds the first reference to sack in England in the 23rd year of Henry VIII, when a regulation was made that no malmseys, sacks, or other *sweet* wines should be sold for more than threepence a quart. Douce concludes that the quality of the wine, originally sweet and luscious, may have changed, or else some Spanish wine less saccharine in nature may have obtained the name of sack—DRAKE (*Sh. and his Times*, 1817). If we may repose on the authority of Gervase Markham's *English Housewife*, published shortly after the death of Shakespeare, . . . this question must be considered settled. The author, in his 4th chapter, *The Ordering . . . of Wines*, and . . . *Choice of Sweet Wines*, declares that he has obtained his knowledge from a vintner "profest skilful in the trade," and then proceeds "Sack, if it be Xeres, as it should be, you shall know by the mark of a cork burned on one side of the bung, and they be ever full gage, and so are other Sacks." From this we learn . . . that Sack was a sweet wine, that Xeres-sack, or what Shakespeare calls a good sherris-sack, was the most esteemed of its kind; and that other sacks were then in use—WHITE (*Stud. in Sh.*, 1886, p. 296). It has been clearly shown that sack was sherry wine, but the following quaint passage from Howell's *Letters* (II, 54), written about 1645, is confirmatory. "For Sherries and Malagas well mingled pass for Canaries in most taverns, more often than Canary itself. . . . When Sacks and Canaries were first brought in among us they were used to be drunk in Aquavitae measures, . . . but now they go down every one's throat like milk"—N. E. D. (1914). Sherwood, 1632, gives *vin sec* as the French equivalent of English *sacke*, but Cotgrave, 1611-32, does not. Often described as a sweet wine, though Shakespeare's mention of sack and sugar shows it was not always such in the 16th century. Possibly originally a dry wine, and the term later applied to wines of the class originally excluded. It is the general name for a class of white wines . . . from Spain and the Canaries.—COWL (ed. 1914). Simon Eyre in Dekker's *Shoemakers' Holiday* (III, v) speaks of it as an old man's drink.

109. agrees] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): His expression is ungrammatical, certainly, but neither strange nor unpardonable in such a dialogue. . . . *Agrees &c.* is put for *Agrees it with the devil and thee*; and if the words be interpreted thus, the modern reading [see Textual Notes] is unnecessary.—ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, sect. 335): The third person plural of the verb, in -s, is sometimes used preceding a plural subject.

haue his bargaine, for he was neuer yet a breaker of prouerbes : he will giue the diuell his due

Poynes Then art thou damnd for keeping thy worde 115
with the diuell

Prince. Elfe hee had bin damnd for coofening the diuell.

Poy. But my lads, my lads, to morrow morning, by foure a clocke early at Gadshill, there are pilgrims going 120
to Canturburie with rich offerings, and traders riding to London with fat purfes. I haue vizards for you al: you haue horfes for your felues, Gadshill lies to night in Roch-
ester, I haue bespoken supper to morrow night in Eastcheape : we may do it as secure as sleepe, if you will go I 125

113. yet] Om. Qs-s.	Han., Cap, Cam, Wh 11. vizards
113, 114. prouerbes] promises	Dyce, Hal 1, Huds. 11, Coll. iii.
Thirby MS.	vizors Theob 1, iv. vizors Theob ii,
115. art thou] thou art Theob,	iii, et cet [The various spellings of
Warb., Johns, Var. '73.	this word will not be noted hereafter.
117. bin] Om. F1.	—Ed.]
120. a] o' Theob., Warb., Han. ii,	124. to morrow night] Om. J. P.
et seq	Kemble.
early] be you early Cap. (conj).	night] Om. Ff, Rowe, Pope,
122. vizards] Qq, Ff, Rowe, Pope,	Han, Knt.

120. Gadshill] See note on I, ii, 102, Gadshill.—BOSWELL (Var. ed 1821): Mr. Steevens tells us that as early as 1558 there was a ballad entitled *The Robbery at Gadshill*. . . Shakespeare, however, probably alluded to the conduct of a particular gang who appear in 1590 to have infested Gadshill, . . . and who, like Shakespeare's robbers, were mounted and wore vizors. The particulars are in a narrative preserved in the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum in the handwriting of Sir Roger Manwood, at that time Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and indorsed with the date 3 July 1590. "Circumstances vrginge me Sr. Roger Manwood to proceade in the late indytinge of Curtall, Manweringe, and other Malefactors in Kent. . . In the course of the Mychaelmas Terme, I being at London, manye robberyes weare done in the hye wayes at Gadshill on the west part of Rochester . . . by horse theeues, with such fat and lusty horses as weare not lyke hakney horsse . . . and one of them sometyme wearing a vizarde . . . and no man durst trauell that waye without greate companye."—HALLIWELL (ed. 1859) quotes a description of a robbery near Gadshill from *The Travels of Frederick, Duke of Wurtemberg, in England*, 1592, and cites many references to robberies on Gadshill down to Defoe's *Tour*, 1724. [Gadshill was so notorious a place for robberies that it seems futile to speculate on what particular robbery Shakespeare had in mind, particularly as Gadshill is mentioned in his source, *The Famous Victories of Henry V.*—Ed.]

124, 125. Eastcheape] MALONE (ed. 1790): In *The Famous Victories*, East-

will stufte your purfes full of crownes : if you will not, tarie
at home and be hangd.

127

Falst. Heare ye Yedward, if I tarry at home and go
not, ile hang you for going.

Po. You will chops.

130

Falst. *Hal*, wilt thou make one ?

Prince. Who I rob, I a thiefe ? not I by my faith.

Falst. Theres neither honestie, manhood, nor good fel-
lowship in thee, nor thou camst not of the bloud roiall, if
thou darést not stand for ten shillings

135

Prince. Well then, once in my dayes ile be a madcap.

Falst. Why thats well said.

Prince. Well, come what wil, ile tarrie at home.

Falst. By the lord, ile be a traitor then, when thou art
king.

140

Prince. I care not.

Po Sir Iohn, I preethe leaue the prince and mee alone,

142

- | | |
|--|--|
| 126. <i>your</i>] <i>you</i> F ₂ . | 133. <i>Theres</i>] <i>There is</i> Theob. II-iv, |
| 128 <i>ye</i>] <i>he</i> Rowe II. <i>me</i> Steev, | Warb, Johns, Var. '73. |
| Varr., Sing. I, Hal II | 134. <i>nor</i>] Om. Pope, Han. |
| 130. <i>will</i>] <i>will</i> , Q ₇ Q ₈ , Pope, et seq. | 135 <i>stand</i>] <i>bid stand</i> ! Betterton |
| <i>chops</i>] <i>chops</i> ? Q ₇ Q ₈ , Rowe II, | (1700), T. J. (1710, 1721), Quin. |
| et seq. | <i>cry, stand</i> , Pope, +, Cap, Ktly. |
| 132. <i>Who I rob</i> ,] <i>Who I' I rob</i> ? | <i>Stand</i> ! Coll. III. |
| Ktly. <i>Who, I rob</i> ? Q ₂ , et cet. | 139. <i>By the lord</i>] Om. Ff, Rowe, |
| <i>by my faith</i>] Om. Ff, Rowe, | Cap., Knt. |
| Cap. | |

cheap is the place where Henry and his companions meet.—SINGER (ed. 1826): Eastcheap is selected with propriety, for it is near the prince's own residence, a mansion called Cold Harbour, near All Hallows Church, Upper Thames street.

128. Yedward] DYCE (*A Few Notes*, 1853): A familiar corruption of Edward, still retained in Cheshire and Lancashire.

130. chops] N. E. D. (1893): A person with fat or bloated cheeks—COWL (ed. 1914): Cotgrave "Fafelu—Puffed up; fat cheeked; a chops." Cf. Marlowe, *Jew of Malta*, II: "'Tis not a stone of beef a day will maintain you in these chops."

132.] Cf. note on I, II, 95 and 132.

134, 135. roiall . . . shillings] STEEVENS (Var ed. 1778): Falstaff is quibbling on the word *royal*. The *real*, or royal, was of the value of ten shillings. Almost the same jest occurs in II, iv, 268. The quibble is lost, except the old reading be preserved. "Cry stand" [see Textual Notes] will not support it.—COWL (ed. 1914): "Stand for" signifies (1) to represent, (2) to make a fight for.

I will lay him downe such reasons for this adventure that
he shall go

144

Falst Well God giue thee the spirit of perswasion, and
him the eares of profiting, that what thou speakest, may
moue, and what he heares, may be beleued, that the true
prince may (for recreation sake) proue a false thiefe, for
the poore abuses of the time want countenance farewel,
you shall find me in Eastcheap

150

Prin Farewel the latter spring, farewel Alhallowne
summer.

Poin. Now my good sweete hony Lord, ride with vs
to morrow. I haue a ieast to execute, that I cannot man-
nage alone. Falstaffe, Haruey, Rossill, and Gadshill, 155

145, 146 *God giue thee.. him] maist*
thou haue .he Ff, +, Cap., Varr., Ran,
Mal, Steev, Varr., Sing, Knt., Hal.
ii, Ktly.

147. *true] Om Q₆₋₈.*

151. *the] Qq, Ff, Rowe, Knt ii, iv,*
Ard. Om Cap. thou Pope, et cet.,
Coll. MS.

Alhallowne] Alhallowne Q₃₋₅
Alhallown Q₆, F₁F₂. Allhallown

F₃F₄, Rowe. allhallown Pope
All-hallown Theob., et seq.

After 152] Exit Fal. F₂₋₄, et seq.

154. *reast] yeast F₄ jest Q₈, F₁₋₃,*
Rowe, et seq.

155 *Haruey] Bardolfe Theob. i*
Bardolph Theob ii., et seq

Rossill] Peto Dering MS.,
Theob, et seq.

Gadshill] Bardolph Dering MS.

145-149.] COWL (ed. 1914) Falstaff again ridicules the language of the Puritans.

148. recreation sake] ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, p. 31). Any noun could be prefixed to another, with the force of an adjective. . . This license was sometimes used when we should prefer a genitive or an adjective. . . The reason is to be found in an increasing dislike and disuse of the inflection in 's. Thus we find *sake* frequently preceded in *I Henry IV* by an uninflected noun; cf. II, i, 67, *sport sake*, V, i, 65, *safety sake*.

151. *the] COWL (ed. 1914): [Pope's emendation] is unnecessary. The vocative of the definite article . . . is not uncommon in the 16th century.*

151, 152. *Alhallowne summer] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): All-hallows is All-Saints' day, the first of November . . . Shakespeare's allusion is designed to ridicule an old man with youthful passions. So, in the second part of the play [II, i, 94], Falstaff is referred to as "the Martelmas, your master."—N. E. D. (1888): A season of fine weather in late autumn.*

155. *Haruey, Rossill] THEOBALD (ed. 1733): We have two persons named here as characters who were never inserted among the Dramatis Personae in any of the impressions. . . In the second act [II, ii, 19, 20] . . . Falstaff calls out upon Hal, Poin, Bardolfe, and Peto. . . Presently Gadshill joins them, . . upon which the prince says: "You four shall front them: . . Ned Poin and I will walk lower." So that the four to be concerned are Falstaff, Bardolfe, Peto, and Gadshill. . . When the matter comes to an examination at*

[155. Harvey, Rossill]

the Boar's Head Tavern, the prince rallies Peto and Bardolfe for their running away, who confess the charge [II, iv, 276 ff.]. Upon the evidence now is it not plain that Bardolfe and Peto were two of the robbers? And who then can doubt that *Harvey* and *Rossill* were the names of the actors that performed those two parts, and, by mistake in the old play-books, put instead of the names of the characters? [Theobald first made this suggestion in his Letter to Warburton, Jan 13, 1729/30—ED]—FLEAY (*Chron. Hist. of Life and Work of Sh.*, 1886). Harvey and Rossill were originally the names of the characters, and were changed at the time Oldcastle was changed to Falstaff. Russell was the name of the Bedford earls, and Harvey that of the third husband of Lord Southampton's mother. The new names were picked up from Part II, in which Lord Bardolph and Peto (a distinct personage from the "humourist" of Part I) were serious characters—RHODES (*Sh.'s First Folio*, 1923, p. 114). It is certain that these were the original names, changed when Oldcastle was changed to Falstaff. They are not derived from *The Famous Victories*, . . . which contains embryonic versions of many characters and situations in Shakespeare's trilogy of Henry V . . . It is difficult to see how Harvey and Russell could survive in the dialogue and disappear in the corrections of the prompt-book, but all accidents are not accountable. In the face of these errors it is difficult to argue that the Quartos were collated with the original MS. for printing the First Folio, or that they had been collated previously for use as prompt-books [See MORGAN, *Some Problems of Henry IV*, 1924, (Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Morgan, sections 5 and 6)—ED]—GAW (*Actors' Names, P M L A*, xl, 1925, p. 531). In the scene of the robbery these characters are found to be Bardolph and Peto, but in Q₁, II, iv, 158, 160, and 164, three speeches given in F₁ to Gadshill are headed *Ross[ill]*. On the strength of this passage Harvey and Rossill are often, after Theobald's suggestion, considered to be the names of otherwise unknown Elizabethan actors. This is improbable. Q₁ is a "good quarto," published by authority of the company, seemingly to advertise the change of the name Oldcastle to Falstaff, and probably was printed from the play-house MS. There is no chance here for the faulty memory of an actor or the filling in by a surreptitious stenographer, and the prompter would have no reason for inserting actors' names, and that this is no momentary slip is clear from the threefold appearance of *Ross[ill]* later in Q₁. The only satisfactory explanation would be that Shakespeare, writing the first speech in which the characters are mentioned, intended to call them Harvey and Rossill, and, after having passed II, iv, 165, changed his mind and gave them the more distinctive names, but did not catch all the back passages to be corrected (cf. the parallel case of *Old* for *Fal.* in *II Henry IV*, I, ii, 113). That revision took place in II, iv is clear from the fact that, in F₁, one of Gadshill's speeches (line 157) has been transferred to the prince, and Rossill's three speeches (lines 158, 160, 164) have been transferred, not to Bardolph or Peto, but to Gadshill. CHAMBERS (*Wm. Sh.*, 1930, i, 382): In *The Elizabethan Stage*, iii, 196, I took Rossill and Harvey for actors' names; wrongly, I think, since *II Henry IV*, II, ii, 1 has the stage-direction: *Enter the Prince, Poins, Sir John Russell, with others.* F₁ substitutes: *Enter Prince Henry, Poins, Bardolfe, and Page.* This cannot be right, since Bardolph and the Page enter later, at line

shal rob those men that we haue already way-laid, your
felfe and I will not bee there · and when they haue the 157
bootie, if you and I doe not rob them, cut this head off
from my shoulders.

Prin. How shal we part with them in setting forth ? 160

Po. Why, we wil fet forth before or after them, and
appoint them a place of meeting, wherein it is at our pleas-
ure to faile ; and then wil they aduenture vpō the exploit
themselues, which they shal haue no sooner atchieued but
weele fet vpon them. 165

Prin. Yea but tis like that they wil know vs by our
horfes, by our habits, and by euery other appointment to
be our felues.

Po. Tut, our horfes they shal not fee, ile tie them in the
wood, our vizards wee wil change after wee leaue them : 170
and firrha, I haue cafes of Buckrom for the nonce, to im-

158, 159. *off from*] Q₁Q₂, Theob. i,
Coll., Del., Wh., Cam., Glo., Rlf.,
Tud., Ard. *from off* Theob. ii, iii, iv,
Warb., Johns., Var. '73. *from* Q₂₋₈,
Ff., et cet.

160. *How*] Qq, Coll., Huds., Wh.,
Cam., Glo., Rlf., Tud., Ard. *But*
how Ff, et cet.

163. *aduenture*] *venture* Q₂, F₂, F₄,
Rowe i.

164. *shal*] Om. F₂₋₄, Rowe.

166. *Yea*] Qq, Coll., Del., Wh.,
Cam., Glo., Rlf., Tud., Ox., Ard. *I*

Ff *Ay* Rowe, et cet.

ihai] Om. Theob., Warb.,
Johns., Var. '73

170. *vizards*] *vizard* Q₆.
them] *then* F₂.

171. *sirrha*] *sirra* Q₂₋₈. *sirrah* Ff,
et seq. [The various spellings of this
word will not be noted hereafter.—
ED.]

Buckrom] *buckorum* Q₄₋₈.

Buckram Ff, et seq. [The various
spellings of this word will not be
noted hereafter.—ED.]

64. But apparently Peto has replaced Sir John Russell, and Bardolph, Harvey, with the awkward result of having two Bardolphs in that play. Russell and Harvey were both familiar names at the Elizabethan Court.

156. *that . . . way-laid*] COWL (ed. 1914): For whom we have set an ambush, for whom the ways are laid or watched. Cf. Brome, *Jovial Crew*, III: "The search is every way; the country all laid for you."

171. *sirrha*] MALONE (ed. 1790): In our author's time, not a word of disrespect.—STEEVENS (ed. 1793): Scarcely a term of respect when addressed by the king to Hotspur in I, iii, 118.—DOUCE (*Illustr. of Sh.*, 1807, i, 419): The learned commentator [Malone] would probably have revised his opinion had he recollected the quarrel between Vernon and Bassett in *I Henry VI*, where, in the most opprobrious manner, "sirrah" is answered by "villain." It seems to have been used much in the same way as at present, sometimes expressing anger and contempt, yet more frequently in a milder way when addressed to children and servants.—HUDSON (ed. 1880). This passage shows that it was

maske our noted outward garments.

172

Prin. Yea, but I doubt they wil be too hard for vs.

Po. Wel, for two of them, I know them to bee as true bred cowards as euer turnd backe : and for the third, if he fight longer then he fees reafon, ile forfweare armes. The vertue of this ieast wil be the incomprehenfible lies, that this fame fat rogue wil tel vs when we meet at fupper, how thirtie at leaft he fought with, what wardes, what blowes, what extremities he indured, and in the reproofe of this liues the left.

175

180

Prin. Well, ile goe with thee, prouide vs all thinges necessarie, and meete me to morrow night in Eastcheape,

183

173. *Yea, but*] Qq, Coll 1, ii, Huds., Del., Wh., Cam, Glo., Rlf., Tud., Ox., Ard. *But* Ff, et cet.

wardes] *Words* Rowe, T. J. (1721).

174 *know them to*] *know* to Qs-s

180. *extremities*] *extermities* Qs.

176 *fight*] *fightes* Johns, Var '73.

this] *these* Qs-s.

178 *same*] Om Qs-s, Ff, Rowe, Knt., Sing ii, Ktly.

181. *hues*] *lyes* Q2, et seq

179. *fought with*,] *fought; with* Vaughan (conj)

183. *me to morrow*] *me. To morrow* Knt.

to morrow night] *to-night* Thirlby MS., Cap., Steev., Hal. 1, Dyce ii, iii, Coll iii. Om. J. P. Kemble.

sometimes used in a playful, familiar way, without lack of respect.—N. E. D. (1919) supports Douce.

cases of Buckrom] SCHMIDT (1874): Coverings, clothes, of coarse linen stiffened with glue.

for . . . nonce] TYRWHITT (Var. ed 1773): For the occasion.—HENLY (ed. Steevens, 1793): An expression in daily use in Suffolk, to signify *on purpose*.—SINGER (ed. 1826): The editor of the new edition of Warton's *Hist. of Eng. Poetry* (ii, 496) has shown that this is a slight variation from the Anglo-Saxon, *for then anes, for then once*—N. E. D. (1908): For the particular purpose.

172. *noted*] SCHMIDT (1874): Known

174, 175. *two . . . third*] [But there are four altogether; cf line 155. This is probably a careless error, but cf. Appendix. Characters: Falstaff.—Morgann.—Ed.]

175, 176. *third . . . reason*] SEYMOUR (*Remarks*, 1805): This passage might give some support to the arguments that have been advanced to show that Falstaff was not a coward. [See Appendix. Characters: Falstaff.—Morgann.—Ed.]

177. *incomprehenfible*] SCHMIDT (1874): Inconceivable.—N. E. D. (1901): Illimitable, boundless. Nashe, *Have with You* (1596): "He is ashamed of the incomprehenfible corpulence thereof," *i. e.*, of his book. *Book of Common Prayer* (1548): "The Father incomprehenfible, the Son incomprehenfible, &c."

179. *wardes*] SCHMIDT (1874): Guards made in fencing, postures of defence.

180. *reproofe*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Confutation.

there ile sup : farewell.

Po Farewel my Lord. *Exit Poines.* 185

Prin. I know you all, and wil a while vphold

185 Poines] Om Dyce, Cam, Ard
Glo, Huds 11, Wh 11, Rlf, Tud, Ox, 186 *a while*] *a-while* F₁F₂

183 *to morrow night*] STEEVENS (Var ed 1778). I think we should read to-night The disguises were to be provided for the purposes of the robbery which was to be committed at *four o'clock in the morning*, and they would come too late if the prince was not to receive them 'till the night after the day of the exploit This is another instance to prove that Shakespeare could forget in the end of a scene what he had said in the beginning—KNIGHT (ed 1839). [See Knight's reading in Textual Notes, which he here explains—ED] The prince is here thinking less of the exploit at Gadshill than of "the virtue of the jest" after the robbery. Perhaps some intermediate place of meeting was thought of by the prince, but he breaks off exultingly, with his head full of the supper to-morrow night.—COWL (ed. 1914) Change is unnecessary The prince's appointment with Poins is for the evening after the robbery. [But is not this, then, a very strange farewell to Poins "provide things necessary and meet me"? This surely implies that the meeting is to be before the robbery. Steevens's point is well taken.—ED]

186 ff] THEOBALD (ed. 1733, *Pref*, p. xx). The prince's reformation is not so sudden as not to be prepar'd and expected by the audience . . . Our poet has so well and artfully guarded him from the suspicions of habitual profligateness that even from the first showing him upon the stage . . . he has taken care not to carry him off the scene without the intimation that "he knows them all, &c."—JOHNSON (ed. 1765). This speech is very artfully introduced to keep the prince from appearing vile in the opinion of the audience, it prepares them for his future reformation, and, what is yet more valuable, exhibits a natural picture of a great mind offering excuses to itself, and palliating those follies which it can neither justify nor forsake.—GENTLEMAN (*Introd.* to Bell's ed., 1773): This is not a very allowable apology.—HORN (*Shs. Schauspiele erläutert*, 1826, ii, 260). Shakespeare leaves us no doubt as to the inner thoughts of the prince. Even in the second scene, as soon as the prose portion is over, the poetry begins in truly royal manner. Readers have often admired this passage, and, no doubt, justly; yet they would have enjoyed it more if they had considered it in its fullest significance. Of course, Prince Henry is a favorite of the author; but does that mean that the poet must refrain from clever irony in his treatment of him? And is it not clear that there is irony here? . . . Even in the second line of his speech the prince ignores the fact that he takes part in this cheerful idleness with real enjoyment. . . . The comparison with the sun, itself so commonplace, . . . is yet much too lofty, too pompous, and the reader cannot forbear smiling a little. We ask with justice, what has this charming and clever young prince done that he should praise himself as the counterpart of the sun? Is it not almost a Bolingbroke attitude?—LLOYD (*Essays on Sh.*, 1858): We are at liberty to think as we please of the prince's deliberate scheme of politic stage-effect in a sudden reformation.—MEZIERES (*Sh., ses Œuvres*,

[186 ff.]

&c., 1860, p. 287): At this point Henry is less appealing and less natural. His careful calculation is too wise for a young *débauché*. . . There is clumsiness here. The poet, who must present the conversion of a hero and who must conduct him through youthful wanderings to strong manhood, finds only one way of explaining the change—namely, that at the time when the prince is committing most of his faults, he has decided to reform. . . Racine would have been more skilful—ELTON (ed. 1889) There is something sophistical in this fine speech. The prince enjoys Falstaff, and rather pays himself off with fine metaphors to excuse his enjoyment. . . Perhaps, however, these are modern refinements of feeling, Shakespeare wrote for the stage, and his effect is broad, natural, and simple.—RANSOME (*Short Stud. of Sh. Plots*, 1890, p. 198). Shakespeare was careful to differentiate between Richard II and Henry V. Richard could never have made this speech. . . After this speech the audience would enjoy the Falstaff scenes, which would have been quite impossible had they believed themselves to be looking on the creation of another ruined character like Richard—BOAS (*Sh. and his Predecessors*, 1896, p. 270). This Pharisaical declaration need not be taken too literally, as it is probably meant for little more than a dramatic “aside” to the audience, assuring them that Henry is not in reality what he appears—BRANDES (*Wm. Sh., a Crit. Study*, 1896, p. 200) The son is not so unlike the father as the father believes. Shakespeare has made him, in his way, adopt a scarcely less diplomatic policy. . . This self-consciousness of Henry’s was to some extent imposed upon Shakespeare. Without it he could scarcely have brought upon the stage in such questionable company a prince who had become a national hero. Yet if the prince had acted with the cut-and-dried deliberation of purpose which he here attributes to himself, we should have had to write him down an unmitigated charlatan. . . We must allow for Shakespeare’s use of soliloquy. He frequently regards it as an indispensable stage-convention, which does not really reveal the thoughts of the speaker, but only serves . . . to give the hearer information he requires. Such a soliloquy ought to be spoken with a good deal of sophisticated self-justification, or else in a tone of gay raillery—ARNOLD (*Soliloquies of Sh.*, 1911, p. 58). Excluding the villain’s soliloquy, there is only one flagrant case of the self-characterizing monologue in Shakespeare, that of Prince Hal. This speech exists for the sake of the exposition—AX (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol.*, 1912, pp. 20-22): We deem this monologue unnatural, the speaker’s explanations strange, and the motives he states hateful. . . How easy would it have been for the author to give Harry’s behavior a natural explanation. Could he not have made him say that his escapades were but tricks of youth, and that if God should ever give him the crown, He would also give him the power to bear it? . . . If we wish to enjoy this play, we must try to forget these words of the prince. But Shakespeare comes to our aid by forgetting them himself, and whenever we see Harry in Falstaff’s company, he is delighting in it heartily and we have nowhere the impression of seeing before us a player within a play, but an ingenuous youth who is anything but a hypocrite.—TOLMAN (*P.M.L.A.*, 1919): I have sometimes wished that Shakespeare had given Hal at this point merely a few broken phrases that should suggest the stirrings of a better purpose. [SCHÜCKING (*Char. Prob. in Sh. Plays*, 1922,

The vnyokt humour of your idlenes, 187
 Yet herein wil I imitate the funne,
 Who doth permit the bafe contagious clouds
 To smother vp his beautie from the world, 190
 That when he please againe to be himselfe,
 Being wanted he may be more wondred at
 By breaking through the foule and ougly mifts
 Of vapours that did seeme to strangle him.
 If all the yeere were playing holly-dayes, 195
 To sport would be as tedious as to worke ;
 But when they feldome come, they wifht for come,
 And nothing pleaseth but rare accidents
 So when this loofe behaiour I throw off,
 And pay the debt I neuer promised, 200
 By how much better then my word I am,
 By fo much shall I falsifie mens hopes,

192. *wondred*] *wondered* Var. '85,
 Sing.

194. *Of*] *And* Huds. ii.
vapours] *vapour* Dyce ii, iii.

193. *ougly*] *vgly* Q₂, et seq.

202. *hopes*] *fears* Warb

p. 221) and STOLL (*Poets and Playwrights*, 1930, p. 48) stress the fact that this speech must not be taken psychologically but as mere exposition by the playwright to the audience. See also Appendix: Characters: Prince Hal, especially QUILLER-COUCH (*Notes on Sh.'s Workmanship*, 1917).—Ed.]

188-194.] HALLIWELL (ed. 1859) Elmham, a contemporary chronicler, after noticing the youthful follies of the prince, proceeds: "... Such cloudy passages may well be buried in obscurity. But the author's reason for alluding to them is to afford matter of rejoicing ... by presenting the sudden change from night into day, of cloud into clear sky, of an eclipse into perfect splendour, of darkness into light. Lo, the time is at hand when upon the vanishing of a cloud, the solar rays will dart forth."—MALONE (*Second Appendix to Suppl.*, 1783): So, in our author's 33rd Sonnet: "Full many a glorious morning have I seen Flatter the mountain-tops with sovereign eye,—Anon permit the basest clouds to ride With ugly rack on his celestial face."

195-197.] MALONE (*Second Supplement*, 1783): So, in our author's 52nd Sonnet: "Therefore are feasts so solemn and so rare, Since, seldom coming in the long year set, Like stones of price they thinly placed are."

198. *accidents*] COWL (ed. 1914): For accidents in the sense of incidents, cf. *Tempest*, V, i, 250.

202. *falsifie* ... *hopes*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): To falsify hope is to exceed hope.—FARMER (Var. ed. 1773, Appendix ii, vol. x): Hopes is used for expectations, whether good or bad. This is still common in the Midland counties "Such manner of uncouth speech," says Puttenham, "did the tanner of Tamworth use to King Edward IV; which tanner having mistaken him and used very broad talk, at length perceiving that it was the king, was afraid, and said

And like bright mettall on a fullein ground, 203
 My reformation glittring ore my fault,
 Shal shew more goodly, and attraçt more eyes 205
 Then that which hath no foile to fet it off.
 Ile fo offend, to make offence a skill,
 Redeeming time when men thinke leaft I wil. *Exit.* 208

[*Scæna Tertia.*]

*Enter the King, Northumberland, Worcester, Hotspur,
 fir Walter blunt, with others.*

King. My blood hath bin too colde and temperate,
 Vnapt to stir at these indignities, 2

206 *foile*] *soule* Q₄. *soyle* Q₇Q₈,
Ff. Soul Rowe, T J. (1710).

208. *Exit*] Omit *Ff.*

Scæna Tertia.] *Ff.* Om. Qq.
 SCENE III. Rowe. SCENE IV. Pope.
 Scene changes to an Apartment in the
 Palace. Theob. SCENE IV. An
 Apartment in the Palace Han.
 SCENE IV. Changes to an Apartment
 in the Palace. Warb., Johns. SCENE
 III. The Same. Another Room.

Cap. SCENE III. An Apartment in
 the Palace. Varr., Ran., et seq with
 some variations (e. g., SCENE III
 Room of State in the Palace Wh. i.
 SCENE III. Windsor. A Room in
 the Palace. Hal i.)
 sir Walter] Om. Huds i
 blunt] Blunt Q₂, et seq
 with] Qq, Cam, Glo., Wh 11, Rlf.,
 Tud., Ard. and *Ff.*, et cet.

... 'I *hope* I shall be hanged,' whereat the king laughed, not only to see the
 tanner's vain *fear*, but also to hear his mis-shapen terms."—N. E. D. (1901):
 Hope: 3. (*Obsolete*) Expectation, without implication of desire.

203–206. *sullein* ... *foile*] STEEVENS (ed. 1793): So, in *Richard II*, I, iii,
 265: "The sullen passage of thy weary steps Esteem a foil, wherein thou art to
 set The precious jewel of thy home-return."—COWL (ed. 1914) Sullen ground;
 dark background, foil; a leaf of dull metal that "sets off" a brighter metal or
 jewel.

207. *skill*] ONIONS (1911): Piece of good policy.—COWL (ed. 1914): Art.
 —N. E. D. (1919) An art, a science.

I, iii.] DAVIES (*Dram. Misc.*, 1785): The action of this scene is very ani-
 mating and important. The jealousy, suspicion and distrust of the king are
 finely contrasted with the high spirit and impetuosity of Hotspur. Agamemnon
 and Achilles are not more strongly delineated, nor their passions more highly
 coloured. The conduct of the scene is truly dramatic.

Scene-heading] ANDERS (*Sh.'s Books*, 1904, p. 253): The scene is Windsor;
 cf. Holinshed, and I, i, 104.

1–124.] LLOYD (*Essays on Sh.*, 1858): Hotspur professes to have denied no
 prisoners, and yet still sticks for a consideration for surrendering them. He
 repudiates the charge of revolt made against Mortimer, supports his repudi-
 ation by a lively declaration of Mortimer's bloody contest with Glendower, and

And you haue found me, for accordingly 3
 You tread vpon my patience, but be fure
 I will from henceforth rather be my felfe 5
 Mightie, and to be fearde, then my condition

3. And] As Lettsom (conj.), Huds 6 then] in Han than as Ktly.
 ii. (conj.).
 me,] me so. Ktly, Herford condition] condition past Ktly.
 (1900) (conj).
 for] Om Ktly, Herford (1900)

yet when this conflict is denied has nothing to say for it . . . After the king goes out there is no indignation at having the lie given him, but rather what amounts to an admission that Mortimer is really the head of a party against the king, and that therefore of course his application for a ransom for him was mere evasion. He cannot even deny that this rival is further committed by an alliance with Glendower. . . . It is doubtful how far Hotspur is conscious of his own insincerities in this scene. He is hurried on by his passion. He has been prompted by Worcester, and his silence—perhaps blush—at the rebuke by the king may be simply a sign that then for the first time he realized that he had been rather too hastily enforcing and embellishing what he had but slender authority and information for. Hotspur by natural disposition would always “tell the truth and shame the devil”; but passion and violence mislead him.

3. found] SCHMIDT (1874): Detected, unmasked —ELTON (ed. 1889): Found me out, seen that I am so.—N. E. D. (1901) Found out.

5, 6.] Warburton (ed. 1747): I will from henceforth rather put on the character that becomes me, and exert the resentment of an injured king, than still continue in the inactivity and mildness of my natural disposition. And this sentiment Shakespeare has well expressed, save that by his usual license he puts the word *condition* for *disposition*, which use of words depausing [*sic*] the Oxford editor [Hanmer], as it frequently does, he in a loss for the meaning substitutes *in* for *than*, so that by *condition*, in this reading, must be meant *station*, *office*. But it cannot be predicated of station that it is smooth as oil, &c, which shows that *condition* must be used licentiously for disposition.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): The commentator [Warburton] has well explained the sense, which was not very difficult, but is mistaken in thinking the use of *condition* licentious. Shakespeare uses it frequently for *temper of mind*, and in this sense the vulgar still say a good, or ill, conditioned man.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): So, in *Henry V*, V. “Our tongue is rough, coz, and our condition is not smooth.” Ben Jonson uses it in the same sense in *The New Inn*, I, vi: “You cannot think me of that coarse condition.”—CAPPELL (*Notes*, 1779). The author has expressed himself worse in this place than in any other. . . . In the first place, *condition* is certainly used for—temper of mind, natural *disposition*—and, after that is admitted, remains—*be my disposition*; a phrase wholly inexplicable without so large a suppliance of other words as grammar would never help us to; in fact the words necessary to convey the author’s intended sentiment are—guided as I have been by my *condition*—taking it (as aforesaid) in the sense of disposition. [One is tempted to turn the annotator’s words

Which hath bin fsmooth as oile, foft as yong downe, 7
 And therefore loft that title of refpect,
 Which the proud foule neare payes but to the proud
Wor Our houle (my foueraigne liege) little deferues 10
 The fcouge of greatnes to be vfd on it,
 And that fame greatneffe to, which our owne hands
 Haue holpe to make fo portly. *Nor.* My Lord. 13/14
King Worcefter get thee gone, for I do fee 15

7. *yong*] *dove's* Grey (1754). *good lord*,—Pope, Theob., Han.,
 8. *that*] the F₂₋₄, Rowe Warb., Johns., Coll. MS, Coll ii,
title] *tribute* Thirlby MS. Walker (1854), Dyce ii, iii, Huds. ii.
 9. *soule*] Om F₂₋₄, Rowe. *My lord*,—Cap., et cet
neare] *never* Rowe *ne'er* (or *ner*) 15. *Worcester*] *Hence*, *Worcester*
 Q₂₋₃, Ff, Pope, et seq. Han., Seymour. *Lord Worcester* Coll
 13. *holpe*] *hope* Q₁Q₈. *help'd* Pope, MS.
 Theob., Han., Warb., Johns. *do*] Om Steev., Var. '03, '13,
 14. *My Lord*] Q₁₋₃, Q₈₋₉, Ff. *My* Hal ii., ending lines 15 and 16 at
 Lord Q₄Q₈. *My Lord*.—Rowe. *My* *danger/sir*

against himself Capell "has expressed himself worse" here than in most of his generally incoherent notes. LETTSOM, in his *Introd* to WALKER'S *Text of Sh*, 1860, says of Capell's style. "He could scarcely write English so as to be understood Whoever wishes to attain an English style uncouth without simplicity, obscure without conciseness, and slovenly without ease, must give his nights and days to the Notes of Capell."—ED]—COWL (ed. 1914): I will rather be the king that I am than follow the mildness of my disposition.—N. E. D. (1893) Condition: disposition, temper Chaucer, *Knt Tale*, l. 1433: "He was so gentil of his condicioun."

6 *Mightie*,] [Another example of the use of the comma to mark rhetorical emphasis, cf. I, 1, 40, *irregular*,—ED]

13 *portly*] N. E. D. (1909): Stately, majestic. Cf. *portly*: corpulent, II, iv, 394—COWL (1914) Cf Marlowe, *Tamburlaine* (ed. Dyce, p. 11): "My queen and portly emperess," *i. e.*, *stately*.

14. *My Lord*] COLLIER (*Notes and Emend*, 1852): We may feel sure that the Old Corrector reads "My *good* lord" not merely because it finishes the line, but because when Northumberland resumes he uses the same expression.—HALLIWELL (ed. 1859): Unauthorized additions of this kind should be carefully avoided.

15. *Worcester*] WALKER (*Sh. Vers*, 1854, p. 235): Worcester is sometimes, I think, a trisyllable. [Cf. with this line] III, 1, 4, if rightly arranged, "And Uncle Worcester:—a plague upon it!" and V, v, 14 (folio), "Bear Worcester to death, and Vernon too." [But note that the most authoritative text, Q₁, of V, v, 14 requires us to pronounce Worcester as a dissyllable. The line-division of III, 1, 3-9 is not sufficiently well-established to warrant the deductions drawn from it.—ED.]—COLLIER (ed. 1858): For the sake of the measure the Old Corrector inserts *Lord* before *Worcester*; but the anger and impetuosity of Henry may naturally have produced this brief informality.—ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, p. 385):—*E Mute Pronounced*. This is a trace of early English

Danger, and difobedience in thine eie : 16
 O fir, your prence is too bold and peremptorie,
 And Maieftie might neuer yet endure
 The moodie frontier of a feruant browe,
 You haue good leaue to leaue vs, when we need 20
 Your vfe and counfel we fhall fend for you *Exit Wor.*
 You were about to fpeake
North. Yea my good Lord.
 Thofe prifoners in your highnes name demanded,
 Which Harry Percy here at Holmedon tooke,
 Were as he faies, not with fuch ftrengh denied 25

17. *O sir*] *Go, Sir T. J.* (1721). A
 feparate line. Walker (1854), Dyce
 ii, iii.

19. *frontier*] *fronilet* Warb
feruant] *feruants* Q₈₋₉.

21. *and*] or Coll. MS
Exit, Wor] Om. Ff.

22. *You*] (To Northumberland)
You Rowe, et seq

Yea] *Yes* Rowe II, +

23. *name*] Om F₁₋₃

24. *Holmedon*] *Holmsdon* Q₃.

25. *Were*] *Where* Q₆Q₇, F₃

pronunciation; cf. the pronunciation of Worcester [as above] . . . and of Catesby, *Richard III*, III, vii, 58: "Here comes his feruant. How now, Catesby?" and of Gloucester, *I Henry VI*, III, i, 142: "O loving uncle, kind duke of Gloucester."

17. *O sir*] ABBOTT (*Sh Gram*, 1870, p. 423): Some irregularities of metre may be explained by the custom of placing ejaculations, appellations, etc., out of the regular verse. Cf., among others, *Othello*, I, i, 56 "For, sir, It is as sure as you are Roderigo," and *Lear*, I, i, 53: "Sir, I love you more than words can wield the matter."

19. *moodie . . . browe*] Warburton (ed. 1747): This is nonsense. We should read *frontlet*, *i. e.*, forehead.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765) adduces in favor of Warburton's emendation Lear's use of *frontlet* in addressing Goneril, I, iv, 182: "What makes that frontlet on?" He, however, prefers to follow the reading of the early copies, and interprets the passage: Majesty will never endure the moody brow of a feruant to *border* upon it, to be near it.—HEATH (*Revs. of Sh. Text*, 1765): A frontier is a fortification erected to face an enemy and oppose his inroads. I cannot see why it is not a very proper metaphor to express the discontented opposition which lifts its head against its master. . . . Mr. Warburton was in too much haste to see that his own reading is nonsense. . . . *Frontlet* signifies an ornament bound round the forehead, but I do not recollect ever to have seen it used for the forehead [but cf. quotation from *Lear*, above.—ED.]—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1773): *Frontier* was anciently used for forehead. So, Stubbes, *Anatomy of Abuses*, 1595: "Then on the edges of their bolster'd hair, which standeth crested round their frontiers and hanging over their faces."—NARES (*Gloss*, 1822). Moody frontier, *i. e.*, the moody or threatening *outwork* of a fortification. The word is used in the same sense in II, iii, 51.—COLLIER (ed. 1858): *Frontier*, merely *front*.—N. E. D. (1901): Frontier:

As is deliuered to your maiestie. 26

Either enuie therefore, or misprifion,

Is guiltie of this fault, and not my fonne.

Hotsp. My liege, I did denie no prifoners, 30

But I remember when the fight was done,

When I was drie with rage, and extreame toile,

Breathles and faint, leaning vpon my fword,

Came there a certaine Lord, neat and trimly drest,

Fresh as a bridegroom, and his chin new rept, 35

Shewd like a stubble land at haruest home,

26. 15] *he* Q₅₋₈ was Ff, +, Del, Warb, Johns
Knt. ii, iv. 28 15] *Was* Ff, Rowe.

deliuered] *deliuer'd* Rowe, et *and*] *'twas* Rowe ii.

seq. 33 *and*] Om. Pope, Theob, Han.,

27. *Either. therefore*] *Who either* Warb, Johns., Var. '73, Var. '03,

through envy Ff, Rowe i, T J. (1710). Var. '13, Var. Sing. i, Knt. i, Coll.

Who ever through envy Rowe ii. *Who* MS, Hal. ii, Dyce ii, iii, Huds ii,

either thorough envy T. J. (1721). Or Tud.

envy therefore Pope, Theob, Han., *trimly*] *trim* Cap.

front, forehead Frontlet: something worn on the forehead. Sometimes used figuratively, *Lear* I, iv, 182 [see above].

26. *deliuered*] SCHMIDT (1874): Communicated.

27. *enuie*] SCHMIDT (1874) cites this passage, with some twenty others, to show that *envy* was used in the sense of "malice shown by calumny and depreciation"

29-69.] CORSON (*Int. to Sh*, 1889, p. 71) In *John*, *Richard II*, *Henry IV*, and *Henry V*, 1596-1599, the recitative form of verse reaches its highest degree of freedom, vigor, and sweep, and realizes its fullest dramatic possibilities. . . It will be observed that of the forty-one verses of which Hotspur's speech is composed, but two or three run into the verses following them, and yet there's very little impression of metrical restraint upon the language.—BRANDES (*Wm Sh., a Crit. Stud.*, 1896, p. 190) Shakespeare has put forth all his strength in giving to Percy's speeches, and especially to his descriptions, the most graphic definiteness of detail, and a naturalness which raises into a higher sphere the racy audacity of Falconbridge. Hotspur begins to explain how it happened that he refused his prisoners, and begins his defence by describing the messenger who demanded them. . . . But he is not content with a general outline, or with relating what the messenger said; he gives an example of his talk [lines 55-64]. Why this spermaceti? Because it is a touch of reality and begets illusion.

33. *and trimly*] COWL (ed. 1914): Hotspur's impatience, here as often, breaks through the restraints of metre.

34, 35. *chin . . . home*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Harvest-home, a time of festivity.—TYRWHITT (Var. ed. 1778): A chin new-shaven [new reap'd] is compared to stubble-land at harvest-home, not on account of the festivity of that occasion, but because at that time, when the corn has just been carried in, the stubble appears more even and upright than at any other time—SINGER (ed.

He was perfumed like a Milliner, 36
 And twixt his finger and his thumbe he helde
 A pouncet boxe, which euer and anon
 He gaue his nose, and tooke away againe,
 Who therewith angry, when it next came there 40
 Tooke it in snuffe, and still hee smild and talkt .

37 *twixt .thumbe*] *twixt .thum* Q₆.
 39-41 *and snuffe*] Printed in margin as spurious Pope, Han, Warb

39 *tooke*] *took't* Q₂Q₃, Ff, et seq.
 41 *Tooke*] *Tookt* Q₅
snuffe] *suffe* Q₂

1826)· The courtier's beard, according to the fashion of the poet's time, would not be closely shaved, but shorn or trimmed.

36. *Milliner*] NARES (*Gloss*, 1822) Originally a man, we presume from Milan, whence he imported female finery Cf. Jonson, *Every Man in His Humour*, 1598, I, iii. "As a milliner's wife shadows her wrought stomacher with a smoky lawn."—N. E. D. (1908). A vendor of fancy wares and apparel, especially such as were originally of Milan manufacture. [Cf. *Winter's Tale*, IV, iv, 191: "No milliner can so fit his customers with gloves"—ED.]—COWL (ed. 1914). Middleton, *Old Law*, II, ii: "So passing well perfum'd too! Who's your milliner?" Rowley, *Search for Money* (ed. Percy Soc., ii, 17). "The milliners threw out perfumes to catch him by the nose, and sweet gloves . . . to fit his hand."

38 *pouncet boxe*] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): A small box for musk or other perfumes then in fashion, the lid of which being cut with openwork gave it its name, from *poinsoner*, to prick, pierce, or engrave.—COWL (ed. 1914). A box for containing pounce, a fine aromatic powder. The word has no connection with *pounce*, to perforate.—N. E. D. supports Warburton.

39-41. *and . . . snuffe*] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): This stupidity is the players'.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778). Snuff is equivocally used for anger, and a powder taken up the nose So, in Sharpham, *The Fleire*, 1610 "Do not be angry, I do not touch thy nose to the end that it should take anything in snuff." Again, *Love's Labour's Lost*, V, ii, 22: "You'll mar the light by taking it in snuff." Again, in Dekker's *Satiromastix* [1602]: "'Tis enough, having so much foole, to take him in snuff"; and here they are talking about tobacco.—CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): Snuffs made of herbs, aromatic and other, were used medically long before Henry IV.—COWL (ed. 1914): The same quibble occurs in H. Glapthorne, *The Hollander*, [1635], I, i, where a Dutchman thought "to have purchased a monopoly for tobacco, but that the vintners took it in snuff, and inform'd the gallants, who had liked to have smok'd him for it." Shakespeare's reference is probably not to tobacco, which was "first brought and made known in England by Sir John Hawkins about 1565, but not used by Englishmen in many years after" (E. Howes, *Stowes Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 948). [The N. E. D. (1919) defines the phrase *take in snuff* as *to take amiss* and explains its origin as follows: "The original reference was no doubt to the unpleasant smell proceeding from the smoking snuff of a candle. The first recorded use of snuff in the sense of powdered tobacco is in 1683, and the N. E. D. comments: "The practice of taking snuff appears to have become fashionable about 1680,

And as the fouldiours bore dead bodies by, 42
 He cald them vntaught knaues, vnmanerlie,
 To bring a flouenly vnhandfome coarfe
 Betwixt the winde and his nobilitie : 45
 With many holly-day and ladie termes
 He questioned me, amongst the rest demanded
 My prifoners in your Maiesties behalfe.
 I then, all smarting with my wounds being cold, 49

42. bore] bare Ff, +, Wh. 49. I then,] I then Qs-s, Rowe ii.
 46. holly-day termes] holy-day .. I, then Pope, Theob, Han. 1, Warb.,
 termes, Q4 holy-day tearmes Qs-s Johns., Dyce 1, Wh 1, Hal 1
 Holiday.. tearm F1 a holiday term smarting] smarting, Q7Q8, F1F2,
 Daniel (1870). Cap., Varr, Ran, Mal., Steev., Varr,
 47. questioned] question'd Ff, et seq. Sing, Knt, Coll, Del, Huds, Sta,
 amongst] among Qs-s, Ff, Rowe, Hal. ii, Ktly.
 Pope i, Han, Cap, Var '78, '85, wounds being cold] wounds, be-
 Ran, Mal, Steev, Varr., Sing, Knt, ing cold, Rowe wounds, being gal'd
 Coll, Huds, Del, Dyce, Sta, Wh i, Warb wounds being gal'd Johns.
 Hal, Ktly. (conj)

but prevailed earlier in Ireland and Scotland Snuff in the sense of inhaling occurs as early as 1570." Some of the passages cited by Steevens and Cowl, see above, would indicate that the words *snuff* and *tobacco* were associated well before 1680.—ED]

46 holly-day] STEEVENS (ed 1793): So, in *A Looking Glass for London*, 1598 "These be but holiday terms, but if you heard her working-day words . . ." Again, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* [III, ii, 59] "He speaks holiday."

47. questioned] COWL (ed. 1914): Perhaps "talked to," as sometimes elsewhere.

49-51] THEOBALD (*Letter to Warburton*, Mar 26, 1730): You very justly observe that the infinitive passive [*to be so pester'd*] has no preceding verbal to govern it and therefore, and because Hotspur at that period is represented as breathless, and dry with rage, so that his wounds could not be cold, you ingeniously substitute *galled* [see Textual Notes] . . . I agree, the preceding verbal is missing, but I imagine, with submission, Hotspur's wounds might be cold. The fight was done before the trim lord came to him, and though he might be breathless and dry, yet before he returned his answer about the prisoners, we find this fop stood prating deliberatively, "ever and anon," smelling his pouncet box, and "still" smiling and talking; was offended at the dead bodies being brought across his nose, descanted on guns, drums, etc., . . . so that in this interval the blood might congeal enough to make Hotspur feel the smarting of his wounds I, therefore, to supply the preceding verbal wanting, and not to molest the words of the text, have made this transposition of two of the verses [lines 50 and 51; see Textual Notes]. . . . I shall be glad of your consent to this suspicion of mine, but not unless you think I am right.—WARBURTON (ed 1747): In the beginning of the speech Hotspur represents himself as *hot*, not *cold*. . . . I am therefore persuaded that Shakespeare wrote [line 49] *wounds; being gall'd*.—EDWARDS (*Canons of*

To be fo pestred with a Poppingay,
Out of my griefe and my impacience

50

50, 51.] Lines transposed. Theob.
(conj.), Edwards, Heath, Johns.
(conj.), Cap., Dyce ii, iii, Ktly,
Huds. ii, Wh. ii, Coll. iii

pestred] Q₁₋₄. pestered Q₅₋₈,
Ff, Rowe, Wh. i. pester'd Pope, et cet.
Poppingay] Popinjay Q₁Q₅, Pope,
et seq

50. To...Poppingay] In parentheses
Ff.

Crit., 1748) Mr. Warburton, in order to make a contradiction in the common reading, and so make way for his emendation, misrepresents Hotspur, as at this time, when he gave this answer, not cold but hot. . . . But though this imagined contradiction be the reason assigned for changing *cold* to *gall'd*, it is probable that the real reason for the emendation was because otherwise he could not make it join with the following line [line 50]. But this objection will be removed if we allow that the lines have been transposed.—HEATH (*Revisal of Sh. Text*, 1765, p. 246). Whatsoever Mr. Warburton hath offered in support of his emendation is fully refuted by the author of *The Canons of Criticism*.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765). Whatever Percy might say of rage and toil, which is merely declamatory and apologetical, his wounds would at this time certainly be cold, and when they were cold would smart, and not before.—MALONE (ed. Steevens, 1793): So, in *Mortimeriados* by Drayton, 1596: "As when the blood is cold we feel the wound"—WHITE (ed. 1859) [Theobald], Edwards, and Johnson, independently, and with great plausibility, proposed to transpose lines 50 and 51. But it is the manner of Shakespeare's time to enumerate together the causes which severally produced Hotspur's impatience, and to use "to be so pester'd" as we should use "and being so pester'd."—COWL (ed. 1914): The order of lines 49 and 50 corresponds with the order of ideas in line 51, "grief" being the pain caused by the wounds, "impatience" the annoyance given by the popinjay. "To be . . . popinjay," bracketed in F₁, is in fact parenthetical; it does not depend upon *smarting*.

50 pestred] WALKER (*Crit. Exam.*, 1860, II, 351): For "to pester a place or person," in the sense of to crowd, be in a person's way, see *Coriolanus*, IV, vi, 7: "Dissentious numbers pestering streets"; and *Hamlet*, I, ii, 22: "He hath not failed to pester us with message."—ELTON (ed. 1889) quotes L. Digges (*Lines*, c. 1623, prefixed to Sh.'s *Poems*, 1640). "Let but Falstaff come, Hall, Poins, the rest,—you scarce shall have a room, All is so pester'd."—N. E. D. (1909) gives examples from as early as 1562 of *pester* in the modern sense of annoy, plague, especially, of noxious vermin, to infest.

Poppingay] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): A parrot.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): From the following passage in *The Northern Lass*, 1633, it should seem that popinjay and parrot were two distinct birds: "Is this a parrot or a popinjay?"—MALONE (ed. 1790): It would appear from Minshew that Dr. Johnson is right. See Minshew's *Dictionary*, 1617, in v. *Parrot*.—STEEVENS (ed. 1793): In Alday's *Summarie of Wonders*, n. d., we are told that the popinjay "can speake humane speech."—N. E. D. (1909): An early name of the parrot.

51. grieft] STEEVENS (ed. 1793): Pain. In our ancient translations of medical treatises, *dolor ventris* is commonly called belly-grief.—SINGER (ed. 1856): So Falstaff talks about the grief of a wound in V, i, 132.

Anwerd neglectingly, I know not what 52
 He should, or he should not, for he made me mad
 To see him shine so briske, and smell so sweet,
 And talke so like a waiting gentlewoman, 55
 Of guns, and drums, and wounds, God faue the mark
 And telling me the soueraignest thing on earth
 Was Parmacitie, for an inward bruise,
 And that it was great pittie, so it was,
 This villanous faltpeeter, should be digd 60
 Out of the bowels of the harmeles earth,
 Which many a good tall fellow had destroyed
 So cowardly, and but for these vile guns
 He would himselfe haue bene a fouldior.
 This bald vnioynted chat of his (my Lord) 65
 I answered indirec[tly] (as I said)
 And I beseech you, let not his report

52. *Answerd*] *Answered* Q₂₋₈.
what] *what*; Pope, +, Varr.,
 Ran., Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt., Hal.
 ii *what*, Q₂₋₈, Ff, Rowe, et cet.

53. *or he*] or Ff, +, Knt. *he* Cap.
for he] *for't* Huds. ii.

54. *shine*] *shide* F₁. [corrected to
shine in many copies of F₁]
briske] *bright* Thirby MS,
 Warb. MS.

57. *soueraignest*] Q₁Q₂Q₈Q₆. *souer-*
aignst Q₃, et cet.

58. *Parmacitie*] *permacety* T. J.
 (1721). *spermaceth* Steev

60. *This*] *That* Ff, Rowe i, Cap.,
 Var. '78, '85, Ran., Mal., Steev.,
 Varr, Sing, Knt, Del, Sta., Hal. ii.
The Rowe ii

62. *destroyed*] *destroide* Q₄. *de-*
stroy'd Q₅₋₈, Ff, et seq.

64. *himselfe haue bene*] *haue bene*
himselfe Q₄₋₈.

66. *I answered*] *Made me to answer*
 Ff, Rowe. *I answer'd* Pope, et seq.

67. *his*] *this* Q₂₋₈, Ff, Rowe, Pope,
 Theob, Han., Johns, Var '73, Knt.,
 Del.

52. *neglectingly*] N. E. D. (1908): Negligently.

54. *briske*] N. E. D. (1888): Spruce, smartly dressed. Marlowe's *Edward*
II (1590), I, iv: "I have not seen a dapper jack so brisk."

56. *God . . . mark*] COWL (ed. 1914): An exclamation used generally by way
 of deprecation or apology, but here (cf *Othello*, I, i, 33) as an expression of
 scorn. Originally perhaps a form of words invoking a blessing upon the sign
 or *mark* of the cross made by way of averting an evil omen.

58. *Parmacitie . . . bruise*] BOWLE (ed. Malone, 1790): So, in Sir T. Over-
 bury's *Characters*, 1616: "An Ordinary Fencer. His wounds are seldom skin-
 deep, for an inward bruise, lambstones and sweetbreads are his only sper-
 maceti."—REED (Var. ed. 1803): Sir R. Hawkins, *Voyage into the South Seas*,
 1593: "his [whale's] spawn is for divers purposes. This we corruptly call
 parmacitie, of the Latin words, *Sperma ceti*."

62. *tall*] SCHMIDT (1874): Sturdy, lusty.—ONIONS (1911): Doughty, valiant.
 —N. E. D. (1919): Good at arms, stout or strong in combat, brave.

66. *indirectly*] WARBURTON (1747): Negligently.—N. E. D. (1901): Eva-
 sively.

Come currant for an accusation 68
 Betwixt my loue and your high maieftie
Blunt. The circumstance considered, good my lord, 70
 What ere Lord *Harry Percie* then had said
 To such a perfon, and in such a place,
 At such a time, with all the rest retold,
 May reasonably die, and neuer rife
 To do him wrong, or any way impeach 75
 What then he said, fo he vn fay it now.
King. Why yet he doth denie his prifoners,

70 considered] consider'd Rowe, et ii, iii, Hal ii, Huds ii, Ox
 seq. 74 reasonably] reasonable F₂.
 71. ere] euer Ff, +, Cap., Varr, 75. impeach] impeach. Warb. im-
 Ran, Mal, Steev., Varr, Sing. i, peach, Cap, Mason (1785). im-
 Knt., Del., Sta, Wh. i, Dyce ii, iii, peach—Cowl
 Hal. ii, Huds ii, Ox. 76. so he unsay] see, he unsays
 Lord] Om. Q₂-s, Ff, +, Cap, Warb
 Varr., Ran., Mal, Steev, Varr, 77 he] Om F₁
 Sing. i, Knt., Del., Sta, Wh 1, Dyce

71. Lord] COLLIER (ed 1842): Blunt, in Percy's presence, would hardly omit his title [see Textual Notes]—ELTON (ed. 1889) explains the omission of *Lord* in F₁ as a mechanical error made at the time that the name of God was being deleted from the text; see note on I, ii, 38, By the Lord.

71-76.] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): Let us consider the whole passage, which, according to the present reading, bears this literal sense, or rather nonsense: "Whatever Percy *then said* may die and never rise to impeach what he *then said*, so he unsay it now." It should therefore be thus pointed and emended [see Textual Notes], i e, "Whatever Percy then said may reasonably die and never rise to impeach *him*. For see, my liege, what then he said he now unsays" And the king's answer is pertinent to the words as so emended, but utterly impertinent to what precedes in the common reading—JOHNSON (ed. 1765) The learned commentator has perplexed the passage The construction is, "Let what he then said never rise to impeach him so he unsay it now."—HEATH (*Reversal of Sh. Text*, 1765, p. 246). Mr. Warburton, after a laborious search for nonsense, hath detected it, but it vanishes again immediately, upon his putting a proper stop at the end of [line 75]. [It is difficult to see how Heath would interpret line 76 under these conditions.—ED]—COWL (1914): The subject of impeach is, I think, lines 71-73, and its object *him* understood from the preceding clause. . . . *What then he said* is in apposition to, and defines, *it*, the object of *unsay*. The obscurity of the whole passage is removed by putting a dash after *impeach*.

77-80.] AX (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol.*, 1912, p. 22): The meeting occurred, according to the *Chronicle* [See Appendix: Sources of the Plot], at Windsor, where the Percies had come "upon a purpose to prove the king." They did not come at the king's command, but at their own free will to require the ransom of

But with prouifo and exception,
That we at our owne charge fhall ranfome ftraight
His brother in law, the foolifh Mortimer,

80

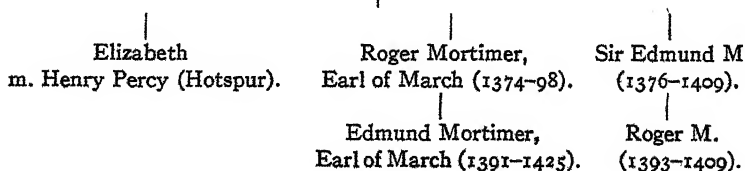
Mortimer . . . This redemption of Mortimer, which is represented by Shakespeare as the condition of the Percies' surrendering their Scotch prisoners, seems not to have had this significance in the *Chronicle*. It may be read between the lines, but it is not expressly stated there

80-83] COURTENAY (*Com on Sh.'s Hist. Plays*, 1840) The insinuation [*sic*] on the part of the king that Mortimer suffered himself to be captured is ascribed to him in a manifesto of dubious authenticity, and is mentioned by Hardyng "He sayd him nay, for he was taken prisoner By his consent and treason" I do not agree that the king's letter of June 25, 1402, lamenting the capture of his cousin, proves that he entertained no such suspicion. That letter was written some months before Mortimer married the daughter of the Welsh chieftain and wrote to his tenants "Owen Glendower hath raised a quarrel of which the object is, if King Richard be alive to restore him to his crown, and if not, that my honoured nephew, the Earl of March, who is right heir to the said crown, shall be king of England, and that the said Owen will assert his right in Wales"

80. brother in law] STEEVENS (Var ed 1778): Shakespeare has fallen into some contradictions with regard to the Lord Mortimer. Before he makes his personal appearance in the play, he is repeatedly spoken of as Hotspur's brother-in-law. In Act III [1, 193], he calls Lady Percy his aunt, which she in fact was . . . This inconsistency may be accounted for as follows. It appears from both Dugdale's and Sandford's account of the Mortimer family that there were two of them taken prisoner at different times by Glendower, each bearing the name Edmund; one being the Earl of March, nephew to the Lady Percy, and the proper Mortimer of the play, the other Sir Edmund, uncle to the Earl and brother to Lady Percy.—MALONE (ed. 1790) Another cause may be assigned for this confusion Henry Percy married Eleanor, sister to Roger Earl of March, who was father to Edmund Earl of March who appears in this play. But this Edmund had a sister also named Eleanor . . . The sister of Roger, whom the young Percy married, was named Elizabeth.—AX (*Rel of Sh to Hol.*, 1912) Some errors must be pointed out which we cannot wonder at in Shakespeare, as the chronicler himself is not free from them A pedigree, which we owe to Brandl's edition, will best illustrate the relationship between various members of this family

Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March (1351-1381).

mar. Philippa, dau. to Lionel, 2nd son of King Edward III.



Who on my foule, hath wilfully betraid
 The liues of those, that he did lead to fight 82
 Against that great Magitian, damnd Glendower,
 Whose daughter as we heare, that Earle of March
 Hath lately married : shall our coffers then 85
 Be emptied, to redeeme a traitor home ?

81 on] in Q₃₋₈, Ff, Rowe, Knt., Q₃₋₈, Ff, et cet
 Sing. 11. 84. that] Q₁, Cap, Coll, Dyce, Wh.
 83 that] Q₁Q₂, Coll., Huds i, Cam, i. the Q₂₋₈, Ff, et cet
 Glo., Wh. 11, Rlf, Tud, Ard. the 85. married:] married? Q₄₋₈

According to history, it was not Edmund, Earl of March, in 1403 a boy of twelve, but Sir Edmund, his uncle, brother-in-law to Hotspur, who fought against Glendower and married the Welshman's daughter. But in Holinshed, as in Shakespeare, Sir Edmund plays the part of the Earl of March, with this difference, that the chronicler confounds him with the young living earl, whereas the dramatist makes him take the place of the defunct earl, who died in Ireland in 1398.

brother] WALKER (*Sh. Vers.*, 1854, p. 109): Either, neither, whether, brother, mother, and sometimes whither, are pronounced as monosyllables [see also Walker on III, i, 175].—BAYFIELD (*Study of Sh. Vers.*, 1920, p. 4): Editors from Rowe onwards . . . are in unmistakable though tacit agreement upon one point: they believe that Shakespeare's judgment as to the number of resolved feet (*i. e.*, feet with more than the expected number of syllables) to be introduced into blank verse was that they should be few. . . . Some, as Pope, Hanmer, and Sidney Walker, went so far as to alter the text for the sake of eliminating resolutions. . . . Abbott went to great lengths saying that syllables should be elided or slurred. . . . (p. 7) Comparison of quartos and folios, and a careful examination of the metrical features of the whole of the plays, have convinced me . . . that the rhythms produced by trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic feet delighted Shakespeare's musical ear. . . . (p. 94): In *I Henry IV*, the Folio eliminated 19 resolutions not eliminated by Q₁, Q₁ eliminated 3 not eliminated by the Folio, and in 10 cases Q₁ and F₁ agree in eliminations. . . . The Folio exhibits a set determination to reduce the verse so far as possible to the rhythm of the plain norm. . . . (p. 269) Q₁ of *I Henry IV* is by general consent an excellent one, and the best authority for the text. . . . (p. 271): In Quartos which have no pretence to rank in accuracy [with the "Good Quartos"] the average of the clipped form rises, as against 1.3% in *I Henry IV*, to 14% in *Lear*, 16% in *II Henry IV*, 17% in *Othello*, 18% in *Troilus*, and 18.8% in *Hamlet*.

84, 85.] See Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Holinshed.—MALONE (Var. ed. 1803): Glendower's daughter was married to his antagonist Lord Gray of Ruthven. Holinshed leads Shakespeare into the error of supposing her wife to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. [Both Gray and Mortimer were captured by Glendower in 1402, and each of them married a daughter of Glendower.—ED.]

Shall we buy treason ? and indent with feares 87
 When they haue loft and forfeited themfelues ?
 No, on the barren mountaines let him starue :
 For I shall neuer hold that man my friend, 90
 Whose tongue shall aske me for one penny coft
 To ranfome home reuolted Mortimer,

87. *with*] *for* Mason (1785).
feares] *foes* Han, Mason (1785),
 Coll MS, Coll. ii, iii. *peers* Johns
 (conj.). *feres* Knt. *factors* Sing 11
 (conj.).

89 *mountaines*] *mountaine* Q₂₋₈,
 F₁₋₈.
starue] *sterue* Q₄₋₈, F₁
 92. *Mortimer*] Q₁, F₂F₈. *Mor-*
timer. Q₂₋₈, F₁F₄, et seq.

87. *indent . . . feares*] POPE (ed 1723). *Indent*: bargain, article—WARBURTON (ed 1747) The reason he says *bargain with fears* is that he supposed Mortimer had betrayed his forces out of fear, as appears from the next speech. No need therefore to change *fears* to *foes*—JOHNSON (ed 1765): The king is not desired to article, or contract, with Mortimer, but with another *for* Mortimer. Perhaps we should read *with peers*.—Shall we purchase back a traitor? Shall we descend to a composition with Worcester, Northumberland, and the young Percy?—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778). *Fears* may be used in an active sense for *terrors*; so, in *II Henry IV* [IV, v, 196] “. . . all those bold fears Thou seest with peril I have answered.” These lords had as yet neither lost nor forfeited anything [cf line 88], so that Dr. Johnson’s conjecture is inadmissible.—CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779). *I. e.*, Bind by indenture a Thing fearful or dreadful.—MASON (*Com. on Last Ed.*, 1785). No human being can comprehend how “with fears” can mean “with Mortimer” Steevens has proved Dr Johnson’s amendment inadmissible. My amendment, *for foes*, perfectly agrees with the rest of the speech. Hammer proposed *foes*, but it is also necessary to read *for*, unless the king considers Mortimer a party in the agreement.—STEEVENS (ed. 1793) After all, I am inclined to regard Mortimer, though the king speaks of him in the plural number, as the *Fear*, or timid object, which had lost and forfeited itself. Henry says presently [lines 116, 117]: “He durst as well have met the devil alone As Owen Glendower.” *Fears* may be substituted for *fearful people*, as *wrongs* for *wrongers* in *Richard II* [II, iii, 128]. . . . The king by “buying treason and indenting with fears” may covertly repeat both his charges against Mortimer: that he had treasonably betrayed his party to Glendower, and that he would have been afraid to meet so brave an adversary.—KNIGHT (ed. 1839): A *feres* [see Textual Notes] is a companion . . . If *feres* were . . . applied to Glendower and Mortimer, who have become confederates, we should have a very fair reading. . . . But in the passage before us we are inclined to think that *feres* has a meaning . . . likely to present itself to Shakespeare from his knowledge of legal phrases and customs connected with tenures. The word *feres* is derived from the Saxon *fera*, a companion; but it is from the same species of derivation that we obtain the word *vassal*. Feudal vassals had their origin in the *comites*, companions, attending their chiefs in war. . . . The king refers to Mortimer and Glendower as his revolted vassals. . . . In these lines we have two other technical words, *indent* and *forfeited*.—DYCE

Hot. Reuolted Mortimer :

93

93. *Mortimer*] *Mortimer?* Q₂-s, Ff, + *Mortimer!* Cap, et cet

(*Remarks on Collier and Knight*, 1844) Neque in mea potestate est ut temperam a risu, neque in tua ut me prohibeas. Quod audi ex te, Titī (Knight)?—COLLIER (ed. 1842) Subscribe to an indenture as if under apprehension . . . They, in the next line, refers to Mortimer and the others taken with him—DYCE (*Remarks on Collier and Knight*, 1844) Never was a more violent interpretation [than Collier's]—one at once disproved by the earlier part of the line. The king speaks of treason and of fears, of buying the one and indenting with the other. That *fears* is equivalent to *objects of fear* I have no doubt cf. Beaumont and Fletcher's *Valentinian*, IV, 1 "If I must perish, Yet shall my *fears* (objects of fear) go foremost"—COLLIER (*Notes and Emend*, 1852) Nobody has explained satisfactorily the use of *fears*. . . It seems strange that in the course of 250 years, nobody should ever have guessed at *foes* [but see Textual Notes.—Ed.] If it were merely a guess by the Old Corrector, it is a happy one, some may be disposed to entertain the opinion that he had an opportunity of resorting to a better original than any of the printed copies—SINGER (*Text of Sh. Vindicated*, 1853) Hammer's reading, *foes*, found no favour with Mr. Collier in 1842, when *fears* seemed to him perfectly intelligible. The discovery of his "corrected folio" seems to have "collided his better judgment" IBID. (ed. 1856): I think we should read *fators*, a word that was misprinted *fairs* and *fates* in *II Henry IV*, II, iv, 146 Being an obsolete word of rare usage will account for [*sic*] mistakes of the printer—LETTSOM (*New Readings in Sh.*, 1853): *Fears* are not the objects of fear, but, if there were such a word, *fearers*.—COLLIER (ed. 1858): The Rev A. Dyce brings forward a passage from *Valentinian* [see above], which is merely a repetition of the error in Shakespeare's text . . . The old compositor obscured Beaumont and Fletcher's meaning by printing *fears* for *foes*, and reduced Mr. Dyce, who did not detect the misprint, to the necessity of explaining *fears* as *objects of fear*—true, they were, because they were *foes* So, in the same authors' *Bonduca*, I, ii, we have this passage, not cited by Mr. Dyce: "And to ourselves our own fears," *v. e*, *foes*. A third proof of this same blunder is in Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris* (ed. Dyce, ii, 226), when the Queen mother says to Anjou. "Here thou hast a country void of fears!" . . . If those who edit old plays would not support obvious blunders by their repetition, the text of our early dramatists would be freed from many corruptions. Further, we may ask if Henry IV would thus acknowledge before the very friends of "revolted Mortimer" that he and his partisans were "objects of fear?"—[DYCE (*Strictures on Collier's New Edition*, 1859) replies, quoting the whole passage from *Valentinian*, and pointing out that *fears* in that passage echoes "though a friend, a fear'd one" of a few lines before. He also cites the use of *fear* in this sense in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Maid's Tragedy*, II, ii. In a note on *Love's Labour's Lost*, V, ii, 82, Dyce, in his 2nd ed. of Shakespeare, 1862, continues this controversy, citing examples of the use of *encounters* for *encounterers*, *reports* for *reporters*, etc.,—in each case the abstract for the concrete.—Ed.]—SCHMIDT (1874): To bargain with objects of fear; cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, IV, iii, 50: "Environed with all these hideous fears."—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Enter into a compact with those who are the cause of fear.—COWL (ed. 1914): Enter into an engagement with cowards.

He neuer did fall off, my foueraigne liege
 But by the chance of war, to proue that true 95
 Needs no more but one tongue for all thofe wounds,

94 *hege*] *hege* Upton (1746). *hege*; 96. *tongue* for] Qq *tongue* For Ff.
 Cap. (conj.) *tongue*, for Rowe, Pope, Theob.,
 95 *by*] *bore* Han 'bides Warb Warb, Cap., Varr, Ran., Mal.
 (conj.), Acting Version 1763. *tongue*, for Johns. *tongue* for Han.,
war, *to*] *war*,—To Upton et cet.
 (1746), Cap (conj.).

93. **Reuolted Mortimer**] GENTLEMAN (*Introd.* to Bell's ed. 1773): The debate, so far, is maintained with becoming dignity and spirit, on both sides. "Revolted Mortimer!" should not be roared by Hotspur, as some actors, indeed most we have heard, stentorize it; the words should be expressed with astonishment.—DAVIES (*Dram Misc*, 1785). These two words should be spoken loudly and vehemently, from a sudden impulse of passion which the impetuous Hotspur could not restrain. Upon the king's turning quickly upon him with a look of anger and resentment, he immediately softens his voice to a low and submissive cadence.

94, 95 **He . . . war**] THEOBALD (ed 1733). The sense is carelessly expressed if this be the genuine reading for the poet must mean,—He never did fall off, though we by the chance of war have lost his services Mr. Warburton [apparently in an unpublished letter] has suspected the text, and therefore I'll subjoin his reasons and emendations "A very pretty way of apologizing for Mortimer! The king calls him "revolted Mortimer," as well he might had he indeed revolted, even tho' "by the chance of war." Can chances of war excuse a soldier for forfeiting his honour? In case Hotspur has a mind to insinuate that the chance of war was an alleviation to the revolt, he would not, sure, have resented the epithet . . . I am persuaded, therefore, that the poet wrote 'But 'bides the chance of war' "—UPTON (*Crit Observ*, 1746). [See Textual Notes.—ED.] Hotspur is going to speak what is only not treason, but corrects himself by a beautiful aposiopesis —HEATH (*Reversal of Sh. Text*, 1765). I agree with Mr. Upton. Hotspur was going to say, "But by the chance of war he was made prisoner"; but hurried away by the violence and impatience of his temper he breaks off abruptly —JOHNSON (ed. 1765). The plain meaning is, *he came not into the enemies' power but by the chance of war.* —CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): The speaker, suitably to his temper, is upon the point of telling more than he should, but has just power to correct himself, and continues the vindication confusedly.—SCHMIDT (1874): Fall off: revolt.—N. E. D. (1901) cites this passage as an example of *fall off* in the sense of *revolt*, or *withdraw from allegiance*.

95, 96. **to proue . . . wounds**] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): This passage is of obscure construction. The later editors point it, as they understood that *for the wounds* a tongue was needful, and only *one tongue*. This is harsh. I rather think that it is a broken sentence. "To prove the loyalty of Mortimer," says Hotspur, "one speaking witness is sufficient, for his wounds proclaim his loyalty, those mouthed wounds, etc."—MASON (*Comments on the Last Edition*, 1785): The same idea occurs in *Coriolanus*, II, iii, 6: "For if he shews us his

Thofe mouthed wounds which valiantly he tooke, 97
When on the gentle Seuerns fiedgie banke,

98. *siedgie*] *Sedgie* F₄, et seq.

wounds, we are to put our tongues into these wounds and speak for them " And again, in *Julius Caesar* [III, II, 227] " . . . put a tongue In every wound of Caesar."

98-112.] AX (*Rel of Sh to Hol*, 1912, p. 24) The details of this battle are not historical, nor is the single combat, nor the name of the river. The battle is said to have taken place at Kington on a little brook called the Arrow. The single combat, reported by Hotspur perhaps in order to pay the king back with another rumour about the battle, need not be considered an historical inaccuracy, for the dramatist must sometimes invent to give a character the opportunity of rectifying a distortion of fact in a speech of another. As to the rumour mentioned by the king (line 81), we find the same allusion in Holinshed (III, 20) [see Appendix: Sources of the Plot.—ED]. We admit that the fact of Mortimer's marrying Glendower's daughter . . . appears somewhat suspicious. But the earl may have done so to escape from a captivity which is said to have been a severe and filthy one (Hol, III, 22), a reason which the chronicler also admits (III, 21). An instance may here be given of Holinshed's detached writing in III, 21, he says. "Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, whether for irksomeness of cruel captivity, or fear of death, agreed to take part with Owen against the king, and took to wife the daughter of the said Owen." But on the next page he says of the Percies: "They did not only deliver out of captivity their cousin, but entered into league with Glendower." These accounts, contradicting each other, render difficult not only a comparison between dramatist and chronicler, but also a sure interpretation of each passage in the play. From Worcester's remark in this scene (line 295), "I'll steal to Glendower and Lord Mortimer," we may perhaps conclude that the Percies knew about the deliverance and marriage of Mortimer, and that if in the presence of the king they urged the ransom of their kinsman, their demand is to be taken as an artifice to "prove" the king, as Holinshed says. . . . But, on the other hand, Hotspur says (line 219). "He would not ransom Mortimer," which would prove that the Percies [Qy., the Percies or Hotspur alone?—ED.] believed their relative to be still in fetters.

98-107. ANON. (*A Dialogue on Taste*, 1762, p. 68): *Freeman*. The taste of the public is still false in some kinds of poetry, particularly in tragedy; under which title five acts of language such as no mortal ever spake seldom falls. *Modish*. I hope you don't lay this to the charge of the poor Italians. *Freeman*. No, my lord, it proceeds from the influence . . . of our own Shakespeare. . . . We are led insensibly to admire and imitate everything that belongs to [him]. . . . All with justice applaud when Hotspur gives his contemptuous description of the courtier who came to demand his prisoners, so full of that pride and vivacity which constitute his character; but it was never yet known that the pit treated the actor with a hiss . . . when in his relation of Mortimer's combat with Glendower he says "Three times they breathed, &c." . . . Nature could never have pointed out that a river was capable of cowardice. . . . KAMES (*Elements of Crit.*, 1762, iii, 96): Hyperbole, too bold even for a Hotspur.—

In fingle oppofition hand to hand,
 He did confound the beft part of an houre, 100
 In changing hardiment with great Glendower,
 Three times they breathd, & three times did they drinke
 Vpon agreement of fwift Seuerns floud,
 Who then affrighted with their bloudie looks,
 Ran fearefully among the trembling reedes, 105
 And hid his crispe-head in the hollow banke,
 Bloud-ftained with thefe valiant combatants,
 Neuer did bare and rotten pollicy
 Colour her working with fuch deadly wounds, 109

103. *swift*] *sweet* Q₈. 108 *bare and*] *barren* Jackson
 106 *crispe-head*] *crisped-head* F₂F₈. (1818).
crisped head F₄, Rowe *crisp'd head* *bare*] Qq, Johns., Varr., Mal.,
 T. J (1721), Pope, Theob., Han., Steev., Sing., Hal., Ard. *base* Ff, et
 Warb. *crispe head* Johns., Cap., et cet.
 seq 109 *Colour*] *Cover* Thirlby MS.
the] a F₂₋₄, Rowe.

JOHNSON (ed. 1765): This passage has been censured as sounding nonsense, which represents a river as capable of fear. It is misunderstood. *Severn* is not here the flood, but the tutelary power of the flood, who was frightened.—HUDSON (*Sh., his Life, Art., &c.*, 1872, ii, 75). It would not be in good taste to put such a strain into the mouth of a contemplative sage, but in Hotspur its very extravagance is in good taste, because highly characteristic.—ROOT (*Class. Myth in Sh.*, 1903, p. 22): Shakespeare has frequent recourse to the forms of expression given us by the ancients, or, still more significantly, imitates their methods of thought without employing their exact terms. How thoroughly in accord with the spirit of mythology are Hotspur's words describing the fight between Mortimer and Glendower!—JUSSERAND (*Hist. litt.*, ed. 1904, p. 702): These lines are given to the exuberant Hotspur, but it is actually the poet of *Venus and Adonis* who speaks through Hotspur's mouth

100. *confound*] N. E. D. (1893): Consume.—COWL (ed. 1914), Cf. *Coriolanus*, I, vi, 17. "How could'st thou in a mile confound an hour?"

101 *hardiment*] STEEVENS (ed. 1793): Hardiness, bravery.

106 *crispe*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): Curled. . . . In one of Jonson's Masques: "The rivers run as smoothed by his hand, Only their heads are crisped by his stroke" (Whalley's ed., vi, 26).—SINGER (ed. 1826): Kyd's *Cornelia*, 1596: "O beauteous Tyber . . . Turn not thy crispy tides like silver curls."

108. *bare*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): I believe *bare* is right. "Never did policy lying open to detection so colour its workings."—MASON (*Comments on the Last Ed.*, 1785). Policy lying open to detection is no policy at all; the epithet *base* agrees best with *rotten*.—WALKER (*Crit Exam.*, 1860, i, 279): *Bare* and *base* are often confused by the printers; cf. III, ii, 13.

109. *Colour*] SCHMIDT (1874): Give a specious appearance.

Nor neuer could the noble Mortimer 110
 Receiue fo many, and all willingly,
 Then let not him be slandered with reuolt
King. Thou dost bely him Percy, thou dost bely him,
 He neuer did encounter with Glendower .
 I tel thee, he durst as well haue met the duell alone, 115/116
 As Owen Glendower for an enemy.
 Art thou not asham'd ? but firrha, henceforth
 Let me not heare you speake of Mortimer :
 Send me your prifoners with the speediest meanes, 120
 Or you shal heare in such a kind from me
 As will displease you. My Lord Northumberland :
 We licence your departure with your sonne,
 Send vs your prifoners, or you wil heare of it. *Exit King*
Hot. And if the diuel come and rore for them 125

110. *neuer*] *ever* Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han, Warb.

112. *not him*] Q₁₋₅, Cam, Glo, Wh. ii, Rlf., Tud, Ard. *him not* Q₆₋₈, Ff, et cet.

slandred] *sland'* red F₁F₂. *slander'd* F₃F₄, et seq

113. *Percy, ... bely*] *Percy, thou behest* Pope, Theob i, ii, iii, Han, Warb, Johns. *Percy, thou bely'st* Theob iv. *Percy, dost belie* Vaughan.

115. *I tel thee*] Om Pope, Theob., Han, Warb., Johns., Cap As separate line Steev., Varr, Sing, Knt, Coll, Del, Huds., Dyce, Hal., Wh, Cam, Glo, Rlf., Tud, Ox., Ard. At end of line 114. Ktly.

116. *alone*] Om. T. J. (1721).

118. *thou*] Om. Pope, +, Cap.,

Varr., Ran, Steev., Var. '03, '13, Hal. ii, Huds. ii, Lettsom

asham'd] *asham'd to say't* Cap. *sirrha, henceforth*] *sirrha, from this hour* Pope, Theob., Warb., Johns, Acting Version 1763. *from this hour, Sir Han. sirrah, from henceforth* Ktly., Huds ii.

122. *you*] *ye* Ff, Rowe.

My] Om Pope, Han.

124. *you will*] Qq, Cam., Glo., Rlf., Ard. *you'l* Ff, et cet.

Exit King] *Exit King Henry.* Rowe, +, Varr., Ran. *Exeunt King Henry, Blunt, and Train.* Cap., Mal., et cet.

125. *And if*] *An if* Cap., Cam., Glo., Dyce ii, iii, Huds. ii, Rlf., Tud, Ox., Ard.

113. *bely*] SCHMIDT (1874): Misrepresent.

118.] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): In the impetuous language of passion it is unreasonable to look for regularity of verse [cf. Textual Notes].—COWL (ed. 1914): "Henceforth," pronounced "hennesforth," is a trisyllable, as in Marlowe, *Edward II*, I, i (Q₁): "And henceforth parle with our naked swords."

120-124.] AX (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol.*, 1912, p. 25): The parties sever in Shakespeare with a possibility of reconciliation; in Holinshed (III, 22) it seems excluded by the provocative words of Hotspur

125. *And if*] ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram*, 1870, p. 74): *And if* represents both *even if* and *if indeed*.

duel . . . rore] STEEVENS (ed. Malone, 1790: note on *Henry V*, IV, iv,

I wil not fend them : I will after straight
 And tel him so, for I will ease my hart,
 Albeit I make a hazard of my head. 127

Nor What ? dronk with choler, stay, & pause a while,
 Here comes your vncl. Enter Wor. 130a
 Hot. Speake of Mortimer ? b

Zounds I will speake of him, and let my soule
 Want mercy if I do not ioine with him .
 Yea on his part, ile empty all these vaines,
 And shed my deere blood, drop by drop in the duft,
 But I will lift the down-trod Mortimer 135
 As high in the aire as this vnthankefull king,
 As this ingrate and cankred Bullingbrooke.

126. *I will after*] *I'll after* Johns.
 128. *Albeit I make a*] *Although it be*
 with Ff, +, Cap, Varr., Ran., Mal.,
 Steev., Varr., Sing. i, Knt., Del.,
 Wh., Hal, Dyce ii, iii, Huds ii, Rlf
Albeit it be with Ktly, Sing. ii.
 After 128] Offers to go. Coll. MS.
 129. *choler,*] *choler?* Q₂, et seq.
a while] *awhile* F₁₋₃, Var. '03,
 et seq.
 130. Enter Wor.] Q₁₋₄, Ff, +, Wh.
 i. Om. Q₅₋₈ Re-enter Worcester.
 Cap., et cet.
 131. *Zounds*] *Yes* Ff, +, Varr,
 Ran.
soule] *son* Johnson (2nd print-
 ing, 1768) [This is obviously a mis-
 print. the *l* of *soul* is broken in the
 edition of 1765.—Ed]
 133. *Yea on his part*] *In his behalfe*
 Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han,
 Warb., Johns, Knt, Del., Wh. i, Ox
these] *those* Q₇Q₈, F₂₋₄, Rowe
 134. *in the*] Q₁₋₄, Cam, Glo, Rlf,
 Tud., Ard. *'th* Q₅₋₈, F₁₋₃ *'th'*
 F₄, Rowe. *in* Pope, Theob., Han.,
 Warb, Johns *'the* Cap, et cet.
 135. *down-trod*] *downfall* F₁₋₃
downfaln F₄, Rowe, Pope, Theob.,
 Han., Ran.
 136. *in the*] Q₁₋₄, Cam., Glo, Rlf,
 Tud., Ard. *in'th* Q₅₋₈ *'th* F₁₋₃
'th' F₄, Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han,
 Warb, Johns., Dyce ii, iii *'the*
 Cap., et cet.
 137. *Bullingbrooke*] *Bullingbrook*
 Q₈, F₄ F₄. *Bullingbroke* Rowe. *Boling-*
broke Pope, et seq [The various
 spellings of this name will not be
 noted again.—Ed.]

69). The devil in the old mystery plays is as turbulent and vainglorious as Shakespeare's Pistol.—MALONE (*Ibid.*): The devil in the Moralities was always attacked by the Vice, who belaboured him with his "dagger of lath" [cf. II, iv, 121] and sent him roaring off stage.

128.] COLLIER (ed. 1858): Mr. Singer here introduces [see Textual Notes] a most cacophonous conjunction.

137. *cankred*] SCHMIDT (1874): Venomous, malignant.—HUDSON (ed. 1880): Canker, verb and noun, is used of anything that corrodes and consumes or that has the virulent and malignant qualities of a cancer

Bullingbrooke] HUDSON (ed. 1880, xi, 32): Henry Plantagenet, the King of this play, was surnamed Bolingbroke from a castle of that name in Lincolnshire where he was born. In like manner his father, John of Gaunt, was so called from the place of his birth, the city of Ghent (Gand) in Flanders.

Nor. Brother, the king hath made your nephew mad. 138

Wor. Who strooke this heat vp after I was gone ?

Hot. He wil forfooth haue all my prifoners, 140

And when I vrg'd the ranfome once againe
Of my wiues brother, then his cheeke lookt pale,
And on my face he turn'd an eie of death,
Trembling euen at the name of Mortimer.

Worſt. I cannot blame him, was not he proclaim'd 145
By Richard that dead is, the next of bloud ?

North He was, I heard the proclamation :
And then it was, when the vnhappy king,
(Whose wrongs in vs God pardon) did fet forth 149

- | | |
|--|---|
| 138 Nor.] Nor. (To Worcester) | Warb., Johns. |
| Rowe, et seq., except Cap, Mal., | 145. <i>not he</i>] Qq, Cam., Glo., Wh. ii, |
| Cam, Glo., Wh. ii, Rlf, Tud, Ox. | Tud., Ard <i>he not</i> Ff, et cet. |
| 139. <i>strooke</i>] <i>struck</i> Mal, et seq. | 146. <i>dead is</i>] <i>is dead</i> Walker (1860), |
| 142. <i>wiues</i>] <i>Wife's</i> Rowe, et seq. | Dyce ii, iii, Ktly., Huds. ii. |
| 144. <i>euen</i>] <i>ev'n</i> Pope, Theob., Han., | |

143. *eie of death*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): An eye menacing death. Hotspur seems to describe the king as trembling with rage rather than fear.—MASON (*Comments on Last Ed*, 1785). But the king had no reason to be enraged at Mortimer . . . though he had much reason to fear the man who had a better title to the throne than his, . . . and Worcester, immediately after, remarks that he cannot blame him for trembling at the name of Mortimer.—MALONE (ed. 1790). Mr. Mason's remark is in general just; but the king had some reason to be enraged at Mortimer, because he thought that Mortimer had revolted.—ELTON (ed. 1889). An eye fixed and glazed, like a corpse's—only with fear. *Pale* in the line before, and *trembling* in the next line, show that the emotion was fear, not rage.—COWL (ed. 1914) cites many parallel passages from Elizabethan plays in support of Johnson's interpretation. Among others: *II Tamburlaine*, III, v. "See'st thou not death within my wrathful looks?" and *Lust's Dominion*, V, v: "I'll cast an eye of death."

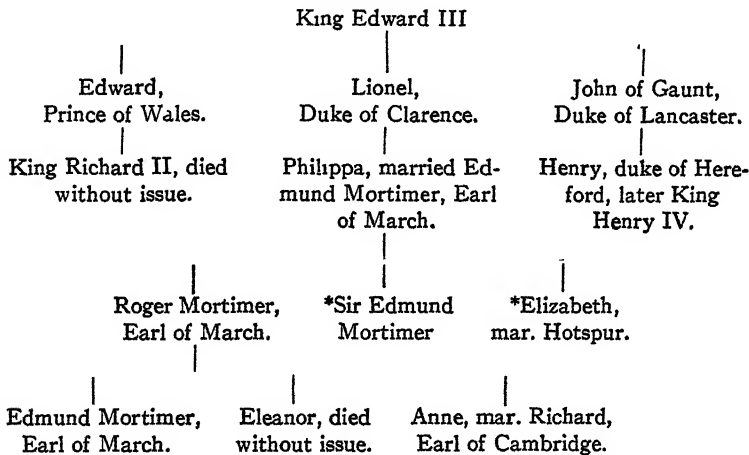
145, 146.] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): It was not Edmund Mortimer, the Mortimer of this play, whom King Richard proclaimed . . . but his father, Roger, who was killed soon after in Ireland [cf. I, iii, 80, note].—RITSON (*Remarks*, 1783): Northumberland heard the proclamation when "the unhappy king set forth upon his Irish expedition" (lines 148-150). Roger . . . was not then alive. . . . It was to revenge his death that the king set out. . . . That it was Edmund who was proclaimed is proved by Hall, who expressly says that "Edmund, sonne to erle Roger, at King Richard's goyng into Ireland was proclaimed heire."—MALONE (ed. 1790): Roger was proclaimed in 1385. But he was killed in 1398. The person declared heir by Richard previous to his last voyage to Ireland was Edmund, son to Roger. . . . Edmund was undoubted heir, as appears from the following table:

Vpon his Irish expedition;
 From whence he intercepted, did returne 151
 To be depos'd, and shortly murdered.

Worſt. And for whose death, we in the worlds wide
 Liue scandaliz'd and foully spoken of. (mouth)

Hot. But soft, I pray you did king Richard then 155

152 *murdered*] *murthered* Ff, Rowe, 154. *Liue*] *Live so* F₂₋₄, Rowe.
 Pope, Theob. i, ii, iii, Han 1, Warb., 155. *you*] Om. Han. ii.
 Johns, Cap, Knt., Wh., Rlf.



[* I have added to Malone's table the names of Sir Edmund Mortimer and of Elizabeth his sister, wife to Harry Percy —ED.]

HALLAM (*View of the State of Europe*, 1821, iii, 81) 'The revolution which elevated Henry IV to the throne was certainly so far accomplished by force that the king was in captivity and those who might adhere to him in no position to support his authority. But the sincere concurrence which most of the prelates and nobility, with the mass of the people, gave to changes that could not have been effected otherwise by one so unprovided with foreign support as Henry, proves his revolution to have been a national act, and should prevent our considering the Lancastrian kings as usurpers. . . . The claim of Henry, as opposed to that of the Earl of March, was indeed ridiculous, but it is by no means evident that in such cases of extreme urgency . . . there rests any positive obligation upon the estates of the realm to fill the place of the deposed prince with his nearest heir.

149. in vs] HUDSON (ed. 1880): Which we inflicted.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Caused by us.—COWL (ed. 1914): To us. Cf. Wyclif: "Oure dettouris, that is men that haue synned in us."

Proclaime my brother Edmund Mortimer

Heire to the crowne ?

157

North. He did, my felfe did heare it.

Hot. Nay then I cannot blame his coofen king,

That wisht him on the barren mountaines starue,

But shal it be that you that set the crowne

160

Vpon the head of this forgetful man,

And for his fake weare the detested blot

Of murtherous subornation ? shal it be

That you a world of curfes vndergo,

Being the agents, or bafe second meanes,

165

The cordes, the ladder, or the hangman rather,

O pardon me, that I descend so low,

To shew the line and the predicament,

168

156. *Edmund Mortimer*] *Mortimer* Q2-8, Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob., Warb., Johns., Knt., Sing. ii. *Mortimer as lawful* Han.

159. *starue*] *staru'd* Ff, +, Cap., Varr., Ran., Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing. i, Knt., Sta., Hal., Wh., Dyce ii, iii, Huds. ii.

162. *weare*] *wore* Ff, Rowe

163. *murtherous*] *murderous* Rowe, Huds., Dyce, Hal. i, Cam., Glo., Coll. iii, Tud., Ard. *murdr'ous* Pope, Theob., Han., Warb., Johns., Varr., Ran., Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt.

i, iii, Coll. i, ii, Del., Sta., Hal. ii, Ktly., Ox

subornation?] Qq, Ff, Pope, Theob., Warb., Johns., Var. '73 *subornations?* F2-4, Rowe i. *subornations?* T. J. (1710, 1721) *subordination?* Rowe ii. *subornation*, Han., Knt., Coll., Del., Wh., Cam. *subornation*,—Cap., et cet.

166. *hangman*] *hangmen* Han.

rather] Q1, Han. *rather* Q2 *rather?* Q3, et cet.

167. *me*] *if* Q5-8, Ff, Rowe, Knt., Wh. i.

158-187] GENTLEMAN (Bell's ed., 1773). This circumstantial speech is much too long for a man of Hotspur's temper, so agitated, and rather hangs cold, as we have perceived, on the best actors.

159. *wisht* . . . *starue*] ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, p. 248): In early English, the present infinitive was represented by *-en* (to speak: *speken*; etc.) Where the *-en* dropped into disuse, and *to* was substituted for it, several verbs which we call auxiliary retained the old license of omitting *to* In the Elizabethan period there was difference of opinion as to which verbs did, and which did not, require *to*. Cf. *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, i, 138: "How long within this wood intend you stay?" and *All's Well*, II, i, 129: "As one near death to those that wish him live."

163. *Of* . . . *subornation*] COWL (ed. 1914): Of being suborned to murder, of aiding and abetting murderers.

168. *line*] SCHMIDT (1874): Row, rank; cf. III, ii, 85.

predicament] SCHMIDT (1874): Category, situation.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Originally a term of logic. The categories of Aristotle were used as a classification of all existing things. . . . Cf. *Merchant of Venice*, IV, i, 352: "In which predicament I say thou standest."

Wherein you range vnder this fubtil king !
 Shall it for fhame be fpoken in thefe daies, 170
 Or fil vp Chronicles in time to come,
 That men of your nobility and power
 Did gage them both in an vniuft behalfe,
 (As both of you, God pardon it, haue done)
 To put down Richard, that fweet louely Rofe, 175
 And plant this thorne, this canker Bullingbrooke ?
 And fhall it in more fhame be further fpoken,
 That you are foold, difcarded, and fhooke off
 By him, for whom thefe fhames ye vnderwent ?
 No, yet time ferues, wherein you may redeeme 180
 Your banifht honors, and reftore your felues
 Into the good thoughts of the world againe
 Reuenge the ieering and difdaind contempt 183

173. *Did gage*] *Ingag'd* Pope,
 Theob., Han. i, Warb. *Engag'd* Han
 11. *Did 'gage* Cap, Varr, Ran, Mal.,
 Steev, Knt., Sta.

177 *further*] *farther* Coll, Wh. i.

179 *for whom*] *from whom* Q₁Q₂
 181. *banisht*] *tarnish'd* Coll. MS.
 183. *ieering*] Q₁-s. *geering* F₁F₂
jeering Q₁Q₂, F₃F₄, et seq.

173 *gage*] SEYMOUR (*Remarks*, 1805)· Does not this refer to chivalry? And does it not mean that these men had laid down their *nobility* and *power* as a gage or pledge to support the cause of the usurper?

them both] [Generally understood to refer to *nobility* and *power*, but the reference may be to the two men, Northumberland and Worcester, who both pledged themselves.—ED.]

in . . . behalfe] WRIGHT (ed 1897) In behalf of injustice. "Behalf," originally a prepositional phrase, is commonly used as a substantive

176 *canker*] STEEVENS (Var. ed 1773): The dog-rose So, in *Much Ado*, I, iii, 22: "I had rather be a canker in a hedge than a rose in his grace."

181. *banisht*] SINGER (*Text of Sh. Vindicated*, 1853): To redeem tarnish'd honours [see Textual Notes] would be a singular mode of expression.

183. *disdaind*] JOHNSON (ed 1765): Disdainful — ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, p 273): From the license of converting nouns and adjectives and neuter verbs into active verbs, there arose an indefinite and apparently not passive use of Passive Participles. . . . But in the present passage we can only say that, in the excessive use of this license, *-ed* is loosely employed for *-ful*, *-ing*, or some other suffix.—SCHMIDT (1874, ii, 1417)· One class of adjectives derived from nouns by means of the suffix *-ed* deserves particular attention, as they have often been mistaken for participles. Even so sagacious a grammarian as Mr. Abbott speaks of [see above]. . . . That there are a great many words in *-ed* which are not participles, *aged*, *wicked*, *wretched*, &c., there can be no doubt. Therefore we must take heed of supposing all words in *-ed* to be participles.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897) cites *Merchant of Venice*, III, ii, 97: "Thus ornament is

Of this proud king, who studies day and night
 To anfwere all the debt he owes to you, 185
 Euen with the bloudie paiment of your deaths :
 Therefore I say.

Wor. Peace coofen, fay no more.
 And now I will vnclafpe a fecret booke,
 And to your quicke conceiuing difcontents
 He reade you matter deepe and daungerous, 190
 As full of perill and aduenterous fpirit,
 As to orewalke a Current roring lowd,
 On the vnftedfast footing of a fpeare

Hot. If he fall in, god-night, or finke, or fwim, 194

- 185 *to*] Om. Q₅ *vnto* Ff, +, Knt. (1860), Huds ii.
 186. *paiment*] *Payments* F₂₋₄, Rowe, 190 *you*] *your* Q₅₋₇. a Vaughan
 Pope, Theob., Han, Warb., Johns. 192. *Current*] *torrent* Thirlby MS,
deaths] *heads* Cap (conj). Ktly (1867).
 187. *say.*] *say*— Ff, et seq. 193. *vnstedfast*] *vnsteadfull* Q₇Q₈.
 188 *And*] *For* Cap. *vnsteadiest* Hal. ii.
 189 *conceiuing*] *conceyuing* F₁F₂. 194. *he*] *we* Thirlby MS., Theob.
conveying F₃F₄, Betterton (1700), (conj.), Han, Heath.
 Rowe, T. J. (1721) *swim*,] *swime*, Q₄. *swimd*, Q₈.
discontents] *discontent* Walker *swimme*: (or *swimme*.) Ff, et seq.

but the guiled shore To a most dangerous sea," where *guiled* means full of guile.

185, 186] COWL (ed 1914). For the play on "debt" and "deaths," cf. V, i, 126, 127.

193. *footing*] THEOBALD (*Letter to Warburton*, Jan 13, 1729/30): I presume the passage alludes to the custom of foording of currents, of keeping themselves up by spears or poles. [It would seem more likely that Worcester is picturing in his mind a man attempting to walk across a stream on a spear stretched from bank to bank; see following note.—ED]

of a spear] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): That is, of a spear laid across.—DOUCE (*Illust. of Sh.*, 1807, i, 420): The practice of making a bridge by means of a spear or sword was sometimes adopted by heroes of ancient chivalry. . . . Such an incident is represented on an ivory chest, engraved in vol. i of Carter's *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture*.—COWL (ed. 1914). Reflection of the "perilous bridge" (e. g., "sword-bridge") of mediaeval romantic literature. Cf. Crétien de Troies, *Conte de la Charette*, and *Mabinogion*, where Arthur and his hosts cross torrents on bridges made of daggers.

194.] THOMAS GRAY (MS note in his copy of Theobald's 2nd ed of Shakespeare, now in the Folger Shakespeare Library): This line seems to belong to Worcester, Hotspur being quite abstracted.—CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): Here commences the reverie which Hotspur is thrown into by the very opening of Worcester's proposal: the figures in which he cloaths his conceptions, first of danger, and then of honour, are extravagant certainly; but if the man, the oc-

Send danger from the East vnto the West.
 So honor crosse it, from the North to South, 196
 And let them grapple : O the blood more stirs
 To rouse a lyon than to start a hare.

North. Imagination of some great exploit
 Driues him beyond the bounds of patience. 200
 By heauen me thinks it were an easie leape,

195. *West.*] *West*, Q₂, et seq.

197 O] Om Q₅₋₈, Ff, Rowe, Knt.

196. *it*] *in* F₂₋₄, Rowe i, T. J.

201. *By*] Hot. *By* Q₅, et seq.

casion, and the manner in which he gives vent to them are thoroughly considered, they will have excuse from the candid, perhaps applause.—LETTSOM (ed Dyce, 1864). This line seems incompatible with what follows —WRIGHT (ed 1897). The attraction of an adventure to Hotspur was its danger, not its prospect of success. . . . A suggestion has been made [by J. E. Smith, *Notes and Quer.*, May 23, 1891 —ED] that we read "If he fall in? Good knight!" which has little to commend it. [R. M. Spence (*Notes and Quer.*, Nov. 28, 1891) makes an equally unacceptable suggestion to the effect that this line be divided between Worcester and Hotspur, *i. e.*: "*Wor.* If he fall in, good night! *Hot* Or sink or swim / Send, etc."—ED]

he] HEATH (*Revisal*, 1765, p. 247): Nothing precedes to which the pronoun can refer. Therefore [see Textual Notes] —ELTON (ed 1889). *He* is "he who o'erwalks." Hotspur's imagination flashes beyond Worcester's metaphor.

198 rouse . . . start] STAUNTON (ed. 1858): That Shakespeare was an accomplished "wood-man" may be inferred from his perfect acquaintance with the phraseology of the craft. The appropriate expression for raising the nobler animals for the chase was *rouse*, the boar was *raised*, the fox, *unkenned*, the hare, *started* —WRIGHT (ed. 1897) It may be so; but the same kind of evidence is used to prove that he was a skilled lawyer.—COWL (ed 1914) quotes the source of Staunton's note, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, 1575.

200. patience] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): A great number of words are dissolved in pronouncing, and made a syllable more than their common measure, a dozen or more in the present scene.—LETTSOM (in Walker's *Crit. Exam. of the Text*, 1860, *Introd.*). Capell had sounder notions of Shakespeare's versification than almost any editor.

201-207.] GILDON (*Remarks*; ed Rowe, 1710, vol. vii): Most of the passionate speeches of Hotspur in Act I are good, except that ridiculous rant of leaping up to the moon, which is absolute madness.—THEOBALD (ed. 1733). This bold Rhodomontado, however by the mouthing of the actor it may be always crowned with applause, I find (and not without some justice) was carp'd at in our author's time In Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, a grocer's wife brings her apprentice Ralph to the play-house to act a part; and, encouraging him to exert, says "Hold up thy head, Ralf, speak a huffing part." And then Ralph repeats this whole speech of Hotspur's [*i. e.*, three lines of it, with variations.—ED.] WRIGHT (ed. 1897). It is not necessary to suppose that in their quotation by Beaumont and Fletcher, any ridicule of

To plucke bright honour from the palefac'd moone, 202
 Or diue into the bottome of the deepe,
 Where fadome line could neuer touch the ground,
 And plucke vp drowned honour by the locks, 205
 So he that doth redeeme her thence might weare

204 *fadome line*] Q₁₋₄. *fadome-* Pope, Theob. 1, Han. 1, Wh. 1. *fath-*
line Q₅₋₈, F₁₋₃ *Fadom-line* F₄, Rowe, *om-line* Theob. 11, et cet.

Shakespeare was intended —WARBURTON (ed. 1747) Gildon, a critic of the size of Dennis, calls this speech ridiculous rant. Mr Theobald talks in the same strain. The French critics had taught these people just enough to understand where Shakespeare had transgressed the rules of the Greek tragic writers . . . But it is another thing to get Shakespeare's sense to do this required a little of their own. For want of which they could not see that the poet here uses an allegorical covering to express a noble and a natural thought. Hotspur, all on fire, exclaims against huckstering and bartering for honour. . . . Though the expression is daring and sublime, the thought is the natural movement of the heroic mind. Euripides, at least, thought so when he put the very same sentiment, in the same words, into the mouth of Eteocles. "I could scale heaven, I could descend to the very entrails of the earth, if so be that by that price I could obtain a kingdom." —PINKERTON (*Letters*, 1785, p. 169) Gildon proved himself a critic twice the size of Warburton. —JOHNSON (ed. 1765). Though I am far from condemning this speech as "absolute madness," yet I cannot find in it that profundity of reflection and beauty of allegory which the learned commentator [Warburton] has endeavoured to display. This sally of Hotspur's may be soberly and rationally vindicated as the violent eruption of a mind inflated with ambition and fired with resentment; as the boastful clamour of a man able to do much and eager to do more, as the hasty motion of turbulent desire, as the dark expression of undetermined thoughts. The passage from Euripides is certainly not allegorical, yet it is produced, and properly, as parallel. —WARTON (Var. ed. 1773, Appendix, vol. x). Probably a passage from some bombast play, afterwards used as a common burlesque phrase for attempting impossibilities. . . . Cf Cartwright's *On Mr. Stokes his Book on the Art of Vaulting*, 1651, p. 212: "By Jove tis thou must leap or none To pull bright honour from the moon." Unless Cartwright intended to ridicule this passage in Shakespeare, which I partly suspect. —SEYMOUR (*Remarks*, 1805): I believe that the learned critic [Warton] will not find many to agree with him that our poet would designedly put into the mouth of the noble Percy, at this time, a speech of boastful nonsense. —HALLIWELL (ed. 1859) cites echoes of this speech in the lines of a madman in *The Factious Citizens* (1685, p. 72) and in *The Portraiture of his Sacred Maestrie, Charles I*, 1649. —COWL (ed. 1914 and *Source of the Text*, 1928, p. 17): Hotspur's speech is in the strain of extravagant rhetoric (quasi-rationalized by Shakespeare) introduced by Senecan tragedy and popularized by Marlowe and other of Shakespeare's predecessors. Munro (*Jour. Philol.*, vi, 77) cites a parallel from Seneca's *Thyestes*. Cf. Marlowe, *I Tamburlaine*, IV, iv: "Ye Furies . . . Dive to the bottom of Avernus' Pool, And in your hands bring hellish poison up!" Greene, *Friar*

Without corriuall all her dignities,
But out vpon this halfe fac't fellowship.

208

Wor He apprehends a world of figures here,

207 *corriuall*] Qq *Co-riuall* F₁₋₃. all] of Cap [Corrected in
Co-riual F₄, Rowe, Pope, Ktly *Errata*, appended to *Notes*]
corriual Theob., et cet

Bacon, IV, i "I have dived into Hell and sought the darkest palaces of fiends"
Titus Andronicus, IV, iii, 43. "I'll dive into the burning lake below, And pull
her out of Acheron by the heels!" Hotspur's "by the locks" would appear to
be a reminiscence of *Titus* Shakespeare discards the infernal machinery.—
G. W. KNIGHT (1931, p. 2) Logically we might feel that Hotspur's "honour"
was to be condemned, imaginatively, we shall attend rather to the striking
imagery by which honour is associated with an infinite splendour of purpose

207 *corriuall*] SCHMIDT (1874) gives only two instances of the use of this
word by Shakespeare, both in this play Here the word signifies *rival*, in IV,
iv, 31, *companion*

208. *halfe fac't*] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): Finely expressed The image is
taken from one who turns his face from another, which implies neither full
consorting nor separation.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765) It alludes rather to dress.
A coat is said to be *faced* when part of it is covered with something finer and
more splendid than the main substance . Half-faced fellowship is, then,
partnership but half adorned —CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779). The allusion is to coins
of a double reign, such as Philip and Mary, a little before the days of our poet.
Hotspur declares his abhorrence of a partner in dignities —MASON (*Com.*
on the Last Edition, 1785). Neither Warburton's nor Johnson's explanation
would justify Worcester's remark [line 209]. The image appears to be taken
from medals struck to commemorate any signal event or great action They
generally have on one side the head of the person who performed it When
two persons have had an equal share, they are both delineated, frequently in
profile. This is the half-faced fellowship which Hotspur disdains, for he wishes
to enjoy all the dignities of honour without a rival —MALONE (ed. Steevens,
1793) The expression had its rise from the meaner denominations of coins, on
which, formerly, only the profile of the reigning prince was exhibited; whereas
on the more valuable pieces a full face was represented . . . But . . . where
is the fellowship of a single face in profile? . . . The squaring of our poet's
comparisons, and making them correspond on every side, is the source of end-
less mistakes. *Fellowship* relates to Hotspur's corival and himself, and to
nothing more.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): In *King John*, I, 1, 94, a "half-fac'd groat"
was a groat bearing the king's face in profile, and in *II Henry IV*, III, ii, 250,
"this same half-fac'd fellow" had a thin hatchet face which presented no better
mark than the edge of a knife. Hence, half-fac'd is used contemptuously for
miserable-looking, wretched.—N. E. D. (1901) defines the word as used in
II Henry IV as follows: "Of a coin, having a profile stamped upon it, hence of
persons, having a thin, pinched face;" and, as used here, "imperfect, incom-
plete, half-and-half."

209.] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): This alludes to what he had said before of un-
clasping a secret book.—EDWARDS (*Canons of Crit.*, 1748, p. 84): Then it must

But not the forme of what he should attend, 210
 Good coofen giue me audience for a while.
Hot. I crie you mercie. 212a
Wor Those fame noble Scots that are your prifoners
Hot. Ile keepe them all ; 213b
 By God he shal not haue a Scot of them,
 No, if a Scot would faue his foule he shal not 215
 Ile keepe them by this hand. 216a
Wor. You, start away,
 And lend no eare vnto my purposes :
 Those prifoners you shal keepe. 218a
Hot. Nay I will . thats flat :

210. *should attend*] *should. Attend*, Thirlby MS Q₀, Q₃₋₈, Ff. *prisoners*,—Rowe, et seq.
attend] *attend* to Ktly. 214. *God*] *heauen* Ff, Cap, Varr,
 211. *while*] *while*, / *And list to me.* Ran., Mal, Steev., Varr, Sing.,
 Ff, Rowe, Knt, Del, Wh. i. Knt, Dyce, Hal., Ktly. *heav'n*
 212, 213.] Four lines' *I...mercy*, / Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han, Warb.,
Those...Scots / That.. prisoners— / Ile Johns.
...all. Ff. 218. *Nay*] Om Pope, Theob., Han.,
 213. *prisoners*] Q₁Q₂. *prisoners.* Warb, Johns.

be a book of accounts, since it held a world of figures! But be it what it will, Hotspur's impatience had not suffered Worcester to unclasp it as yet; so that whatever he saw, it was not in the secret book! These "figures" mean shapes created by Hotspur's imagination, but not the form of what his uncle had to propose—JOHNSON (ed. 1765). *Figure* is used here equivocally. As it is applied to Hotspur's speech it is a rhetorical mode; as opposed to *form*, it means appearance or shape—SINGER (ed. 1856). *Figures* and *form* are borrowed from the terms of technical logic.

209. *apprehends*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Conceives in his imagination Cf. *Midsummer Night's Dream*, V, 1, 4. "Lovers and madmen have such seething brains, Such shaping fantasies, that apprehend More than cool reason ever comprehends."

214. *he . . . Scot*] DAVIES (*Dram. Misc.*, 1785): A proverbial expression meaning he shall not have the most worthless thing I have.—COWL (ed. 1914). Possibly a quibbling allusion to the saying cited in Fuller's *Worthies* and Ray's *Proverbs*: "We will not lose a Scot," *i. e.* "anything which we can save or recover" (Fuller).

219 ff.] GILDON (*Life of Betterton*, 1710, pp. 11 and 14): The year before the death of Betterton I called to see him and we fell into a discourse of acting. Much was said by my friend against the present players and in praise of those of his younger days. . . . "Nor can the actor's auditors," said he, "be more justly struck with a sense of his *anger* than by a voice or tone that is sharp, violent, and impetuous, interrupted with frequent taking of the breath and short speaking. Thus Hotspur, in 'He said he would not ransom, &c.'"

He said he would not ranfome Mortimer,
 Forbad my tongue to speake of Mortimer, 220
 But I will find him when he lies asleepe,
 And in his eare ile hollow Mortimer :
 Nay, ile haue a starling shalbe taught to speake 223/224
 Nothing but Mortimer, and giue it him 225
 To keepe his anger still in motion.

Wor. Heare you cofen a word.

Hot. All studies here I folemnly defie,
 Saue how to gall and pinch this Bullenbrooke,
 And that fame fword and buckler Prince of Wales, 230

222. *hollow*] *hollo* Q₃Q₄. *hallow* Warb., Johns
 Q₅—*holla* Ff, et seq. 227 *Heare you*] Transferred to end
 223, 224] Astwo lines, ending *Nay*,/ of line 226. Steev, Var '03, '13,
speake Steev, Varr., Sing i, Knt. i, Sing., Knt. 1, iii, Hal
 iii, Dyce, Hal, Cam, Glo., Huds. ii, *Heare*] *Heere* Q₁
 Wh ii, Tud, Ox, Ard. *you*] *ye* Mal
 224 *ile taught*] *I will haue a star-* 230. *Prince*] *prince*, Cap
ling taught Pope, Theob., Han., *Wales*,] *Wales* Q₅—*s*, Ff

221, 222.] MALONE (ed. Steevens, 1793)· So, Marlowe in *Edward II* [II, ii]·
 "And if he will not ransom him, I'll thunder such a peal into his ears As never
 subject did unto his king."

224, 225. *starling* . . . *Mortimer*] HALLIWELL (ed. 1859) assumes that Shake-
 speare is here remembering the stories of the birds of Paris trained to shout of-
 fensive epithets at Louis XI as he rode through the streets, as recorded in
 Monstrelet.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897) According to Pliny (x, 42, Holland's trans.),
 "the two Caesars had one Stare (*v. e*, starling) and seuerall Nightingales
 taught to parle Greeke and Latin." [WRIGHT and COWL (ed 1914) cite sev-
 eral examples of talking starlings in the Elizabethan drama.—ED.]

228 *defie*] SCHMIDT (1874): Renounce

230. *sword* . . . *Prince*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): A Royster, or turbulent fellow
 that fought in the taverns, or raised disorders in the streets, was called a swash-
 buckler. In this sense sword-and-buckler is used here.—HENLEY (ed Steev-
 ens, 1793): Stowe's *Survey of London*: "The field called West-Smithfield was
 formerly called Ruffians' Hall, by reason that it was the usual place of frays
 and common fighting during the time that swords and bucklers were in use;
 when every servingman, from the base to the best, carried a buckler at his back,
 which hung by the hilt of his sword"—STEEVENS (ed 1793). See the poem,
 "Sword and Buckler, or Servingman's Defense"—MALONE (ed. Steevens,
 1793): Florio's *First Fruits*, 1578· "What weapons bear they? Some sword
 and dagger, some sword and buckler. What weapon is that buckler? A
 clownish, dastardly, weapon, and not fit for a gentleman."—STAUNTON (ed.
 1858). Upon the introduction of rapier and dagger, the sword and buckler fell
 into desuetude among the higher classes, and were accounted fitting weapons
 for the vulgar only.—N. E. D. (1888). Buckler: a small round shield.

But that I thinke his father loues him not,
 And would be glad he met with some mischance 232
 I would haue him poisoned with a pot of ale
Wor. Farewel kinfman, ile talke to you
 When you are better temperd to attend 235
Nor. Why what a waspe-stung and impatient foole
 Art thou ? to breake into this womans moode,
 Tying thine eare to no tounge but thine owne ? (rods,
Hot Why looke you, I am whipt and scourg'd with 239

233. *I would*] *I'd* Pope, +, Cap.,
 Varr, Ran, Mal, Steev, Var '03,
 '13, Sing, Knt., Dyce ii, iii, Hal ii,
 Ktly, Coll. iii

him poisoned] *poyson'd him*
 Ff, Rowe. *him poison'd* Pope, et seq.

234 *Farewel . . . ale*] Qq, Ff, Rowe,
 Cam, Glo, Wh. ii, Rlf, Tud, Ard.
Farewel, my kinsman: I will Pope,
 Theob, Han, Warb., Johns. *Fare*
you well, kinsman, I will Cap. *Fare-*

well, kinsman! I will Var '73, et cet.

235. *better*] Om F₄F₄

temperd] *tempered* Q₂₋₈

236 *waspe-stung*] *waspe-tongue* Q₂₋₈,
 Cap, Mal, Var, Sing i, Knt. i, iii,
 Huds i, Dyce i, Hal. i *Waspe-*
tongu'd Ff, +, Knt ii, iv, Del *waspe-*
ish Lettsom.

238 *Tying*] *Turning* Ktly. (1867).

239 *rods,*] *rods?* F₃F₄, Rowe

233. *poisoned . . . ale*] STEEVENS (Var ed 1778): This has reference to the low company, drinkers of ale, with whom the prince spent so much time in the meanest taverns

234. *Farewel*] WALKER (*Sh. Vers.*, 1854, p. 136). Often metrically a trisyllabic word. Cf Folio readings of V, iv, 87 and IV, iii, 111.

236. *waspe-stung*] [Cf. Textual Notes. The following commentators defend the reading of Q₁.]—STEEVENS (Var ed 1778). That Shakespeare knew that the sting of a wasp is not situated in its mouth may be learned from *Winter's Tale*, I, ii, 329 "Goats, thorns, nettles, tails of wasps"—SEYMOUR (*Remarks*, 1805): Hotspur might have said in justification of his impatience that he was wasp-stung, as he afterwards says [line 240] that he is stung with pismires.—[COLLIER (1842) and WHITE (*Sh. Scholar*, 1854) repeat —ED]—WHITE (ed 1859) It is difficult to discriminate in speech between wasp-stung and wasp-tongue. . . . Believing that such a confusion led to the introduction of the latter reading, I have adopted the reading of Q₁. [The unanimous vote of modern editors and commentators is for the reading of Q₁; but the following early editors defend the reading of Q₂₋₈ or Ff.—ED]—MASON (*Com on Last Edition*, 1785) Wasp-tongu'd would be good sense, for a peevish scold is frequently called a wasp.—PINKERTON (*Letters*, 1785, p. 170) A metaphor which implies that his tongue is as poisonous and keen as the sting of a wasp —MALONE (ed. 1790): The first quarto copies of many of these plays are in many respects preferable to the folio, and in general I have paid the utmost attention to them. In the present case, I think the transcriber's ear deceived him, and that the true reading is that of Q₂. . . . The folio was printed from a later quarto; and the editor from ignorance of the author's phraseology changed *-tongue* to *-tongued*. In *Richard III*, I, iii, 291, we have *venom tooth*, not

Netled, and stung with pismires, when I heare
 Of this vile polititian Bullingbrooke, 241
 In Richards time, what do you call the place ?
 A plague vpon it, it is in Glocestershire ;
 Twas where the mad-cap duke his vnle kept 244

241. *Bullingbrooke*,] *Bullingbrooke* Del, Dyce, Hal. i, Wh. i, Ox *upon't*—
*Q*₃, et seq. Theob., et cet.
 242 *time*,] *time*. Ff *time*,— 244 *kept*] *Q*₁*Q*₂, F₃, T. J. (1721)
 Rowe, et seq. *kept*, *Q*₂₋₃, F₁F₂F₄, Cap., Varr., Ran,
do you] *de'ye* Ff, Rowe, Knt Coll, Huds, Del., Sing. ii, Wh,
 ii, iv. *do ye* Pope, +, Coll, Del., Dyce, Cam., Glo., Ktly., Rlf., Tud, Ox,
 Hal i, Wh i, Huds ii. Ard *kept*,— Rowe, Pope, Theob,
 243. *upon it*,] *Q*q, Cam, Glo, Wh. Han., Warb, Johns., Dyce, Hal i
 ii, Tud, Ard. *upon't*, Ff *upon't*,— *kept*; Mal, Steev, Varr., Knt, Sta.,
 Rowe, Pope, Var, Knt ii, iv, Coll, Hal ii. *kept*: Sing. i.

tooiled, *ibid*, II, ii, 65, *widow* for *widowed*, *Merchant of Venice*, III, ii, 119, *sugar* for *sugared* . . . The epithet means only, having a tongue as mischievous as the sting of a wasp. Thus, *As You Like It*, IV, iii, 9 "By the stern brow and waspish action Which she did use when she was writing it." In *The Tempest*, IV, i, 99, where Iris, speaking of Venus, says "her waspish-headed son hath broke his arrows," the meaning is clear, yet the objection that Shakespeare knew that the sting of a wasp was in its tail might be made there with equal force. . . . I must add a passage from *The Taming of the Shrew*, II, i, 208, which, while it shews that our author knew that the sting of a wasp was in its tail, proves that he thought it might with propriety be applied metaphorically to the tongue. "*Pet* Come, come, you wasp, in faith you are too angry *Cath* If I be waspish, best beware my sting. *Pet*. Who knows not where a wasp does wear his sting? In his tail. *Cath*. In his tongue" . . . Northumberland used *wasp-tongue* to denote the irritability of his son's temper and the petulance of his language.—STEEVENS (ed 1793). I seem to be overlaid by Malone's note, but do not think myself defeated.

240. Netled] SCHMIDT (1874). Stung as with nettles, fretted.

241. polititian] WRIGHT (ed 1897): A political schemer, not the same as a statesman, in Shakespeare's time, used in a depreciatory sense.

242 ff.] [For events preceding the action of this play, and here referred to, see *Richard II* and *Holinshed*.—ED.]

244. mad-cap] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): It is not evident why Shakespeare applies this epithet to the Duke of York. Perhaps he intends it to be only part of Hotspur's random language. . . . The Duke was fonder of field-sports than of politics. Hardyng (*Chron.*, ed. 1812, p. 340) says that he was "of good chere, glad, and merry."—N. E. D (1908): A reckless, wildly impulsive person.—COWL (ed. 1914): The Duke of York is described by Holinshed (*Hist Eng*, iii, 485) as "a man rather coueting to live in pleasure than to deale with much businesse."

kept] STEEVENS (MS. note in his copy of Var. ed. 1773, now in the Folger Shakespeare Library): Constantly lived, abode. [SCHMIDT (1874) gives twenty-seven examples of the use of *kept* in this sense.—ED.]

His vncke Yorke, where I first bowed my knee 245
 Vnto this king of smiles, this Bullenbrooke (purgh.
 Zbloud, when you and he came backe from Rauenf- 247/248
North. At Barkly castle. *Hot.* You say true. 249/250
 Why what a candy deale of curtesie,
 This fawning greyhound then did profer me,
 Looke when his infant fortune came to age,
 And gentle Harry Percy, and kind coosen :
 O the diuill take such coosoners, god forgiue me, 255
 Good vncke tell your tale, I haue done.

246. *this king*] the King F₁F₄

247. Zbloud] Qq. 'Sblood (at end of line 246) Cap, Sta., Vaughan. 'Sblood! Coll, Huds, Del., Wh. i, Ktly 'Sblood! (as separate line) Cam, Glo, Wh. ii, Rlf, Tud, Ox, Ard Om. Ff, et cet.

248. *backe*] both Vaughan.

Rauenspurgh] Q₁₋₇, F₁₋₃, Cam., Glo., Wh. ii, Tud., Ox., Ard. Ravenspurgh Q₃, F₄, et cet.

249. *At*] *That was at* Vaughan.

Barkly] Q₁₋₄. Barkely Q₇. Barkley Q₈, Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob. i, Han. *Berkley* (or *Berkeley*) Theob. ii, et cet.

250. *You...true*] 'Twas there, you... true Seymour. *You...true; 'twas there* Wordsworth (1883).

251. *candy. of*] *candie deale* of

Q₃₋₈. *candie deale* of F₁F₂ *gaudie deal* of F₃ *gaudy deal* of F₄, Betterton, Rowe. *deal of candied* Pope, Theob, Han., Warb, Cap., Johns, Acting Version of 1763 *candy'd deal* of Varr, Ran., Coll MS.

252. *greyhound*] *spaniel* Grey (1754)

253, 254. *when age, gentle Percy, kind coosen*] In italics or quotes. Pope, et seq.

253. *his*] *this* Q₃Q₄

255. O] Om. Pope, Theob, Han., Warb., Johns., Var. '73.

256-258a] As two lines, ending: *if/leisure*. Ktly.

256. I] *for I* Ff, +, Cap., Varr., Ran., Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing. i, Knt Del, Dyce, Sta., Hal, Wh., Huds. ii, Coll iii, Rlf., Tud., Ox.

245. Yorke] Edmund Langley, fifth son of Edward III.

248. *Rauenspurgh*] COWL (ed. 1914): A harbour, near Spurn Head, on the Yorkshire coast, where Henry IV landed in 1399 on his return from exile. The place has since been submerged by the sea.

251. *candy deale*] SINGER (ed. 1826): Deal of candy.—COWL (ed. 1914): Puttenham (*Arte of English Poesie*, iii, 22), in a paragraph devoted to "Your misplacing and preposterous placing of words," instances "a coral lip of hew" for "a lip of coral hew."—N. E. D. (1893) reads *candie* in this passage and gives no definition or etymology. Nor does it cite similar use of *candy*.

252. *greyhound*] GREY (*Crit. Notes*, 1754): Spaniel would have been more proper; cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV, xii, 27. Mr. Pope, in his *Genuine Letters* (25th, to Mr. Cromwell) tells him that King Charles being with some of his court during his troubles, a discourse arose what sort of dogs deserved pre-eminence. . . . The king gave his opinion on the part of the greyhound; because, said he, it hath the good nature of the spaniel without the fawning.

254, 255. *coosen . . . coosoners*] [STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778) is the first of a long line of editors to cite other examples of the popular Elizabethan pun on

Wor. Nay, if you haue not, to it againe,
 We wil stay your leifure 258a
Hot. I haue done Ifaith. b
Wor. Then once more to your Scottifh prifoners,
 Deliuier them vp without their ranfome ftraight, 260
 And make the Douglas fonne your only meane
 For Powers in Scotland, which for diuers reafons
 Which I fhall fend you written, be affur'd
 Wil eafely be granted you my Lord.
 Your fonne in Scotland being thus employed, 265
 Shal fecretly into the bofome creepe
 Of that fame noble prelat welbelou'd,
 The Archbifhop. 268

257. *Nay*] *Nay*, *cousin*, or *Nay*,
kinsman, Dyce ii (conj.).

not] *not*, *sur*, *Cap.*

to it] *Qq*, *Cap.*, *Cam.*, *Glo.*,
Rlf., *Ard.* *to't* *Ff*, et cet

258. *We . . . stay*] At end of line 257.
Han.

We wil] *Qq*, *Cam.*, *Glo.*, *Rlf.*,
Ard. *We'll* *Ff*, et cet

Ifaith] *msmooth* *Ff*, *Rowe*, *Knt.*

260. *vp*] *Om* *Pope*, *Theob.*, *Han.*,
Warb., *Johns*, *Var.* '73.

straight] *straight*, (to Hotspur)
Theob., *Warb.*, *Johns.*, *Var.* '73.

261. *Douglas*] *regent's* *Cap.* (conj.),
Ran.

262. *Powers*] *power* *T. J.* (1710).

pow'rs *Pope*, *Theob.*, *Han.*, *Warb.*,
Johns.

264. *granted.* *Lord*] *Q1Q4.* *granted*
you, my Lord. *Q2Q3*, *Q5-8*, *Ff*, *Rowe*,
Pope *granted: you, my Lord*, (to
North.) *Han.* *granted you, my Lord*,
 (to Northumberland) *Var.*, *Coll.* i, ii,
Del., *Wh.* i *granted—You, my*
Lord, (To North.) *Thirlby MS.*,
Theob., Acting Version of 1763, et
 cet. [*Cap.* omits *To North.*]

265. *Your*] *That* *T. J.* (1721).

266. *Shall*] *Shall we* *T. J.* (1721).

into] *in* *F2-4*, *T. J.* (1721).

268-270] Spaced to indicate that
 these lines constitute one iambic hex-
 ameter. Dyce ii, iii.

cousin and *cosen*, to cheat.—*ED*]—*N. E. D.* (1911). *Cosen*. Derivation uncertain. . . . Generally associated with *cousin*, and compared with (Fr.) *cousiner* which is explained by *Cotgrave*, 1611, as "to clayme kindred for aduantage."

256 *I*] *WRIGHT* (ed. 1897). The folio reading mends the verse, but is less in keeping with Hotspur's abrupt manner.

259-262.] See Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Holinshed.

261. *Douglas sonne*] See note on I, i, 70-73.

264. *granted . . . Lord*] *THEOBALD* (ed. 1733): I have changed the pointing by the direction of Dr. Thirlby [of Jesus College, Cambridge, who sent Theobald a MS. copy of his emendations, some of which were printed, later, in Johnson's edition.—*ED.*] Worcester is here planning out a conspiracy to his nephew and brother. He never calls his nephew *my Lord* [but cf. III, i, 174]: nor was Hotspur intended to be the person to stir up the Archbishop. . . . At the end of the play, the king sends his son John with an army "to meet Northumberland and the prelate Scroop, Who, as we hear, are busily in arms."

267-271.] See Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Holinshed.

Hot. Of Yorke, is it not ? 269

Wor. True, who beares hard 270

His brothers death at Bristow the lord Scroop,

I speake not this in estimation,

As what I thinke might be, but what I know

Is ruminated, plotted, and set downe,

And onely staies but to behold the face 275

Of that occasion that shal bring it on.

Hot. I smell it Vpon my life it will do well.

Nort Before the game is afoote thou still letst slip

Hot. Why, it cannot chuse but be a noble plot,
And then the power of Scotland, and of Yorke, 280

269. *Of*] Om. Pope, Theob., Han., Warb., Johns. *iii*, Huds. *ii*
is it] Qq, Coll., Del., Huds. *i*, Warb., Johns. *Vpon*] On Pope, Theob., Han.,
 Wh., Cam., Glo., Rlf., Tud., Ox., Ard. *well*] *wond'rous well* Ff, Rowe,
is't Ff, et cet. Knt., Coll., Huds. *i*, Del., Wh. *i*, Ox.
 271. *Bristow*] Qq, Ff, Rowe, Ard. 278 *game is*] Q₁₋₄, Cam., Glo.,
Bristol Pope, et cet. Ard. *game's* Q₅₋₈, Ff, et cet.
 277 *I smell it*] Printed as separate 279. *Why*,] Om. Pope, Theob.,
 line. Ff, Rowe, Knt., Coll., Huds. *i*, Han., Warb., Johns.
 Del., Wh. *i*, Ox. 280 *power*] *Powers* T. J. (1721).
smell it] *smell't* Cap., Dyce *ii*,

271. His . . . Scroop] COWL (ed. 1914): This construction is not uncommon. Cf. Chaucer, *Boke of the Duchesse*, 142: "Seys body the king."

Bristow] COWL (ed. 1914): This form [for Bristol], not yet obsolete, is found in Holinshed.

Scroop] WORDSWORTH (*Sh. Hist. Plays*, 1883): The Earl of Wiltshire . . . beheaded at the same time as Bushy and Greene, see *Richard II*. Shakespeare, though he alludes to the fact here, has omitted it in the former play — COWL (ed. 1914). Shakespeare has followed Holinshed in the common error of making him brother to the Archbishop.

272. this . . . estimation] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): Estimation for conjecture. But between this and the foregoing line, it appears there were some lines that are now lost. For, consider the sense. What was it that was ruminated, plotted, and set down?—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): If the editor had, before he wrote this note, read ten lines forward, he would have seen that nothing is omitted. Worcester gives a dark hint of a conspiracy. Hotspur *smells it*, *i e*, guesses at it. Northumberland reproves his son for not letting Worcester tell his design.

277. do well] SINGER (ed. 1856): This line has more of the spirit of Hotspur in it, and more nerve, without the word *wondrous* [cf. Textual Notes].

278. still] SCHMIDT (1874): Always, constantly.

letst slip] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): To loose the greyhound.—KNIGHT (ed. 1839): The greyhound is held in slips, and is loosened when the game is afoot. 280, 295.] See Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Holinshed.

To ioine with Mortimer, ha.

281a

Wor. And fo they fhall.

b

Hot. In faith it is exceedingly well aimd.

Wor. And tis no little reafon bids vs fpeed,

To faue our heads by raifing of a head,

For beare our felues as euen as we can,

285

The king will alwaies thinke him in our debt,

And thinke we thinke our felues vnfatisfied,

Till he hath found a time to pay vs home

And fee already how he doth begin

To make vs strangers to his lookes of loue

290

Hot. He does, he does, wee be reueng'd on him.

Worft. Coofen farewell. No further go in this,

Then I by letters fhall direct your courfe

When time is ripe, which will be fuddenly,

Ile fteale to Glendower, and Lo : Mortimer,

295

281. *ha.*] Qq, Ff. *Ha!* Rowe, +. *ha?* T. J. (1710 and 1721), Cap, et cet.

And] Om. Pope, Theob., Han., Warb., Johns.

282. *exceedingly*] *exceeding* F₃F₄, Theob. iii.

287. *we thinke*] *we deem* Pope, Theob., Han., Warb., Johns.

288. *he*] *he he* F₂.

289. *he*] *it* Q₃.

doth begin] *hath begun* Wh. i.

293. *course*] Q₁₋₃, F₁₋₃, Knt. iii. *course*, F₄, Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han. i, Warb. *course*. Johns, et cet, except *course*, Knt i, ii, iv.

294. *suddenly*] *suddenly*. Q₂₋₃, F₁₋₃. *suddenly*. Knt. i, ii, iv. *suddenly*; Knt iii.

295. *Lo*] *loe*, Q₂₋₇, F₁F₂. *to* Q₃, Coll. iii. *lo*, F₃F₄. *Lord* Rowe, et cet., including Coll. MS

Between 295 and 296.] Asterisks to denote a missing line. Ktly

284. *head*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765). A body of forces.

285-287.] JOHNSON (ed. 1765). This is a natural description of the state of mind between those who have conferred and those who have received obligations too great to be satisfied. That this would be the result of Northumberland's disloyalty was prophesied by Richard II.

288. *pay vs home*] N. E. D. (1909): Pay home: chastise, punish.

292. *Coosen*] MALONE (ed. 1790): A common address, in our author's time, to nephews, nieces, and grandchildren.

295. *Lo*:] COLLIER (ed. 1858): The editors of the folio of 1623 copied implicitly the quarto impression nearest to their own day, that of 1613, adopting many of its defects, and, so far as we can judge, resorting to no MS. authority, nor to the previous quartos. . . . Several decided errors, made in the reprint of 1599 [Q₂], were repeated and multiplied in subsequent impressions. Near the end of Act I we meet with a curious proof of what we have advanced: we there find a line distinctly printed in the quarto of 1598 [Q₁]: "I'll steale to Glendower and Lo: Mortimer": *Lo*: being a common abbreviation for *Lord*; but the compositor of 1599 printed *loe*, the interjection. And so the blunder

Where you and Douglas, and our powres at once,
 As I will fashion it shal happily meete, 297
 To beare our fortunes in our own strong armes,
 Which now we hold at much vncertainty.
Nor. Farewell good brother, we shal thriue I trust. 300
Hot. Vncle adieu O let the houres be short,
 Till fields, and blowes, and grones, applaud our fport.
 (*Exeunt*)

[*Actus Secundus. Scena Prima.*]

Enter a Carrier with a lanterne in his hand

1 Car. Heigh ho. An it be not foure by the day ile be
 hangd, Charles waine is ouer the new Chimney, and yet
 our horfe not packt. What Ostler.
Ost. Anon, anon. 4

301. *the*] Om. F₂₋₄.

302. *fields*] *shields* Thirlby MS.
grones] *Groues* Q₇. *groves* Q₈.
Exeunt] *Exit.* Ff, Rowe.

Actus. Prima.] Ff Om. Qq.

Act II. SCENE I. Rowe. Act II.

SCENE I. An Inne. Pope. Act II.

Scene, an Inn at Rochester. Theob.

Act II SCENE I An Inn at Roches-

ter. Han., Warb., Johns, Var. '73.

Act II. SCENE I. An inn yard at

Rochester. Var. '78, '85, Ran. Act

II. SCENE I. Rochester An Inn

Yard. Cap, Mal., et seq. (except

Act II. SCENE I. Rochester The

Yard of the Crown Inn. Hal. i).
lanterne] *Lanthorn* F₄, +, Cap.,
 Varr., Ran, Ox. [Variant spellings
 of this word will not be noted again.—
 Ed.]

in his hand] Om. Coll. iii.

1. *An it*] Qq, Cam., Glo., Wh. ii,
 Rif, Tud., Ard. *an't* Ff, et cet.

3. *horse*] *horse* Huds. ii.

What] *What*, F₄, et seq.

Ostler] Q₁₋₃. *Ostler?* Q₄₋₈, Ff,
 Rowe, Pope, Theob., Warb., Johns.
Ostler! Han, et seq.

4. *Ost.*] *Ost.* (within) Theob.,
 Warb, et seq.

was followed in the subsequent quartos, whence it was transferred to the folio of 1623. The error is repeated in the folio of 1632; but Norton the printer of the quarto of 1639, who did not adopt the text of either of the folios, saw that there must be a blunder in the line, and although he did not know exactly how to set it right, he at least made sense of it [It is interesting to note that after all this sound exposition of the history of this line, Collier himself, in his third edition, preferred the authority of "Norton the printer" to that of Q₁. See Textual Notes.—Ed.]

II, i.] GENTLEMAN (*Introd.* to Bell's ed., 1773): We have no objection to Act One but that unnatural union of the contrast sisters Tragedy and Comedy; however, they agree in this piece better than in many of the others. . . . If any solid apology can be offered for the unnatural Tragi-comic mode of writing, the richness of humour in many scenes may stand for justification; but this

1 *Car.* I preethe Tom beat Cuts saddle, put a few
flockes in the point, poore iade is wroong in the withers, 6
out of all ceffe.

6. *poore*] Qq, Cam, Glo, Ard *iade*] *jade*, Cam.
the poore Ff, et cet. 7. *cesse*] *case* Han.

of the Carriers is exceedingly low, and we may add so indecent that it should be cast aside, nay, and might be without any injury to the plot.—KNIGHT (*Stud. of Sh*, 1849, p. 169) The inn-yard at Rochester is one of those little pictures that live forever in the memory. . . . Who that has read this scene and has looked out on the darkness of a winter's morning, has not thought of "Charles's wain over the new chimney?" Who has not speculated upon the grief of a man with one idea, Robin Ostler? . . . This is the art by which a fiction becomes a reality,—the art of a DeFoe as well as of a Shakespeare [The theatrical necessity of this scene on the Elizabethan stage is obvious. Our attention has been absorbed, in I, iii, by the Percy plot, we must now be prepared to turn our attention to the great comic scene on Gadshill.—Ed.] [See, also, Appendix Sources of the Plot. Morgan, sect. 15]

Scene-heading] THEOBALD (*Letter to Warburton*, Jan. 13, 1729/30): I read Rochester, an inne Points tells his companions [I, ii, 123]. "Gadshill lies tonight at Rochester."—MASKELL (*Taverns of England*, 1927). The Crown at Rochester . . . was the usual stopping-place for royalty. . . . Here Henry VIII first met Anne of Cleves . . . Queen Elizabeth stayed four days in the place.

1. *by the day*] COWL (ed. 1914): Approaching day, towards morning, cf. Chaucer, "by the morwe". . . . "By the day" is an archaic expression introduced, perhaps, to mark the rustic speech of the carriers. . . . Mr. Craig suggested to me that it may be a parallel expression to "by the clock," meaning "to judge by the appearance of the day."

2. *Charles waine*] RITSON (*Remarks*, 1783): The vulgar name given to the constellation called the Bear. A corruption of the *Chorles* or *Churl's* (Saxon, *ceorl* or countryman) Wain [wagon].

5. *Cuts*] SCHMIDT (1874): A docked or gelded horse—COWL (ed. 1914): A pet name frequently given to a "curtal" or docked horse. . . . Greene, *Life . . . of Ned Browne* (ed Grosart, xi, pp. 17, 18): "I could ride him one part of the day like a goodly gelding with a large tail . . . and the other part of the day I could make him a Cut, for I had an artificial tail so cunningly counterfeited that the ostler when he dressed him could not perceive it."

6. *flockes . . . point*] HUDSON (ed. 1880): Flakes, or locks, of wool under the point of the saddle.

poore iade] CAMBRIDGE EDITORS (1864): Either the article or the pronoun was intentionally omitted in these passages [cf. *fellow*, line 11] in order to give rusticity to the carriers' language.

wroong] HUDSON (ed. 1880): Galled; cf. *Hamlet*, III, ii, 231: "Let the galled jade wince, our withers are unwrung."

withers] SCHMIDT (1874): Juncture of the shoulder-bones at the bottom of the neck.

Enter another Carrier.

2 *Car.* Peafe and beanes are as danke here as a dog, 8
and that is the next way to giue poore iades the bots . this
houfe is turned vpside downe fince Robin Oftler died. 10

1 *Car* Poore fellow neuer ioied fince the prife of Oates
rofe, it was the death of him.

8. *dog*] *dock* Barry (ed. Coll.). *fog* 10 *Ostler*] *the Ostler* Ff, Rowe, Wh.
Vaughan 11. *neuer*] *he never* Coll. MS.

9. *that*] *this* Ff, Rowe, Knt.

7 out . . . cesse] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): The Oxford editor [Hanmer], not understanding this phrase, has altered it . . . As if it were likely that a blundering transcriber should change so common a word as *case* for *cess*, which, it is probable, he understood no more than this critic, but it means "out of all measure": the phrase being taken from a "cess," tax or subsidy, which, being by moderate rates, when anything was exorbitant it was said to be "out of cess."—GREY (*Remarks upon a Late Edition*, 1751): It is surprising to me that the Oxford editor, who was Speaker of the House of Commons under Queen Anne, should not understand the meaning of the word better than Mr Warburton who was clerk to a pettifogger nor would it have been any dis-service to religion had he never entered the clerical pale—N E D. (1897): *Cesse*, in the phrase *out of all cesse*: Assessment, valuation, estimation; the spelling due to a mistaken notion of etymology.

8–44.] HALLIWELL (ed. 1850, ii, 81): The introduction of the carriers is exceedingly humorous, they are by no means simple people, nor do they attempt to amuse by saying smart things, they are portraits, blunt, rude, unsophisticated and natural They have evidently a suspicion of Gadshill; they dislike his appearance and give a shrewd guess at his occupation. The care they take of their own property is amusing (cf. lines 34–38). These flea-bitten rustics are conservatives, too, in their way; they lament past times; in their estimation nothing is so orderly and prosperous as it used to be.

8. *danke*] POPE (ed. 1723): Wet and rotten.

dog] DYCE (*Remarks on Collier's ed.*, 1844): The following is recommended to the notice of the Reverend Mr. Barry [see Textual Notes]: "But many ridiculous aspersions are cast vpon Dogges, so that it would make a dogge laugh to heare and vnderstand them. As I haue heard a man say, I am as hot as a Dogge, or as cold as a Dogge; I sweate like a Dogge (when indeed a Dogge neuer sweats) . . ." Taylor: *Workes*, 1630, p. 232.

9. *next*] SCHMIDT (1874): Nearest, quickest.

bots] JOHNSON (1765): Worms in the stomach of a horse.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): "A bots light upon you" is an imprecation often repeated in *The Famous Victories of Henry V.*—MADDEN (*Diary of Mr. Wm. Silence*, 1897, p. 277): If the carriers on the Kentish road were ignorant of the natural history of the bot (which we know to be the offspring of eggs attached to certain leaves swallowed by the horse), they erred in good company. We read in Blundeville [*The Foure Chiefest Offices belonging to Horsemanship*, 1580] that they are engendered by "fowle feeding."

2 *Car.* I thinke this be the most villainous house in al London road for fleas, I am stung like a Tench. 13

1 *Car.* Like a Tench, by the Masse there is nere a King christen could be better bit then I haue bin since the first cocke. 15

2 *Car.* Why they will allowe vs nere a Iordane, and then we leake in your chimney, and your chamber-lie 19

13. *be*] to *be* Qs-8 1s Ff, Rowe, again—ED]
 Knt., Wh. i. 16 *christen*] Qq, Thirlby MS,
villainous] villainous QsQs, et Cap, Cam, Dyce ii, iii. in *Christen-*
 seq. dome Ff, et cet
 15. *Tench*,] *Tench*! Dyce, Hal i, 18-20] Om. Wordsworth, Rlf.
 Cam, et seq. *Tench?* Qs, et cet. 18 *they*] you Qs-8, Ff, Rowe, T. J.
by the Masse] Om Ff, Rowe. (1710), Knt.
there 1s] *There's* F3F4, + 19 *in your*] in the T. J (1721),
nere] *ne're* QsQs, Ff. *neare* Han., Cap, Coll. MS, Coll. iii,
 QsQs *ne'er* Rowe, et seq [Variant Dyce ii, iii. Ox. in *our* or in *their*
 spellings of this word will not be noted Vaughan.

11, 12. *prise . . . rose*] KNIGHT (ed 1839): In 1596 the price of grain was exceedingly high . . . and Elizabeth issued a proclamation against ingrossers The play was written about 1596.—FLEAY (*Chron. Hist Lond. Stage*, 1890, p. 163) Stow, *Annales*, 768-785. "1594. Dearth, wheat 6s. to 8s. 1595. Wheat 14s. to 26s. 8d 1596. Dearth; wheat 10s. 1596, August. Wheat fell from 13s to 10s, then rose again to its highest price"—WRIGHT (ed. 1897) These facts have no bearing on the exact date of the present play.

13. *be*] ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram*, 1870, p. 211): *Be* is used, as a rule, with some notion of doubt, question, or thought. [See also note on II, iv, 495.—ED]

14. *stung . . . Tench*] STEEVENS (MS. note by Steevens in his own copy of Var. '73, now in the Folger Shakespeare Library). A tench is spotted all over with red marks, like flea-bites.—IBID. (Var. ed 1803) It appears from the following passage in Holland's translation of Pliny's *Natural History*, IX, xlvii, that anciently fishes were supposed to be infested with fleas "What is ther not bred within the sea? Even the very fleas that skip so merrily in summertime . . . are there engenderd . . . and this vermin is thought to trouble the poor fishes in their sleep."—CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p. 700): Shakespeare here uses, as in *dank as a dog* (line 8), the kind of meaningless comparison that has often been popular in colloquial English.—ELLACOMBE (*Sh. as Angler*, 1881) Probably refers to the popular notion that the tench, in sucking from each other the slimy substance secreted on their scales, were biting each other.

15, 16. *King christen*] SCHMIDT (1874): Christian king.

18. *they*] MALONE (*Suppl to ed. of 1778*, 1780): The Folio . . . may be right. He speaks to the ostler within.

18, 19. *Iordane . . . chimney*] HALLIWELL (ed. 1859): A jordan was a kind of pot used by physicians and alchymists. . . . The word is used by Chaucer in this sense. At a later period it was used in the sense of chamber-pot. . . . A curious tale, illustrative of the filthy habit here referred to occurs in Heywood's *Philicothonista*, 1635.—COWL (ed 1914): For "leak" cf. S. Rowland's

breedes fleas like a loach.

20

1 *Car.* What Ofler, come away and be hangd, come away.

2 *Car.* I haue a gammon of bacon, and two razes of

23 *razes*] *razes* Q₁Q₈ *razes* Dyce.

Knave of Clubs, 1609, and J. Howell's *English Proverbs*, ed. 1659. *Chimney*: fireplace or hearth. . . A. Borde, whose ideas of sanitation were in advance of his age, condemns the practice referred to in the text (*Dyetary of Helth*, 1542).

20. *breedes . . . loach*] *WARBURTON* (ed 1747): *Loach*, *i. e.* *Looch*, *Scotch*, lake.—*STEEVENS* (Var. ed 1778): How a lake should breed fleas I cannot explain. Perhaps the carrier means to say "fleas as big as a loach."—*MASON* (ed. Malone, 1790): The loach is a very small fish, but so prolific that it is seldom found without spawn, and it was formerly a practice of young gallants to swallow loaches in wine . . . as apt to communicate their prolific quality. The carrier means that chamberlie breeds fleas as fast as a loach breeds loaches. In *As You Like It*, Jaques says that he can suck me lancholy out of a song, as a weasel sucks eggs; but he does not mean that a weasel sucks eggs out of a song!—*MALONE* (ed 1790). I entirely agree with Mr. Mason. One principal source of error in the interpretation of passages has been in supposing that Shakespeare's similes correspond at both ends [Dr. J. Q. Adams suggests that *loach* may be used here in the sense of fool, rascal, clown I am inclined to believe that this simile echoes the "stung like a tench" of line 14, and that both are sufficiently explained by the citation from Pliny given under 14. *stung . . . Tench*.—*ED*]

21. *away*] *SCHMIDT* (1874): Here, to me.

23. *razes*] *THEOBALD* (*Letter to Warburton*, Dec. 4, 1729): The seeming derivation of *raze* from *radix* makes me think they mean, as we do, a little root of ginger, so in *Winter's Tale*, IV, iii, 45. But how are we to understand it in *Henry IV*? . . . What! would anyone send two little roots of ginger from Canterbury to London by the carrier? Sure this is worse than coals to Newcastle!—*THEOBALD* (ed. 1733): A Raze is the Indian name for a Bale of ginger.—*WARNER* (*Letter to Garrick*, 1768, p. 29): It might be asked whether Theobald thought two bales were probable to be brought on a pack-horse . . . Two *razes*, or *roots*, not divided into pieces might be no contemptible part of the load of a pack-horse.—*MALONE* (ed. 1790): Dr. Grew, in *Philosophical Transactions*, speaks of a single root of ginger weighing 14 oz., as uncommonly large. I doubt the truth of Mr. Warner's assertion. Theobald's seems equally disputable.—*NARES* (*Gloss.*, 1822): Theobald pretends that *raze* differs from *race*. We cannot but suppose that these which were parcels to be delivered by a carrier were more than the small pieces commonly called *razes*. I cannot believe the words are different. . . . Both *race* and *raze* might be applied indifferently to small parcels or large packages.—*COWL* (ed 1914): In *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, Dericke, one of the carriers who has been robbed, says: "Hee hath beaten and wounded my packe, and hath taken the great raze of ginger that bouncing Bess should have had!"—*N.E.D.* (1914): *Raze*: obs. form of *race*, *i. e.*, root (of ginger); Lat. *radicem*.

Ginger, to be deliuered as far as Charing croffe.

24

1 *Car* Gods bodie, the Turkies in my Panier are quite starued : what Ostler ? a plague on thee, hast thou neuer an eie in thy head ? canst not heare, and twere not as good deede as drinke to break the pate on thee, I am a very vil-laine, come and be hangd, hast no faith in thee ?

Enter Gadshill.

Gadshill. Good morrow Carriers, whats a clocke ?

30

Car. I thinke it be two a clocke.

Gad I prethe lend me thy lanterne, to see my gelding in the stable.

1 *Car.* Nay by God soft, I knowe a tricke worth two of that I faith.

35

Gad. I pray thee lend me thine.

2 *Car.* I when canst tell ? lend me thy lanterne (quoth

25 *Gods bodie*] Qq, Cap, Dyce ii, iii, Sta., Cam., Wh. ii. Om. Ff, Rowe, Coll iii. 'Odsbody Pope, et cet.

Panier] *Panniers* F₂₋₄, +.

27. *heare,*] *heare?* Q₈, Ff, et seq.

and] an T. J., Pope, et seq.

28. *deede*] Q₁₋₃, Cam, Glo, Wh. ii, Rlf., Tud., Ard. a *deed* Q₄₋₈, Ff, et cet.

on] Q₁₋₄, Cam., Glo, Rlf, Tud, Ox of Q₅₋₈, Ff, et cet.

30 and 31. a *clocke*] o'clock Theob., Warb., et seq.

31. *Car.*] I *Car.* Han., Theob. iv, Cap., Mal., et seq.

two] four Thirlby MS.

34. *by...soft*] Q₁₋₈, Cam, Glo., Wh ii, Tud., Ard., Ox. *soft* I *pray* ye Ff, et cet

35. *I faith*] Om. Ff, Rowe, Knt.

36. *pray thee*] Q₁Q₈, Cam., Glo., Tud, Ard. *prethee* [variously spelled] Q₃, et cet.

37. *I when*] I, *when*, Q₂₋₈, Ff I, *when?* Q₇Q₈. *Ay, when*, Rowe, Cap., Var. '78, '85, Ran., Mal, Steev, Sta *Ay, when?* Pope, et cet.

24 *Charing crosse*] KNIGHT (ed. 1839): Charing was anciently a village detached from London; and Charing cross was erected on the last spot where the body of Eleanor, queen of Edward I, rested on the road to Westminster. The cross was pulled down by the populace in 1643.

25. *Turkies*] MALONE (ed. 1790): Turkies were not brought into England until the time of Henry VIII.—WRIGHT (éd. 1897). Shakespeare did not trouble himself about such details.

27, 28. *as . . . drinke*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Cf. II, ii, 21 —COWL (ed. 1914): Proverbial; cf. *Twelfth Night*, II, iii, 119.

31. *two a clocke*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1773): The carrier, who suspected Gadshill, strives to mislead him as to the hour: the first observation made in this scene is that it is four o'clock.

34-37.] MORGAN (*Some Problems of Hen. IV*, 1924) finds verse-fragments, from a possible earlier Shakespearean play on this subject, here, in lines 52-55, in lines 61, 62, and in line 81. See Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Morgan, sect. 15.

34. *soft*] COWL (ed. 1914): Go easy!

he) marry ile fee thee hangd firſt. 38

Gad. Sirrha Carrier, what time doe you meane to come to London ? 40

2 *Car.* Time enough to go to bed with a candle, I warrant thee, come neighbour Mugs, wee le call vp the Gentlemen, they will along with company, for they haue great charge.

Enter Chamberlaine.

Exeunt.

Gad. What ho : Chamberlaine. 45

Cham. At hand quoth pickepurſe

Gad. Thats euen as faire as at hand quoth the Cham-

37, 38 (*quoth he*) (*quoth-a*) Ff. Enter Chamberlaine] [After
quoth a! Rowe, +. *quoth he?* Cam, Exeunt] Ff, Rowe [After line 51]
Glo., Tud. *quoth he!* Ard. *quoth'a?* Cap, Mal, et seq. SCENE II. Enter
Cap., et cet. Chamberlain. Pope, Han., Warb.,
Johns.

38. *thee*] *the* Qs.

42 *thee*,] *thee*. Q2, et seq.

After 44. Exeunt.] Ex. Carriers
Rowe, Pope Exeunt Carriers The-
ob, et seq.

46. Cham] Cham. (within) Cap.,
Mal, et seq

47. *quoth*] *qd*. Qs-8.

37. when . . . tell] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): A familiar retort, the origin of which it is difficult to discover; cf. *Comedy of Errors*, III, i, 52.

38. hangd] DAVIES (*Dram. Misc.*, 1785): From the pitiful ambition of pleasing the upper gallery, the actor of the Carrier too often alters this to *damn'd*.

42 Mugs] CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p 479): In the invention of names given to his men characters, Shakespeare has imparted significant effect. . . Mugs, the yawning first carrier [line 1], who by his "good a deed as drink" [lines 27, 28] shows he is fond of lingering over his mug of ale.

44. charge] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Quantity of luggage.—COWL (ed. 1914): Or, perhaps, of *money*. [N.E.D.'s (1897) definitions and citations do not support Cowl's likely suggestion.—ED.]

45. Chamberlaine] DAVIES (*Dram Misc*, 1785): A kind of upper servant who attended and waited on travellers as chambermaids do now.

46. At . . . pickepurſe] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1773): A proverbial expression, often used by Greene, Nashe, and other writers of the time, in whose works the cant of low conversation is preserved.

47-50.] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1785). *The Life and Death of Gamahel Ratsey*, 1605: "He dealt with the chamberlaine of the house to learne which way they rode in the morning, which the chamberlaine performed accordingly, for he knew he should partake of their fortunes if they sped."—STAUNTON (ed. 1858): Collusion between ostlers, chamberlains, and "gentlemen of the road" is often referred to in the works of the period. In Harrison's *Descr. of England* (Holinshead, I, 246) there is an interesting account of old English inns, wherein the villainy of chamberlains, &c., forms a prominent topic: "... Many an honest man is spoiled of his goods, . . . in which feat the counsellors of tapsters and

berlaine : for thou varieft no more from picking of purfes, 48
 then giuing direction doth from labouring : thou laieft the
 plot how. 50

Cham. Good morrow maifter Gadfhill, it holdes currant
 that I tolde you yesternight, ther's a Frankelin in the wilde
 of Kent hath brought three hundred Markes with him in
 golde, I heard him tell it to one of his company laft night
 at fupper, a kinde of Auditor, one that hath abundance of 55
 charge too, God knowes what, they are vp already, and cal
 for Egges and butter, they wil away prefently.

52. *wilde*] *weald* Sing. ii.

57. *butter*] *better* Theob. iii.

56. *charge*] *charges* Knt

drawers and chamberlains is not wanting. . . When the traveller cometh to the inn and alighteth from his horse, the hosteler forthwith is verie busie to take downe his budget from the saddle-bow, which he poiseeth slilie in his handes to feele the weight therof, or if he miss this pitch, when the ghest hath taken vp his chamber, the chamberlain that looketh to the making of the beds will be sure to remoue it from the place where the owner hath sette it as if it were to sette it more conueniently, wherof he getteth an inkling whether it be monie or other short wares, and thereof giueth warning to such od ghests as hant the house and are of his confederacie "

49. *giuing direction*] COWL (ed. 1914): A technical phrase in the cant of highwaymen; cf. Jonson, *Every Man Out*, IV, iv. "You knew signior Clog that was hang'd for the robbery? Knew him? Why, 'twas he gave all the directions."

51. *holdes currant*] SCHMIDT (1874): Proves to be true.

52. *Frankelin*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): A little gentleman.—MALONE (ed. 1790): Dr. Johnson has said more accurately in a note on *Cymbeline* that a franklin was a freeholder.

wilde] KNIGHT (ed. 1839): Undoubtedly the *weald*.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): The *weald* of Kent is that part formerly covered by the Forest of Anderida, which extended into Sussex and Hampshire Lambard's *Perambulation of Kent* (1576), p. 175: "The *weald* . . . which signifieth a woodie cuntrye." Lyly's *Euphues* (ed. Arber, p. 268) "I was borne in the *wylde* of Kent."

53. *Markes*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): A mark, which was 13s 4d., or the equivalent of two nobles, was a coin of account only. Three hundred marks were worth two hundred pounds.

55. *Auditor*] HUDSON (ed. 1880): An officer of the revenue; his "abundance of charge" was doubtless money belonging to the state [but cf. note to II, i, 44, *charge*.—ED.], as Gadshill afterwards says [II, ii, 48-51]: "There's money of the king's coming down the hill, 'tis going to the king's Exchequer."—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Chaucer's franklin was also a "contour" or "auditor."—COWL (ed. 1914): The auditor is the person described as "one of his company" [line 54], and is not, I think, the franklin.

57. *Egges and butter*] Cf. I, ii, 20, note.

Gad. Sirrha, if they meete not with Saint Nicholas 58
clearkes, ile giue thee this necke.

Cham. No, ile none of it, I pray thee keepe that for 60

58 and 61. *Saint*] S. Q₈, Ff, Rowe. Tud, Ard. *prethee* [variously spelled]
60 *pray thee*] Q₁₋₃, Cam, Glo, Q₄₋₈, Ff, et cet.

58, 59 Saint Nicholas clearkes] POPE (ed. 1723). St. Nicholas, a cant term for the devil, old Nick — WARBURTON (ed. 1747). St. Nicholas was patron saint of scholars, old Nick is a cant name for the devil, hence he equivocally calls robbers St. Nicholas' clerks — GRAY (Var. ed. 1773). Highwaymen were so called. — STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1773): In the old tragedy of *Soliman and Perseda*, Piston, in the act of picking a dead man's pocket, apologizes "Seeing he was going to heaven, I thought to see if he had a passport from St. Nicholas" — IBID. (Var. ed. 1773, *Appendix*). From *The Hollander*, 1640. "It is decreed that the receivers of our rents and customs, to wit, certain rooks and St. Nicholas clerks . . . under pain of being carried up Tyburn in a cart." — WRIGHT (ed. 1897) finds no satisfactory explanation of the origin of the term, and suggests that it may have arisen from the rogueries practised by the mediaeval boy-bishops on St. Nicholas' Day. — COWL (ed. 1914): A euphuism for highwaymen. See Nashe, *Martin's Months Minde* (Grosart, i, 151): "like the St. Nicholas Clarkes on Salisburie plaine . . . stept out before us in the high waie, and bid vs stand." and Dekker, *Bellman of London*: "The thief that commits the robbery, and is chief clerk to St. Nicholas" Cotgrave has "Bat-teurs d'estrade . . . Purse-takers . . . or S. Nicholas clarkes." St. Nicholas was patron-saint of children, scholars, sailors, shepherds, travellers, and perhaps also of thieves. His association with robbers may have arisen from the legend which is the subject of the miracle, *Ludus Super Iconia Sancti Nicolai* (ed. Pollard, *Eng. Miracle Plays*, Appendix II) in which the saint miraculously causes certain robbers to restore a treasure. . . Perhaps the name, as Warburton suggested, may have been transferred, with a kind of pun, from scholars, the clerks of St. Nicholas, to thieves, the clerks of Old Nick. This explanation receives some support from the Chamberlain's reply. — N. E. D. (1908): Nicholas. 2b. *St. Nicholas' clerks*. Highwaymen. 1570. Foxe, *A. & M.* (ed. 2) 2287: I have heard of men robbed by S. Nicholas clerks. See Clergymen 2. *St. Nicholas' clergymen*. A cant phrase for highwaymen. 1589. R. Harvey, *Pl. Perc.* i: A quarrel, by the highway, between a brace of St. Nicholas' clergymen. — BREWER (*Dict. of Phrase and Fable*, ed. 1896) refers to St. Nicholas as patron-saint of robbers; but is inclined to support Warburton's explanation of the origin of this term. — MRS. JAMESON (*Sacred and Legendary Art*, 1870, ii, 60-68) does not discuss this phrase but presents St. Nicholas as the patron of the bourgeois, and of serfhood in general, "the protector of the weak against the strong, the poor against the rich, the prisoner, the captive." "His proper attribute [in art], the three golden balls . . . are understood to represent the three purses of gold which he threw into the poor man's window. . . . Occasionally instead of the three balls there are three purses full of gold." [St. Nicholas was one of the most popular saints in mediaeval England: pictures and statues of him with three purses in his hand were known to all. Perhaps his three purses of gold made him popular with

the hangman, for I know thou worshippest Saint Nicholas,
as trulie as a man of falshood may. 62

Ga. What talkest thou to me of the hāgman ? if I hang,
ile make a fat paire of Gallows : for if I hang, olde fir Iohn
hangs with me, and thou knowest hee is no starueling : 65
tut, there are other Troians that thou dreamst not of, the
which for sport sake are content to do the profession, some
grace, that would (if matters should be lookt into) for their
owne credit sake make all whole I am ioyned with no
footlande rakers, no long-staffe sixpennie strikers, none of 70

65. *knowest*] *knowes* Q₆Q₈. 70 *foollande rakers*] Q₁Q₂Q₃.
hee is] Qq, Cam., Glo, Wh. ii, *foot-landrakers* Q₄. *foot-land rakers*
 Rlf, Tud, Ard *hee's* Ff, et cet Q₅₋₈, Cam i, Glo. *Foot-land-rakers*
starueling] *Starueling* F₄, Rowe Ff, Rowe, T. J. (1710), Pope, Theob.,
 11. *Starueling* T J Warb., Johns., Var. '73, Knt. iii, Rlf.,
 67. *profession*,] *profession* Q₆Q₈, Ff, Ox. *foot land-rakers* T. J. (1721),
 et seq Han, Cap, et cet
 69. *owne*] Om. Q₆₋₈.

thieves —ED] —ALBRECHT, O. E. (*Four Plays of St N*, 1935, p. 33). Presumably inspired by [the legend of the *Tres Clerici*, cf. Albrecht, p. 18] is the following stanza from a 15th century song in honor of St. Nicholas:

He reysed thre klerks fro deth to lyfve,
That wern in salt put ful swythe,
Be-twyx a bochere and his wyfve,
And was hid in privyte

This story was so popular in England that by the end of the 15th century the expression "St. Nicholas clerks" was current, with the meaning of poor scholars. From wandering scholars the Saint's protection seems rapidly to have been extended to other vagabonds, including thieves and murderers, and by the 16th century the same phrase has a less respectable connotation of highwaymen.

The *Shorter Oxford Dictionary* gives 1489 as the earliest use, but the first example in the *N. E. D.* is from Wilson's *Art of Rhetorique*, 1553: 'Thei are no Churchmen, thei are maisterlesse men, or rather St Nicolas Clarkes, that lack lvyng.' The frequently quoted passage from Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III, i, 292, seems to me to refer to the saint as a patron of poor scholars rather than of highwaymen.

66. Troians] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): *Love's Labour's Lost*, V, ii, 628: "Hector was but a Trojan in respect of this." Trojan had a cant significance, and was perhaps only a more creditable term for thief. So, again, *Love's Labour's Lost*, V, ii, 664: "Unless you play the honest Trojan." —WRIGHT (ed. 1897). A cant name for boon companions or dissolute fellows, like the Corinthians of the Regency and the Mohawks of an earlier period. . . . In *Kemp's nine days wonder*, sig. C2, recto, he says: "He was a kinde, good fellow, a true Troyan." —N. E. D. (1926): Roistering fellow, good fellow.

these mad mustachio purplehewd maltworms, but with nobilitie, and tranquillitie, Burgomasters and great On- 72
eyres, such as can hold in such as wil strike sooner then

71. *these*] *those* Rowe, +
 mad mustachio] *mad-mustachio*
Wh. i *made mustachio* Vaughan
 mustachio purplehewd] Q₁₋₃.
mustachio purple hewd Q₄₋₆. *mus-*
tachio purple-hewed Q₇Q₈ *musta-*
chio-purple-hu'd Ff, +, Del., Sta.,
Ktly., Rlf., Ox. *mustachio, purple-hu'd*
Cap, Var. '78, '85, Ran, Mal,
Steev., Sing, Huds. i, Coll. ii, Wh. i.
mustachio purple-hued Var '03, et cet
72 *tranquillitie*] *sanguinity* Coll.
MS, Coll. ii, iii. *gentility* Cart-
wright (1866), Ktly (conj. 1867).
squirillity Cowl (ed. 1914, conj.).

Burgomasters] *Burglar-masters*
Vaughan.

72, 73. *Oneyres*] *Oneraires* Pope
(conj, 1723) *One-eyers* Pope (conj,
1728) *Moneyers* Hardinge (ed. The-

ob), Theob., Warb., Hal. (conj.).
Seignors Theob. (conj) *Signors*
Kinnear (1883). *owners* Han.
min-heers Thirby MS. *myneers*
Cap *one-yers* Var. '73. *onyers* Mal.
(conj.). *ones*,—yes, Coll MS, Coll ii
mayors Wellesley (1865). *wonyers*
(Anglo-Sax. *woman*) A A Adee (MS.
note in Yale Univ. copy of Cam ii.).
mevors Kellner (1925) *wan-dyers*
Jackson (1818) *conveyors* Vaughan,
Bulloch (1878). *Oneyers* Q₂₋₈, Ff, et
cet.

73. *in*] Q₁₋₈ *in*, Q₇Q₈, Ff, +.
Del, Dyce, Hal. i, Cam, Glo., Huds,
ii, Wh ii, Rlf, Tud., Ox., Ard. *in*;
Cap., et cet.

73-75. *strike*.. *speak*.. *speake*.. *drinke*
...*drinke*..*pray*] *strike*...*drink*...*drink*..
peak.. *speak*...*pray* Seymour.

69-71. *with . . . maltworms*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): With no padders, no wanderers on foot, no fellows that infest the road with long staffs and knock men down for sixpence, none of those whose faces are red with drinking ale.

70. *footlande rakers*] SCHMIDT (1874): Pedestrian vagabonds
 long-staffe sixpennie strikers] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): A striker had a cant significance. . . . I believe in this place it signifies "not one who would content himself to borrow, i.e., to rob, you for the sake of sixpence." That "borrow" was the cant for "steal" is well known, and that "strike" signified "borrow" let the following passage from Shirley's *Gentleman of Venice* confirm: "You had best assault me, too. I must borrow money, and that's called striking"—COLLINS (Var ed 1778): In Greene's *Art of Connycatching*, under the Table of Cant Expressions Used by Thieves, the cutting a pocket or picking a purse is called striking.

71. *mustachio . . . maltworms*] STEEVENS (Var ed. 1778): Maltworm, the cant term for a tippler, so, *Life and Death of Jack Straw*, 1593: "You shall purchase the prayers of all the alewives for saving a maltworm and a customer."—CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p. 40): Ale-topers who dip their mustachios so deeply and perpetually in liquor as to stain them purple-red.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): See Nashe's *Prognostication* (*Works*, ed. Grosart, ii, 147): "Ye dearth, that by their deuout drinking is like to ensue of Barley, if violent death take not away such consuming mault worms"—COWL (ed. 1914): Purple-faced, mustachio'd drunkards Mustaches, which were supposed to indicate valour, were much affected by swaggerers.

72. *nobilitie, and tranquillitie*] COLLIER (*Notes and Emend.*, 1852): The scribe misheard Tranquility for Sanguinity; in reference to the high blood of

[72, 73. Oneyres]

the companions of Gadshill.—WHITE (*Sh. Scholar*, 1854). Mr. Collier's change is beneath notice.—COWL (*Echoes, T L S*, Mar 26, 1925). An allusion—that would have been relished by an Elizabethan audience—to a delicious couplet in John Phillips's *Patent Grissell*, 1565, lines 1915-16: "God preserve you all, right worthy Nobilitie, God graunt you to spend your time in tranquillitie."—COWL (ed. 1914): There seems no reason to suspect *tranquility*. It is in the vein of travesty upon language that gives us "gratillity" in *Twelfth Night*, II, iii, 25. . . . If any change were necessary I would [propose] *squirility*. In Edwards's *Damon and Pythias* counterfeit courtiers are said to be "fountains of squirility," i.e., scurrility.

72, 73. Oneyres] POPE (ed 1723): Oneraires. Trustees or Commissioners.—THEOBALD (*Sh. Restored*, 1726) I am at a loss about this suggestion of Mr. Pope's . . . The prince was no "Trustee," nor had they any linked with them in their gang. Nor can I conceive how Oneraire comes to signify Trustee or Commissioner . . . There is another French word, which would have more nearly served Mr Pope's purpose . . . and that is *Honoraires*, honorable persons . . . But not even this word restores the poet's text. For supposing Shakespeare himself acquainted with the term, we have no reason to think he would have put it in the mouth of so mean a fellow as Gadshill . . . I believe the poet's word here was one much more vulgarly known . . . and not greatly different in the *literal* part and much less in *sound* from the present corrupted reading. I can't help suspecting that he wrote *Seigniors*. . . . I find him coupling the same terms in *The Merchant of Venice*, I, i, 10 "Like *Seigniors* and rich *Burghers* on the flood"—IBID. (*Letter to Warburton*, Jan. 13, 1729/30). I have likewise guessed *Moneyers*, alluding that in thieving they were coiners of money as much as those officers appointed at the Mint called *Moneyers*—IBID. (ed. 1733). To Mr. Pope's conjecture *one-eyers* [made in his ed of 1728], cunning men that look sharp and aim well, I have nothing to reply seriously. . . . I retract *Seigniors* as a bad conjecture. The reading I have now substituted [*Moneyers*] I owe to the friendship of the ingenious Nicholas Hardinge, Esq. A *Moneyer* is an officer of the Mint, which makes coin and delivers out money. *Moneyers* are also taken for *Banquers*, those that make it their trade to turn and return money—GREY (*Crit Notes*, 1754) cites Chaucer's *Romaunt of the Rose*, line 6811, in support of *Moneyers*—HEATH (*Revisal of Sh. Text*, 1765, p. 248) I cannot concur in the emendation *Moneyers*. The word required is a cant word . . . I think it right therefore either to content ourselves with the reading of the early editions, the meaning of which, as a cant word, has escaped us and may possibly be discovered, or to take up Mr Theobald's conjecture, *Seigniors*.—JOHNSON (ed 1765): This [Theobald's *Moneyers*] is very acute. Sir Thomas Hanmer reads *Owners*, not without equal or greater likelihood of truth. I know not, however, whether any change is necessary; Gadshill tells the Chamberlain that he is joined with . . . *great ones*, or as he terms them in merriment by a cant termination, *great one-yers*, as we say privateer, auctioneer, etc. This is, I fancy, the whole of the matter. [CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779), in one of his most obscurely worded notes, defends his conjecture, *Mynheers*, on the ground of its obvious connection with *Burgomasters*, its suitability to the occasion and character, and the likeness between *Oneyres* as a cor-

[72, 73. Oneyres]

ruption of *Mynheers* and one which may be found in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, II, i, where Capell has substituted *Mynheers* for the meaningless *An-heires* of F₁. Capell's emendation has not been accepted, by subsequent editors, in either passage. H. C. Hart, in the Arden edition of *The Merry Wives*, regards it as a good guess, but does not accept it, inasmuch as there is no evidence that the word was known at that time in England.—ED.]—MALONE (Var. ed. 1778). By *onyers* . . . I understand public accountants, men possessed of large sums of money belonging to the state. It is the course of the Court of the Exchequer, when the sheriff makes up his account for issues, amerciments, &c., to set upon his head *o m.* which denotes *oneratur nisi habeat* &c.: he thereupon becomes the king's debtor, and the parties for whom he answers become his debtors . . . To settle accounts in this manner is still called to *ony*, from thence Shakespeare coined the word *onyers*. The chamberlain had a little before been mentioning among the travellers an auditor, an officer of the Exchequer. [The following is given as a specimen of the fantastic textual criticism of Zachary Jackson.—ED.] JACKSON (*A Few Examples, &c.*, 1818): *Wan-dyers*, because on pointing a sword or dagger at the breast of any unfortunate person, the person so accosted first starts, a trembling ensues, and from his face the crimson blood retreats. Compare the phrase of the prince [II, iv, 14], "they call drinking deep dying scarlet." Thus toppers were called "scarlet-dyers" and highwaymen, "wan-dyers"—SINGER (ed. 1826). Some of the commentators have been at great pains to conjecture what class of persons is meant. . . . The ludicrous nature of the appellations which Gadshill bestows might have shown them that such attempts must be futile. . . . Johnson has judiciously explained it.—COLLIER (*Notes and Emend.*, 1852): *Great ones*;—yes, the affirmative particle having been added to give more force to the assertion, when, perhaps, the chamberlain intimated incredulity.—LETTSOM (*New Readings*, 1853): That Dr. Johnson has hit upon the right explanation is proved beyond a doubt by the following extract from Dickens's *Old Curiosity Shop*: "'Miss Sally's such a one-er for that.' 'Such a what?' said Dick 'Such a one-er,' returned the Marchioness.'" . . . Shakespeare's *oneyer* is Dickens's *one-er*, *one* with an emphasis.—STAUNTON (ed. 1858): Of all the conjectures we prefer Hanmer's [*owners*], not merely because it better suits the context, but because *one* having of old the pronunciation of *own* (a sound it still retains in *only*) *oneyers* might easily have been misprinted for *owners*.—SCHMIDT (1874): Perhaps, persons that converse with great ones, a word formed like lawyer, sawyer, &c.—LLOYD (*N. and Q.*, Apr. 2, 1887). The nearest Dutch companion to Burgomaster is *oneer groot*, i.e., infinitely great.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): In order not to betray the prince, Gadshill evidently coined a word for the occasion, the meaning of which was sufficiently clear for his purpose, and from which the chamberlain would learn quite as much as it was intended he should, as much indeed as he would from *tranquility*, just before.—KELLNER (*Restoring Sh.*, 1925, p. 91): *on* misprinted for *m*; cf. *Shrew*, I, ii, 166: "I have met a gentleman Hath promised to help *one* to another." This would make the much-emended *oneyers* a misprint for *meyers* or *meyors*. [From the specimens of Elizabethan handwriting furnished by Kellner, it is difficult to see how a printer could mistake an *m* for *on*, though the reverse might be possible.—ED.]—N. E. D.

fpeak, and fpeake fooner then drinke, and drinke fooner
 then pray, and yet (zoundes) I lie, for they pray contin- 75
 uallie to their Saint the Common-wealth, or rather not
 pray to her, but pray on her, for they ride vp and downe 77

74. *drinke...drinke*] *think...think* 76 *to*] *unto* Ff, +, Varr, Ran,
 Han., Warb. Knt. ii, iv.
 75. *zoundes*] Om Ff, +, Cap, 76, 77. *not pray*] *not to pray* Ff.
 Varr, Ran., Mal., Steev., Varr, Sing, 77. *but. her*] Om T. J.
 Knt., Coll., Huds. 1, Del, Dyce 1, *but pray*] *but prey* Qs-s, Ff, et
 Hal., Wh. i, Ktly., Ox. seq.

(1909). Oneyers: Origin and meaning uncertain. [We can only repeat Singer's
 "Johnson has judiciously explained it."—ED]

73-75. *such as . . . pray*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): I am in doubt about this
 passage. What is the meaning of "such as can hold in"? It cannot mean
 "such as can keep their own secret," for "they will speak sooner than think":
 it cannot mean "such as will go calmly to work without unnecessary violence
 such as is used by long-staff strikers," for the following part will not suit with
 that meaning; and though we should read by transposition "such as will speak
 sooner than strike," the climax will not proceed regularly —MALONE (ed.
 1790) I think a gradation was intended. . . . Gadshill means to say that he
 keeps company with steady robbers, such as will not impeach their comrades
 or make any discovery by talking of what they have done, men who will strike
 the traveller sooner than talk with him, that yet would sooner speak to him
 than drink, which might intoxicate them and put them off their guard, and,
 notwithstanding, would prefer drinking, however dangerous, to prayer, which
 is the last thing they would think of. The words, however, will admit of an-
 other interpretation. We have often in these plays "as good a deed as drink."
 Perhaps, therefore, the meaning may be: "Men that will knock the traveller
 down sooner than speak to him; who will yet speak to him, and bid him *Stand!*
 sooner than drink (to which they are sufficiently inclined): and, lastly, who will
 drink sooner than pray" Here indeed the climax is not regular But perhaps
 the author did not intend that it should be preserved —STEEVENS (Var ed.
 1778) Such as can "hold in" are such as can "curb old father Antick the law"
 or "such as will not blab." —CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): Such as won't be thrown
 out of their play, "hold in" being a phrase amongst gamblers.

74. *drinke . . . drinke*] WARBURTON (ed 1747): We have no reason to think
 that they were less given to drink than to speak. . . . And what have speak-
 ing, drinking, praying to do with one another? We should certainly read
think, in both places, for *drink*: and then we have a regular and humorous
 climax . . . The Oxford editor has dignified this correction by his acceptance
 of it.—HEATH (*Revisal of Sh. Text*, 1765, p. 248): Mr Warburton very in-
 judiciously exacts a philosophical precision in such a rambling conversation as
 this. "Sooner than drink" means "sooner than do what we are most ready
 and inclined to do."

77. *pray . . . pray*] COWL (ed 1914): "Pray to . . . prey on" is an instance
 of the figure of speech which Puttenham (*Arte of English Poesie*, ed. Arber, p.
 216) calls "Atanaclassio" or "the Rebound." This figure, he writes, "playeth

on her, and make her their bootes.

Cham. What, the Common-wealth their bootes ? will
thee hold out water in foule way ? 80

Gad. She will, she will, Iustice hath liquord her : we
steale as in a Castell cockfure . wee haue the receyte of
Ferneseede, wee walke inuifible

78. on] in Thirby MS, Vaughan.

and] or Han.

with one word written all alike but carrying diuers senses, as thus 'To pray
for you ever I cannot refuse, To pray upon you I should you abuse' "

78-81] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779) Boots, we may suppose, has allusion to *booty*
But what shall we make of the chamberlain's observation upon it, and of the
other's reply? The wit is certainly lame, and halts miserably, but yet it is fit
for the utterers. The import of the question must be,—Will this Common-
wealth you prey upon make her your boots, bring you off when you get into
scrapes? To which the reply is pertinent enough,—She will; there are quirks
enough in her laws for that purpose —SINGER (ed. 1826) A quibble upon boots
and booty. *Boots* is profit, advantage —COWL (ed. 1914) *Bootes* is perhaps
a misprint for *boote*, *booty*

80. foule way] ELTON (ed. 1889): Bad road.

81. liquord] MALONE (ed. Steevens, 1793): "They would melt me (says
Falstaff in *The Merry Wives*, IV, v, 89) out of my fat, drop by drop, and liquord
fishermen's boots with me"—SCHMIDT (1874). Greased with tallow in order to
keep out water.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897) The play upon the other sense of *liquor'd*
is obvious —COWL (ed. 1914) In both senses *liquord* is found in association
with "hold out water"; i.e., to be water-tight, and to be full of drink (and so
water-tight). See *Jacke Drums Entertainment*, I, i: "Enter *Kath*. It seems he
can scarce carry himself. *Drum* He's over the shoes, yet he'll hold out water,
for I have liquor'd him soundly."

82. as in a Castell] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): Once a proverbial phrase.
So, in *The Little French Lawyer* of Beaumont and Fletcher: "We shall fight as
in a castle " Perhaps Shakespeare means we shall steal with as much security
as the ancient inhabitants of castles who had these strongholds to flee to for
protection and defence against the laws.

82, 83. receyte of Ferneseede] GREY (*Crit. Notes*, 1754): A sneer upon the vul-
gar notion that fern has no seed, to which Butler refers, *Hudibras*, Pt. 3, Canto
iii, 3, 4: "That spring like fern, that insect weed, Equivocally, without seed."
Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 27, indeed affirms that two sorts of fern were without seed.—
JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Fern is one of those plants which have their seed on the
back of the leaf so small as to escape the sight. Those who perceived that the
fern was propagated by semination and yet could never see the seed, were much
at a loss for the solution of the difficulty; and as wonder always endeavours to
augment itself, they ascribed to fern-seed many strange properties, some of
which the rustick virgins have not yet forgotten nor exploded.—STEEVENS
(Var. ed. 1778): So, Ben Jonson's *New Inn*: "I had No medicine, sir, to go in-
visible, No fern-seed in my pocket."—HOLT WHITE (ed. Steevens, 1793): Our
ancestors believed that fern bore seed which was invisible. Hence, from an

Cham. Nay by my fayth, I thinke you are more beholding to the night then to Fernefeed, for your walking inuifible. 85

Gad. Giue mee thy hand, thou fhalt haue a fhare in our purchafe, as I am a true man.

Cham Nay rather let me haue it, as you are a falfe theefe. 90

Gad. Go to, *homo* is a common name to al men : bid

84. *by my fayth*] Om. Ff, +
thinke] *thinke* rather Ff, +, Knt.

84, 85 *beholding*] *beholden* Pope, +,
 Varr, Ran, Steev, Varr., Sing, Sta,
 Hal. ii.

85 *to*] *to the* F₁ *the* F₂₋₄, +
 87, 88] As verse, three lines, ending. *hand/purpose/man*. Ff, Rowe
 88 *purchase*] *purpose* Ff, Rowe

extraordinary mode of reasoning, they believed that those that possessed the secret of wearing this seed about them would become invisible Absurd as these notions are, they were not entirely exploded in the time of Addison; . . . see *Taller*, 240 — DRAKE (*Sh and his Times*, 1817) It was the belief of our credulous ancestors that fern-seed became visible only on St. John's eve. STAUNTON (ed. 1858) John Parkinson (*Theater of Plants*, 1640) speaks as follows "The seede which this and the Female ferne doe beare, and to be gathered only on Midsummer eve at night, with I know not what conjuring words." The "conjuring words" constitute Shakespeare's "receipt of fernseed." — BEISLY (*Sh's Garden*, 1864) quotes William Turner's *Herbal*, 1562, on the collecting of the wonder-working fernseed on Midsummer eve.

88 *purchase*] JOHNSON (Var. ed 1773): The term was used in law for anything not inherited, but acquired — STEEVENS (Var. ed 1773) Anciently the cant term for stolen goods. So, in *Henry V*, III, ii, 38 "They will steal anything and call it purchase." So, Chaucer. "And robbery is holde purchas" — COLLIER (ed 1842) A common term for booty, or the property obtained from robbery of any kind. [So, N. E. D. (1909), under *Purchase*, 8. — Ed.] — SINGER (ed 1856) Gain, profit, anything got by legal means The passage from *Henry V* proves just the contrary of what Mr Collier [originally, Mr Steevens, see above] quotes it for it means "they will give it a wrong name." — COLLIER (ed 1858) What can Mr. Singer mean? The very reverse is the fact, as we will see by reference to any dictionary. Richardson tells us that to *purchase*, in our old writers, is to *steal*, to *rob*. Are these the legal means suggested by Mr. Singer? Suppose an editor (we put it hypothetically) were to take advantage of the notes of all previous commentators, and appropriate them constantly to his own use without a hint of acknowledgment, would he designate that "legal means" or would it be "purchase"? — SCHMIDT (1874) gives four examples of the use of the word by Shakespeare in the sense of "acquisition of any kind by any means", five in the sense of "acquisition by buying"; three in the sense of "booty," including the passage under consideration and the passage from *Henry V*.

true man] See note on I, ii, 105.

91. *homo . . . men*] ANON. (Var. ed. 1785): A quotation from Lyly's *Gram-*

the Ostler bring my gelding out of the stable, farewell you muddy knaue.

93

[*Scæna Secunda.*]

Enter Prince, Poines, and Peto, &c.

Po. Come shelter, shelter, I haue remoude Falstalfes horfe, and he frets like a gumd Veluet.

2

92. *my*] the Ff, Rowe.

you] *ye* Q₂₋₈, Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob., Warb., Johns., Knt., Dyce, Hal. i, Wh. i, Huds. ii, Rlf.

After 93.] Exeunt. Ff, et seq.

Scæna Secunda] Ff. Om. Qq.
SCENE II. Rowe. SCENE III. The Highway. Pope, Han. Scene, changes to the Highway. Theob. SCENE III. Changes to the Highway. Warb., Johns. SCENE II. *Gad's-Hill*. The Road down it. Cap. SCENE II. *The Road by Gadshill*. Varr., Ran, Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt., Coll., Huds., Del., Dyce, Sta., Hal., Wh. i, Ktly., Ox SCENE

II. The highway, near Gadshill. Cam., Glo, Wh ii, Rlf., Tud, Ard.

Prince] Qq, Ff. the Prince Cap., Ox. Prince Henry Rowe, et cet.

Poines, and Peto] and *Poins*, *Bardolph* and *Peto*, at some distance. Mal, Steev., Varr., Sing, Knt. i, ii, iv, Coll, Huds., Del, Wh. i, Dyce ii, iii, Hal. ii, Ktly. *Poins*, *Bardolph*, and *Peto* Dyce i, Hal. i. and *Poins*. Cap., Knt iii, Sta, Cam., Glo, Wh. ii, Rlf, Tud, Ox, Ard.

&c] Om. Ff, et seq.

2. *Veluet.*] *Velvet*. (They step back. Wh. ii., Tud.

mar.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765). Gadshill replies that though he might have reason to change the word *true*, he might have spared *man*, for *homo* is a name common to all men, and among others thieves.—COWL (ed. 1914). This quotation from Lyly is the subject of many equivocations in Elizabethan dramatists and writers.

93. *muddy*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Thick-witted. Cf. Heywood's *I Edward IV* (*Works*, i, 9): "Basely like tinkers or such muddy slaves"—COWL (ed. 1914). So, Munday, *Death of Robert Earl of Huntington*, II, i: "Muddy slaves, whose balladizing rhymes . . . show their brutish thoughts."

II, ii] For survivals in this scene of the earlier, hypothetical play, see Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Morgan, section 16. For discussion of Falstaff in this scene, see Appendix: Characters: Falstaff—Maurice Morgann (5 references).—CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, pp. 80, 88) Shakespeare has various excellent methods of denoting place, that serve well to keep before the mind of the spectator the spot where are supposed to transpire the incidents witnessed. . . . How admirably do the [following] touches set the absolute scene of the Gadshill robbery before us; and how the dramatist has borne in mind the necessity for providing for Falstaff's return to town by making Poins tell him where he may find his purloined horse: lines 1, 8, 9; 11; 27, 28; 49-51; 56, 57; 66; 74, 75; 90; 96.

2. *gumd Veluet*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): This allusion we often meet with in the old comedies. So, in *The Malcontent*, 1606: "I'll among you, like gum

- Prin.* Stand clofe. *Enter Falstaffe.* 3
Falst. Poynes, Poynes, and be hangd Poynes
Prin. Peace ye fat-kidneyd rascal, what a brawling 5
doft thou keepe ?
Falst. Wheres Poynes Hall ?
Prin. He is walkt vp to the top of the hill, Ile go seeke him.
Falst. I am accurst to rob in that theeues companie, the 10
rascal hath remooued my horfe, and tied him I knowe not
where, if I trauell but foure foote by the squire further a
foote, I shall breake my winde. Well, I doubt not but to 13

3 *close*] *close*. (putting himself before him) Cap. *close*. (They retire. Dyce, Hal i, Huds. ii.

4. (1st) *Poynes*,] *Poins*? T. J. (1710) *Poins*! Pope, et seq

5 *Prin*] *Prin.* (coming forward) Dyce, Hal. i, Huds ii, Wh. ii, Tud. *bawling*] *bawling* F₃F₄, Rowe, Pope, Han.

7 *Wheres*] *What* Q₂-s, Ff, Rowe. *What*, Pope, +, Varr, Ran.

9 *him*] *him* (feigning to go. Cap. *him* (Pretends to seek *Poins*. Mal., Steev., Varr, Sing, Knt., Coll. i, ii,

Huds. i, Del., Sta., Wh. i, Hal. ii, Ktly. *him* (Retires. Dyce, Hal. i, Huds. ii, Wh. ii. *him*. (Retiring as if to seek *Poins* Coll. iii. *him*. (withdraws) Tud. *him*. (Pretends to seek *Poins*, and retires Ox.

10 *theeues*] *Theefe* F₁.

the] *that* Ff, Rowe.

11. *him*] *them* Q₃.

12. *squire*] *square* Q₃. *square* F₃F₄, +, Cap., Varr, Ran. *squer* Cam., Glo.

further] *farther* Pope ii, Theob., Warb., Johns, Wh 1.

into taffeta, to fret, to fret."—SINGER (ed. 1826). Velvet and taffeta were sometimes stiffened with gum, but with the consequence that the stuff being hardened, it quickly rubbed and fretted itself out. [For further reference to "gummed velvet," see, if necessary, WRIGHT (ed. 1897) and COWL (ed. 1914). —ED]

5. *fat-kidneyed rascal*] COWL (ed. 1914): An allusion to the layers of fat in which the kidneys are embedded. A rascal was a lean deer; this may be therefore a kind of oxymoron.

10-28.] GENTLEMAN (*Introd.* to Bell's ed., 1773). This speech always creates laughter, on just principles.

10-13.] CRAIG (ed. 1904): Shakespeare may have been indebted to Nashe's *Pierce Penniless*, 1592 (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, i, 201): "The Romane Censors, if they lighted upon a fat corpulent man, they straight tooke away his horse, and constrained him to goe a foote . . . If we had such horse-takers amongst us . . . surfeit-swolne Churles, who now ride on foot-cloaths might be constrained to carrie their flesh on foote . . . and the price of veluet and cloath would fall with their bellies!"

12. *foure* . . . *squire*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Four foot by the square is probably no more than four foot by a rule.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): French, *esquierre*: carpenter's rule.

die a faire death for all this, if I scape hanging for killing
 that rogue. I haue forfworne his companie hourly any 15
 time this xxii yeares, and yet I am bewitcht with the
 rogues companie If the rascall haue not giuen me medi-
 cines to make mee loue him, ile be hangd. It could not
 be else, I haue drunke medicines, Poynes, Hall, a plague
 vpon you both. Bardoll, Peto, ile starue ere ile rob a foote 20
 further, and twere not as good a deede as drinke to turne
 true-man, and to leaue these rogues, I am the veriest varlet
 that euer chewed with a tooth : eight yeardes of vneuen
 ground is threefcore and ten myles a foote with mee, and
 the stonie hearted villaines knowe it well inough, a plague 25
 vpon it when theeues can not be true one to another :

They whistle,

Whew, a plague vpon you all, giue mee my horfe you
 rogues, giue me my horfe and be hangd : 28

16. *xxii.*] 22. *Q₅₋₈.* two and twenty
 Ff, et seq.

yeares] *yeare* [variously spelled]
Q₂₋₈, Ff, +, Cap, Varr., Ran., Var.,
 Dyce, Hal. i, Sta., Huds. ii

20. *vpon*] *on* *Q₅₋₈.*

Bardoll] *Bardolph* Ff, et seq.

[This constant variant between Qq
 and Ff will not be noted hereafter.—
 Ed.]

ile rob] *I rob* Ff, Rowe

rob] *rub* Johns. (conj.).

21. *further*] *farther* Wh ii.

and] *an* T. J., Pope, et seq.

as drinke] *as to drinke* Ff, +,

Wh. i

22. *true-man*] *Q₁Q₂*, *F₁F₄*, Rowe,

Pope, Theob, Han., Warb., Var. '73,

Ktly. *Trueman* *F₂F₃*. *true man* *Q₃₋₈*,
 et cet.

to leaue] *leaue* Var. '03, '13,
 Var, Sing, Knt, Coll, Huds. i,
 Del, Dyce i, Hal, Wh. i, Ktly, Ox.
these] *those* *F₂*.

24. *a foote*] *a foot* *F₄*, Theob. iv.
afoote [or *a-foot*] *Q₂₋₈*, *F₁₋₃*, et cet.

26. *vpon it*] *Qq*, Theob, Cam.
vpon't Ff, et cet.

one to another] *to one another*
 Var. '85, Mal, Steev, Varr., Sing. i,
 Knt. i, Coll., Huds. i, Del., Sta., Wh.
 i, Hal. ii.

27. *vpon*] *light vpon* Ff, Rowe, Cap.,
 Knt., Wh. i.

mee] *Om* *F₁F₂*.

19. *medicines*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Alluding to the vulgar notion of love-
 powders. [Cf. *Othello*, I, iii, 61.]

20. *rob*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): [Cf. Textual Notes] So we now say "rub on."—
 STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1773): But why may it not mean "go afoot further to
 rob?"

21. *good . . . drinke*] See II, i, 27.

22. *true-man*] See I, ii, 105, note; and, here, the typographical evidence
 for regarding "true-man" as one word.

24. *is*] ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, p. 235): [The use of the 3rd per. sing. for
 the 3rd per. plu.] is extremely common in the folio. In some cases the subject
 may be regarded as singular in thought. . . . Cf. *Julius Caesar*, I, iii, 154:
 "Three parts of him is ours already."

Prin. Peace ye fat guts, lie downe, laie thine eare clofe to the ground, and lift if thou canst heare the treade of 30
trauellers.

Falst. Haue you any leauers to lift me vp againe being down, zbloud ile not beare mine owne flesh so farre a foote againe for all the coine in thy fathers Exchequer : What a plague meane ye to colt me thus ? 35

Prin. Thou liest, thou art not colted, thou art vn-colted.

Falst. I preethe good prince, Hal, helpe me to my horfe, good kings sonne

Prin. Out ye rogue, shall I be your Ostler ? 40

Falst. Hang thy selfe in thine owne heire apparant garters, if I be tane, ile peach for this and I haue not Ballads made on you all, and fung to filthie tunes, let a cuppe of 43

29 *Prin*] P. Hen. (coming forward) Dyce, Hal 1, Huds ii, Coll iii, Wh ii, Tud, Ox

30 *canst*] *can* Q₂₋₈, Ff, Rowe.

32 *leauers*] *levers* Johns., Var. '73, et seq

33. *down*,] *down*? Q₂, et seq.
zbloud] Om Ff, Rowe 'Sblood
Pope, et seq.

35 *a*] Om. T J. (1721)

36. *art not*] *are not* F₄

38. *prince*,] *prince* Q₂, et seq

40. *ye*] Q₁, Cam, Glo, Dyce ii, iii, Huds ii, Wh ii, Tud, Ard. *you* Q₂₋₈, Ff, et cet.

41 *Hang*] Q₁Q₂, Tud. *Go hang* Q₂, et cet.

thine] *thy* F₄, +, Varr, Ran, Mal, Steev, Varr, Sing, Hal. ii.

42. *and*] *an* T J, Pope, et seq.

43. *you*] Om Q₂₋₈, Ff.

35 *colt*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): To fool, to trick; but the prince, taking it in another sense, opposes it by *uncolt*, i e., unhorse

41. *Hang . . . garters*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765) Alluding to the Order of the Garter, in which he was enrolled as heir-apparent — STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778). Had this been the allusion, Shakespeare would have written *garter* not *garters*, but he must be very ingenious who can hang himself in one of these garters. "Hang himself in his own garters" is a proverb, in Ray's *Collection* [Steevens here, as frequently, is inclined to be a little too literal-minded in his comments on Falstaff's quips — Ed.]

42. *peach*] HUDSON (ed. 1880): Turn state's evidence, cf. *impeach*.

42, 43. *Ballads . . . you*] MALONE (ed. 1790): So, in *The Rape of Lucrece*, 524: "Shalt have thy trespass cited up in rimes, And sung by children in succeeding times;" and in *Antony and Cleopatra*, V, ii, 213. "Saucy lictors Will catch at us like strumpets, and scald rimers Ballad us." — HUDSON (ed. 1880) Shakespeare was said thus to have avenged himself on Sir Thomas Lucy. — WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Falstaff had great faith in the virtue of ballads to reward merit or confer disgrace. In *II Henry IV*, IV, iii, 45, he proposes to avenge any want of recognition of his own services by having them made the subject of a ballad.

facke bee my poyfon, when a ieaft is fo forward, and a
foote too I hate it.

45

Enter Gadshill.

Gad. Stand. *Falst.* So I do againft my will.

Po. O tis our fetter, I know his voice, Bardoll, what
newes.

Bar. Cafe yee, cafe yee on with your vizards, theres 49

44. *poyson*,] *poyson* [or *poyson*,]
Q₂, et seq.

when a] *when* Q₂-s.

After 45. Enter Gadshill] Enter
Gadshill and Bardolph Rowe, Pope,
Theob., Han, Warb., Ran. Enter
Gads-Hill, Bardolph and Peto with
him. Cap., Sta., Cam, Glo., Wh. ii,
Rlf., Tud., Ard. Enter Gadshill,
Bardolph, and Peto Knt. iii.

47. *Po*] Poins. (Coming forward)
Wh. ii, Tud.

voice,] *voice*. Enter Bardolph.
Var. '85, Steev., Varr., Sing i, Knt. i,
ii, iv, Coll. i, ii, Huds. i, Del, Wh. i,
Hal. ii. *voice*. Bardolph comes forward.
Sing. ii, Ktly. *voice*. (Coming forward with
Bardolph and Peto) Dyce, Hal. i, Huds ii *voice*. (Com-

ing forward. Enter Bardolph and
Peto. Coll. iii. *voice*. Enter Bardolph
and Peto. Ox

47, 48. *Bardoll. newes*] Separate
line Ff.

47. *Bardoll*,] Bardol [italics and no
comma] Q₂-s. Bardol, [italics] Q₇Q₈.
Bardolfe, [italics] Ff. Bardolph, [italics]
Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han, Warb.,
Cap. Bard [italics and period] Johns.
(conj), Var. '73, '78, Mal., Steev.,
Varr., Sing, Knt. i, ii, iv, Coll,
Huds, Del, Dyce, Hal., Wh i, Ktly.

48 *newes*,] *newes*? Q₂, et seq. *news*?
(coming forward, with the Prince.
Cap.

49 Bar] Gads. Johns., Varr.,
Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt., Coll.,
Huds, Del, Dyce, Hal., Ktly., Ox

47. *setter*] See I, ii, 102, 103, set a match, and note—WHIBLEY (*Rogue and Vagabond*, in *Sh's England*, 1916, ii, 496): The craft of cheating at cards was called Barnard's Law, and those who took part in it went by strange titles. The first of the cozeners was called the Taker-up or Setter. . . . His business was to decoy the victim. [Cf. Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Morgan, section 4.—Ed.]

47, 49 *Bardoll* . . . Case] JOHNSON (ed. 1765) [defends his emendation, see Textual Notes, as follows]: This [i.e. the Q reading] is absurd. Poins knows Gadshill to be the setter, and asks Bardolph the news. To countenance this impropriety, the later editions have made Gadshill and Bardolph enter together [see Textual Notes, line 45], but the old copies bring in Gadshill alone, and we find that Falstaff, who knew their stations, calls to Bardolph, among others, for his horse [line 20], but not to Gadshill, who was posted at a distance. We should therefore read' . . .—RITSON (*Remarks*, 1783) 'There is no absurdity in the passage, except that of which the learned critic is guilty. Falstaff's calling out for Bardolph is no proof that he was within hearing. The latter's entrance should be marked, and the old reading restored.—CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): The person spoken of as setter is Gadshill; his salute to Falstaff [line 46] is waggery. But how comes it that Bardolph is applied to for news? This must be explained in the action: Poins collects from his gesture that he wants

money of the kings comming downe the hill, tis going to
the Kings Exchequer. 50

Falst. You lie ye rogue, tis going to the kings Tau-
erne.

Gad. Theres inough to make vs all :

Falst. To be hangd. 55

Prin. Sirs you foure shall front them in the narrow
lane : Ned Poincs, and I wil walke lower, if they scape
from your encounter, then they light on vs.

Peto. How many be there of them ?

Gad. Some eight or ten. 60

Fal. Zounds will they not rob vs ?

Prin. What, a coward sir Iohn paunch.

Fal. In deed I am not Iohn of Gaunt your grandfather, 63

52. *ye*] Q₁Q₂, Cam., Glo., Dyce ii, iii, '78, '85, Ran, Coll, Sing. ii, Wh. i,
Huds. ii, Wh. ii, Tud., Ard. *you* Ktly.

Q₂₋₃, Ff, et cet. *be there*] *be they* Q₂₋₃. *be* Ff,
54. *all*·] *all*. Q₀, Q₃, et seq. Rowe, Pope, Theob, Han., Warb,
56. *Sirs*] Om Q₂₋₃, Ff, Rowe, Pope, Johns.

Han, Knt, Sing. ii, Wh. i, Ktly., 61. *Zounds*] Om. Ff, Rowe.
Rlf. 62. *paunch*·] Q₁, Warb., Johns.

57. *Poincs*] Om. Ff, Rowe, Knt., *paunch?* [or *Paunch?*] Q₂₋₃, Ff, et cet.
Wh. i, Rlf. 63. *your*] *our* Q₅₋₇ [two copies of

59. *How*] *But how* Q₂₋₃, Ff, +, Var. Q₅ read *your*; see Appendix: The
Text].

to inform him, and therefore applies to him.—COWL (ed. 1914): Johnson's
conjecture seems to have been suggested by the arrangement in Ff. [Cf. the
similar textual difficulty in I, ii, 102, Poyncs, and Collier's note upon it —ED.].

50, 51. to . . . Exchequer] COWL (ed. 1914): Revenue collected by sheriffs
and other of the king's officers was paid into the Exchequer.

54. *make*] SCHMIDT (1874): Make the fortune of.—COWL (ed. 1914): For
Falstaff's jest, line 55, cf. Middleton, *Phoenix*, II, iii: "*Capt.* Here's a voyage
will make us all—*Phoe. (aside)* Beggarly fools and knaves."

59.] CAPELL (Notes, 1779): Editions bring in Peto [at the beginning of the
scene] . . . along with the Prince and Poincs, but this is unnecessary and the
action is cumbered with it: he comes on without knowing particulars which
only Gadshill was master of. Hence his question here. [Capell's words imply
that if Peto had entered with the prince and Poincs, he would have known these
particulars; it is Capell's style, rather than his thought, that is at fault. He
wishes to make two independent points, but chooses to do so in one sentence.
His first point is that Peto is not needed, and would be in the way in the first
part of the scene; his second is that though Peto comes in later, with Gads-
hill and Bardolph, he does not know all that Gadshill knows about the present
situation.—ED.]

but yet no coward, Hall.

Prin. Well, we leaue that to the proofe. 65

Po. Sirrha lacke, thy horfe standes behinde the hedge,
when thou needst him, there thou shalt find him · farewell
& stand fast

Fal. Now can not I strike him if I should be hangd.

Prin. Ned, where are our disguises? 70

Po. Here, hard by, stand close.

Fal. Now my maisters, happie man bee his dole, say I,
euerie man to his businesse. *Enter the trauailers.*

Trauel Come neighbour, the boy shall lead our horses
down the hill, wee le walke a foote a while and ease our legs. 75

Theeues Stand *Trauel* Iesus bleffe vs.

Falst. Strike, downe with them, cut the villaines
throates, a horeson Caterpillars, bacon-fed knaues, they 78

65. *Well*] Om. Ff, Rowe, Knt,
Sing ii, Wh. i, Ktly

we] *weele* Q₂₋₃ *Wee'l* F₁F₂.
We'll F₃F₄, +, Knt, Sing ii, Wh. i,
Ktly.

67 *thou shalt*] *shalt thou* F₂₋₄, +.

69 *can not I*] *I cannot* F₃F₄

70 *Ned*] *Ned* (aside to Pains)
Coll, Sing. ii, Del, Dyce, Hal. i,
Wh, Ktly., Huds ii, Ox., Tud

71. *Po*] *Po* (aside to P. Hen)
Dyce ii, iii, Huds ii, Wh. ii, Tud

close] *close*. (retiring, to put
them on. Cap. *close* Exeunt P.
Henry and Pains Mal., Steev,
Varr, Sing, Knt., Coll, Huds, Del,
Dyce, Hal, Wh., Cam, Glo, Ktly,
Tud., Ox, Ard *close*. (P Henry and
Pains retire Sta

72 *I*] Om Q₅₋₈.

73. Enter] SCENE IV. Enter Pope,
Han., Warb., Johns.

the] Qq, Cam, Glo, Wh. ii,
Tud, Ard. Om. Ff, et cet.

74-84] As verse, with lines end-

ing neighbour / hill / legs / Stand /
blesse vs / cut / throats / knaues / fleece
them / O / for euer / vndone / here /
say / are ye / 'faith Cap [Cf. be-
low, Cap's emendation of line 83]
As verse, lines ending neighbour / hill /
legs / Stand / blesse vs / cut / Cater-
pillars / with 'em / fleece 'em / euer /
vndone / chuffes / bacons on / knaues /
are ye / 'faith Walker (1860).

74, 75.] As verse, lines ending
neighbour / hill / legs Dyce ii, iii,
Huds ii

74. *Trauel*] 1 *Travel*. Cap, Mal,
et seq

75. *walke*] Om F₃F₄, Rowe i.

76 *Theeues*] *Fal*, Gads, &c.
Dyce, Hal i, Huds. ii.

Stand] *Stay* Q₅₋₈, Ff, Rowe.

Trauel] *Travellers* Dyce i,
Hal i, Wh., Cam, Glo., Rlf., Tud,
Ox, Ard. Sec. Trav. Dyce ii, iii.

78. *a horeson*] *a whorson* Ff *ah!*
whorson Rowe, et seq.

72 *happie . . . dole*] Cited by CAMDEN (*Remains*, 1605; ed. 1870, p. 323)
as an English proverb of the former and present age.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765):
May his dole in life be a happy one.—KENRICK (*Rev. of Johnson's Ed.*, 1765):
Simply a proverbial phrase for wishing oneself, or others, good luck.—COWL
(ed. 1914). Literally, "may each one's fortune be to be a happy man."

78. *Caterpillars*] N. E. D. (1897): 2. A rapacious person, an extortioner, one

hate vs youth, downe with them, fleece them.

Tra. O we are vndone, both we and ours for euer. 80

Fal. Hang ye gorbellied knaues, are ye vndone, no yee fatte chuffes, I would your flore were here on bacons on, what yee knaues yong men muft liue, you are grand iurers, are ye, weelee iure ye faith. 84

Here they rob them and bind them. Exeunt.

Enter the prince and Poynes.

80. *Tra.* 1 Trav Cap., Mal, Steev, Varr, Sing, Knt, Coll, Huds, Del, Sta, Wh 1, Dyce ii, iii, Hal ii, Ktly. Travellers Dyce i, Hal 1, Cam

we are] *we're* Walker (1860), Dyce ii, iii, Huds ii.

81. *are ye]* *are you* Ff, +.

vndone,] *vndone?* Q₂, et seq.

83. *ye]* Om. Walker (1860).

knaues] *knaves!* on, I say, Cap. *knaues?* [or *knaves!*] Q₂, et seq.

iurers,] *Iurers?* F₂₋₄, Rowe.

84. *are ye,]* Om. F₂₋₄, Rowe *are ye?* Q₂₋₃, F₁, Pope, et seq

iure ye] *iure you,* Q₇Q₈

faith] Q₁Q₂ 'Faith Walker (1860), Cam *yfaith* Q₃, et cet

After 84 Here Exeunt] Exeunt, driving them out Cap, Sta. Exeunt

Falstaff, &c., driving the travellers out Mal, Steev, Varr, Sing, Knt i, ii, iv, Coll., Huds 1, Del, Hal ii, Ktly. Here they rob and bind the travellers Exeunt Falstaff, Bardolph, and the rest. Knt iii. Exeunt Fal, Gads, &c, driving the travellers out. Dyce, Hal 1, Huds ii Here the thieves rob and bind the travellers, after which they all go out. Wh. i.

rob them] rob Pope, +

Exeunt] Om Q₄₋₈, Ff, Rowe

Enter .Poynes] Om. Cap, Sta

Re-enter Prince Henry and Pointz, in buckram suits Hal. 1, Dyce, Huds. ii, Wh, Tud Re-enter Prince Henry and Poins, disguised Cam., Ard.

Enter] Re-enter Mal., et seq

the prince] Prince Henry Rowe, et seq.

who preys upon society. Gosson: *School of Abuse*, 1579, An Invective against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Iesters, and such like Caterpillars of a Commonwealth — WRIGHT (ed 1897): See *Richard II*, II, iii, 166 "The caterpillars of the commonwealth" — COWL (ed. 1914): Falstaff turns against the bourgeoisie a reproach usually levelled at rogues.

81. *gorbellied]* STEEVENS (Var ed. 1773): Fat, corpulent. See *Gloss.* to Kennet's *Parochial Antiquities* — STAUNTON (ed 1858): That Falstaff . . . should reproach his victims with corpulence is exquisitely humorous

82. *chuffes]* STEEVENS (Var. ed 1778): A term of contempt applied to rich and avaricious people. . . . Perhaps it is a corruption of *chough*, a thievish bird. — RITSON (*Remarks*, 1783) The name of the bird is pronounced *chow*. *Chuff* is *cuff*, a clown, being derived from a Saxon word of the same sound. — N. E. D. (1897): 1. a rustic, boor, clown. 2. a miser, [with citation of this passage. — Ed.].

83. *grand iurers]* HUNTER (*New Illustr.*, 1845): Falstaff, having heard imperfectly what was said by the travellers, and having caught the words "and ours," line 80, his cowardly mind, full of the prospect of having to answer for this night's adventure, supposes they had said "grand jurors." — WHITE (ed. 1859): "Ours" having been pronounced "oors" in Shakespeare's day. — COL-

Prin. The theeues haue bound the true men, nowe 85
 coulde thou and I rob the theeues, and go merilie to London,
 it would be argument for a week, laughter for a month,
 and a good iest for euer.

Po. Stand close, I heare them comming.

Enter the theeues againe.

Fal. Come my maisters, let vs share and then to horfe 90
 before day, and the Prince and Paines bee not two arrant
 cowardes theres no equitie stirring, theres no more valour
 in that Poynes, then in a wilde ducke. 93

85. *true men*] *True-men* Ff, Rowe,
 Pope, Han. i. *true men* (looking out.
 Cap.

After 89.] (retire again. Cap., Sta.
 (They retire. Dyce, Hal. i, Wh. i,
 Huds. ii, Coll iii.

Enter] Qq. Ff, +, Cap., Varr.,
 Ran., Wh., Cam, Glo., Rlf., Tud.,
 Ard. Re-enter Mal, et cet.

the theeues] Theeues Ff, +,
 Var. '78, Mal. Falstaff, Gadshill,
 Bardolph, and Peto. Dyce, Hal. i,
 Huds. ii. Falstaff and the rest. Wh.
 i. Falstaff and the thieves Coll iii.

again] again at the other part
 of the stage. Johns, Var. '73 Om.
 Mal., Steev, Varr., Sing, Knt., Coll,
 Huds, Del, Dyce, Hal, Sta, Wh i,
 Ktly.

90. *share*] *share* (throwing down
 the Booty.) Cap.

91. *day*,] *day*. (They all sit round
 about it.) Cap.

and *the*] Qq, Ff, Rowe, Ktly.
 on the Pope, et cet.

arrant] *arrand* Qs, Ff.
 92. *more*] Om. Qs. *moe* F₁F₂.

LIER (ed. 1858). We are to suppose that some of the travellers swore lustily at the thieves.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Grand jurors were men of better station in life than those qualified to serve on common juries

84. *iure ye*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Similarly when Falstaff in *The Merry Wives* [IV, ii, 162] figures as Mother Pratt, Mr. Ford exclaims as he beats him, "I'll prat her!" Again, in *Coriolanus*, II, i, 121, "Aufidius" and "I would not have been so fidiused."

87. *argument*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): Subject matter for conversation or a drama.—MASON (*Comments on Last Ed.*, 1785): Surely not for a drama, here, but for discourse or merriment. So Pedro says to Benedick in *Much Ado*, I, i, 217: "If thou dost ever fall from thy faith, thou wilt prove a notable argument."

92. *equitie stirring*] PHELPS (*Fal. and Equity*, 1901, p. 9): In the whole of Sh's works the word equity occurs but four times, and each time with distinctly varied import . . .

1. "Foul subornation is predominant,
 And equity exiled your highness' land." (*II Henry VI*, III, i, 145)
2. "Thou robbed man of justice, take thy place,
 And thou, his yoke-fellow of equity." (*Lear*, III, vi, 35)
3. "For this down-trodden equity we tread
 In warlike march." (*John*, II, i, 241)

The fourth passage is the one in question. . . . In *II Henry VI*, equity is used in the Biblical sense, as roughly synonymous with justice. In *Lear* . . . the

[92. equity stirring]

reference is to juridical or technical equity. In *John* it is used in the still more narrow sense of concrete equitable right. . . . In the expression of Falstaff the word is used *in all three of the above-mentioned senses at once* . . . (p. 14). Why should Shakespeare have preferred the word *equity* here to *justice*; and why should he have chosen the word *stirring*? . . . Whatever opinion may be held of the question of Shakespeare's connection with the legal profession, one thing is certain. No one will deny that he was an observer of passing events. Beyond question he was an appreciative witness of the great contest between the courts of law and equity, in which Ellesmere, Coke, and Bacon acted conspicuous parts. . . . Direct confirmation of this will be found in the circumstances connected with the case of Shakespeare *v. Lambert*, pending in the Court of Chancery at the time this drama was in preparation. Three years before the appearance of Falstaff on the stage, Sir Thomas Egerton commenced his famous judicial career as Master of the Rolls, and in two years became Lord Chancellor Ellesmere. . . . Lord Campbell styles him "the earliest founder of our system of equity." . . . (p. 17). The most aggressive arm of the Chancellor was the injunction. . . . (p. 18) Injunctions were issued to restrain parties from proceeding with inequitable law-suits, and at that point *equity* struck the line of battle with the common law. . . . (p. 21). Counting upon the unflinching support of the Queen, Ellesmere was prepared to push the *jurisdiction of equity* to its amplest verge. At the same time, the attitude of the twelve judges, inspired by Sir Edward Coke, the Queen's Attorney General, was that of stubborn defiance. . . . At the time the drama now in question was in preparation, those opposing elements had come into violent collision. . . . The personal acerbity which flavoured the quarrel, Shakespeare may be supposed to have appreciated, and "the humour of it." . . . (p. 38). In 1597 the great case of Throckmorton and Finch was approaching a crisis in the court of Chancery. . . . (p. 40). The court had upheld Finch. . . . Throckmorton had the presumption to appeal for relief to the Chancellor . . . Coke demurred, thus raising the simple question that after judgment at law equity could not interfere. It was at this point that the Queen interposed . . . (p. 48): The decision of all the judges of England was at last signified to the Chancellor. Their unanimous decision was that after judgment the party could not be relieved in equity. . . . On November 15, 1597, the result was announced by the Chancellor. . . . A little more than three months after, *I Henry IV* was entered on *The Stationers' Register*. . . . (p. 53). We have no difficulty in perceiving that when, in 1597, Falstaff was heard exclaiming that there was no equity stirring, everybody who had sense enough to go to the play had the common intelligence to see the palpable allusion to the militant equity of the Court of Chancery. . . . (p. 55): But there is at hand matter more closely in point. . . . I refer to the chancery suit of Shakespeare *v. Lambert*, pending in 1597. . . . The object of the suit was the redemption of a mortgage upon his mother's property, and the circumstances were so nearly analogous to those of Throckmorton *v. Finch* that the progress of the last-named case could not have failed to arrest his attention. It will further be seen that *the Shakespeares changed front and filed a new bill against Lambert on Nov. 24, 1597, nine days after the decision of the judges was announced.* . . . (p. 58):

		<i>{ As they are sharing the Prince & Poins set upon them, they all runne away, and Falstafle after a blow or two runs away too, leauing the bootie behind them</i>	
<i>Prin.</i>	Your money.		94
<i>Poin.</i>	Villaines.		95

Prin Got with much ease Now merrily to horse :
the theeues are all scattered, and posselt with feare fo
strongly, that they dare not meete each other, each takes 98

94 *money.*] *money.* (rushing out upon them. Cap., Mal, Steev, Varr, Sing, Knt, Coll, Huds. i, Del, Wh i, Hal. ii, Ktly.

After 94, 95 As they vpon them] Before line 94, divided from the rest of the s.d., which follows line 95. Dyce, Hal. i, Huds. ii.

As they. away too] Falstaff, and the rest, scramble up He makes a Blow, or two, and they run, Cap they all away too] They all run away Ff, Rowe. Falstaff, after a blow or two, and the rest, run away Mal., Steev, Varr, Sing i, Knt. i, Huds. i, Hal. ii. Falstaff, after a blow or two, and the others, run away Huds ii Gadshill, Bardolph, and

Peto run away; and Falstaff after a blow or two runs away too [after line 95] Dyce i, Hal. i. They all run away, Falstaff making a blow or two Wh i Gadshill, Bardolph, Peto, and (after a blow or two) Falstaff, run away [after line 95] Dyce ii, iii.

the bootie] their booty Mal, Steev., Var. '03, '13, Hal ii.

them] him Var. '78, '85. Om Knt ii, iv

96-102] As verse, lines ending horse / feare / other / officer / death / along / him / roard Pope, et seq

97 all] Q₁, Cam, Glo, Wh. ii, Tud, Ard. Om Q₂, et cet.

98. takes] take Q₁-3.

It was this special, local, and transient application that winged the shaft, and made this sally of Falstaff's a success. . . (p. 60). The peculiar aptness of the word "stirring" to make a picturesque impression of the agitation incident to the great struggle of the courts over their jurisdiction is too plain for comment. Nevertheless it may be worth notice that the same word is repeatedly used by Lord Bacon in precisely the same connection. . . (p. 74): There is another striking coincidence in dates to be noticed and another notable case to be cited, the chancery case of *Mylward v. Weldon*. Campbell, in his *Life of Ellesmere*, introduces this case as follows: "We have on record a striking instance of the vigour with which he strove to correct the prolixity of written pleadings in his court. . . (p. 76) 'For as much as it now appears that the said Replication doth amount to six-score sheets of paper, and yet all the matter pertinent might well have been contrived in sixteen sheets . . . it is therefore ordered that the warden of the Fleet shall take the said Richard Milward and shall bring him into Westminster Hall and shall cut a hole in the midst of the said engrossed Replication . . . and put the said Richard's head through the said hole . . . and shall so show him at the bar. . . ' This most extraordinary and ridiculous order was passed Feb. 10, 1596/7." . . . This practical joke of the Chancellor at the scrivener's expense was perfectly fresh when Falstaff appeared on the stage. A more vivid, fantastic, and picturesque illustration of "equity stirring" cannot well be imagined.

his fellow for an officer, awaie good Ned, Falstalfie sweates
to death, and lards the leane earth as he walkes along, wert 100
not for laughing I should pittie him.

Poynes How the rogue roard.

Exeunt

[*Scæna Tertia.*]

Enter Hotspur solus reading a letter.

*But for mine own part my Lord I could be well contented
to bee there, in respect of the loue I beare your house.*

He could be contented, why is hee not then ? in the re-
spect of the loue he beares our house · he shewes in this, he 4

99. *Falstalfie*] *Now Falstaff* Pope,
Theob., Han., Warb., Johns. *Fat*
Falstaff Thirlby MS., Cap., Ktly.,
Huds. 11.

sweates] *swears* Q₃₋₅. *sweare*

Q₆

102 *rogue*] *fat rogue* Q₆ [*i. e.*, a frag-
ment of the first printing of the play.
See Appendix: the Text.]

Exeunt] Om. Ran.

Scæna Tertia] Ff Om. Qq
SCENE III Rowe SCENE V Lord
Percy's House Pope, Han., Warb.,
Johns. Scene, Lord Percy's House
Theob. SCENE III. Warkworth A

Room in the Castle Cap., et cet.,
(except SCENE III Warkworth Cas-
tle. Cam., Glo., Wh. ii, Rlf., Tud.,
Ard.).

solus] Qq, Ff, +, Cam., Glo., Wh
11, Tud., Ard. Om. Cap., et cet.

reading] with Cap.

1 But] Hot—But Cap., Dyce,
Cam., Glo., Wh. ii, Rlf., Tud., Ard.

Lord] lord, (reading) Cap

2. beare] boar Q₈.

3 *contented*] *conuented* Q₁. *con-*
tented to be there Pope, Theob., Han.,
Warb., Johns

the] Om. Q₆₋₈, Ff et seq

II, iii] GENTLEMAN (*Introd.* to Bell's ed., 1773). The long letter, and the scene with Lady Percy, have no manner of meaning but to shew the hair-brained soldier in a whimsical light; did not Sir John need breathing-space, they might well be spared. . . . (p. 27). [Lines 43–61a, omitted in Bell's text,] merit preservation, and we believe are only rejected on the stage because Lady Percy is seldom performed by an actress fit to speak them.—DAVIES (*Dram. Misc.*, 1785) This scene was necessary to acquaint the audience with the progress of the insurrection projected by the Percies in Act I—[WRIGHT (ed. 1897) suggests that the location of this scene at Warkworth Castle (see Textual Notes) is confirmed by Hardyng's *Chronicle* (ed. 1812, p. 361), where the author, who was brought up in Hotspur's family and was with him at Holmedon and Shrewsbury, says of the letters of allegiance from the lords of England: "which letters I sawe in the castell of Werkeworth, when I was constable of it."—ED.]

1–34] EDWARDS MS. (quoted in Var. ed., 1773). This letter was from George Dunbar, earl of March in Scotland.—LOCKHART (*Life of Scott*, 1837; ed. 1901, ii, 258) quotes a letter of J. B. S. Morritt, Esq., of Rokeby, to Sir Walter Scott, dated Dec. 28, 1811: "In the reign of Henry IV, the High Sheriff of Yorkshire,

loues his own barne better then he loues our houfe. Let
me fee fome more. 6

The purpose you undertake is dangerous,
Why thats certaine, tis daungerous to take a cold, to
fleepe, to drinke, but I tell you (my Lord foole) out of this
nettle danger, we plucke this flower safetie. 10
*The purpose you undertake is dangerous, the friends you
haue named vncertaine, the time it selfe vnforted, and your
whole plot too light, for the counterpoyse of so great an oppo-
sition*

Say you so, fay you so, I fay vnto you againe, you are a 15
fhallow cowardly hind, and you lie : what a lacke braine
is this ? by the Lord our plot is a good plot, as euer was
laid, our friends true and constant : a good plot, good
friends, and ful of expectation : an excellent plot, verie 19

7 and 11. undertake] undertake, 17. by the Lord] I protest Ff,
(reading again.) Cap. Rowe, Knt.
10. we] we'll Coll. MS. a good] as good a Ff, Rowe,
plucke] pluckt Q₁Q₈. Knt., Del.
12. haue] Om. Q₁Q₈. 18. friends] friende Q₈. frind Q₈.
15. so, I] so. I Q₂₋₄. so? I Ff. so? I friend Q₈₋₉, F₁F₂
Rowe, et seq.

who overthrew Northumberland . . . after the battle of Shrewsbury, was also a Rokeby. Tradition says that this sheriff was before this an adherent of the Percies, and was the identical knight who dissuaded Hotspur from the enterprise, on whose letter the angry warrior comments so freely in Shakespeare."—COURTENAY (*Comm. on Hist. Plays*, 1840). I find no authority for the scene in which Hotspur reads a letter from a correspondent who tries to dissuade him. Nothing shows more clearly how these historical plays have taken the place of history than the pains taken to trace this letter to some particular person. One commentator, against all probability, ascribes it to the Scottish Lord March.—SINGER (ed. 1856): A MS. note by Mr. Edwards is the only authority for the statement that the letter was from the Earl of March.—COWL (ed. 1914): A letter from Dunbar to the king is extant.—AX (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol.*, 1912, p. 28): The historical kernel of this scene is the fact that "divers noble-men and other states of the realm . . . promised to the Percies aid and succour . . . but when the matter came to trial, the most part of the confederates abandoned them." [See Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Holinshed.—ED.] That they should have sent letters to excuse themselves is unlikely, and is Shakespeare's invention, Holinshed only saying that they confirmed their promise by writings and seals.

12. vnforted] SCHMIDT (1874): Unfit, unsuitable.

19. ful of expectation] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Full of promise. This seems to refer to the plot, rather than to the friends.

good friends ; what a frosty spirited rogue is this ? why my Lord of York commends the plot, and the generall course of the Action. Zoundes and I were nowe by this rascall I could braine him with his Ladies fanne. Is there not my father, my vnclē, and my felfe ; Lord Edmond Mortimer, my Lord of Yorke, and Owen Glendower . is there not besides the Dowglas, haue I not all their letters to meete me in armes by the ninth of the next month, and are they not some of them fet forward alreadie ? What a pagan rascall is this, an infidell ? Ha, you shall see now in very sinceritie of feare and cold heart, will hee to the King, and lay open all our proceedings ? O I could deuide my felfe, and go to buffets, for mouing such a dish of skim milke with so hon-

21. *Lord*] *L* Q₈-s

22 *Zoundes*] *By this hand* Ff, +, Varr., Ran, Knt.

and] *if* Ff, +, Varr., Ran., Knt *an* Cap, Mal., Steev., Varr, Sing, Coll, et seq.

23 *could*] *would* Thirly MS.

24. *selfe*] Q₁, T. J. (1721). *selfe*, Q₂-s, Ff, Rowe, T. J. (1710), Pope, Theob., Han i, Warb., Johns., Ktly. *self*? Cap, et cet.

25. *Lord*] *L*. Q₂Q₃.

Glendower.] *Glendower*? Q₂, et seq.

26 *Dowglas*] *Dowglas*? Q₂, et seq

29 *month*] Q₁-4, Coll., Huds. i.

Del. *month*? Q₅-s, Ff, et cet *they*] *there* F₂-4, +.

29. *this, an*] *this, and* Q₂-s. *this &* Q₃-s. *this*? An Ff, +, Varr., Ran, Mal, Steev., Varr, Sing, Knt. i, Hal ii *this!* an Knt. ii, et cet.

infidell?] *Infidell* Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han., Warb., Johns. *infidell* Knt. ii, et seq.

31. *proceedings*?] *proceedings*. Q₂, et seq.

32. *skim*] Qq, Cam, Glo, Wh. ii, Rlf., Tud, Ox, Ard. *skim'd* Ff, et cet.

21. *Lord of York*] STEEVENS (Var. ed 1778): Richard Scroop, Archbishop of York.

23. *braine . . . fanne*] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): The fans then in fashion had very long handles.—EDWARDS (*Canons of Crit.*, 1748, p 62): How unlucky if, after all, this learned criticism should be an ignorant mistake, and the humour of the passage should lie in alluding to the *hightness*, rather than the *heaviness*, of the lady's fan! Both paintings and authors of Shakespeare's time prove that ladies wore feather fans!—WHALLEY (Var. ed, 1785). But see Beaumont and Fletcher's *Wit at Several Weapons*, Act V: "Were't not better Your head were broke with the handle of a fan?"—MALONE (ed. 1790): This passage should be a memento to all commentators not to be too positive about the customs of former ages. Mr. Edwards has laughed unmercifully at Dr. Warburton. . . . The lines quoted by Mr. Whalley show that Dr. Warburton's supposition was not so wild a one as Mr. Edwards supposed.

26. *all their*] ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, p. 146): "From them all"; cf. *Coriolanus*, IV, vi, 34: "To all our lamentation," i.e., to the lamentation of us all. *Your, our, their, &c.*, are often used as genitives.

orable an action. Hang him, let him tell the king, we are prepared : I will fet forward to night. *Enter his Lady.*
 How now Kate, I must leaue you within thefe two houres. 35
Lady. O my good Lord, why are you thus alone ?

33. *king*,] Qq, T J, Cap., Var '78, Percy Rowe, Theob., Varr, Ran, '85 *King* Ff, Rowe. *King* Pope, Mal, et seq SCENE VI Enter Theob., Han 1, Warb., Johns., Ktly. Lady Percy Pope, Han, Warb., *King*, Var '73, Rlf., Tud., Ox *King*: Johns. Enter Lady Percy (after Han. II, Ran, Mal, et cet *Kate*, line 35) Cap
 34 *forward*] *forwards* Ff, Rowe 35. *these*] *thus* Qs.
 Enter his Lady] Enter Lady

31, 32. *deuide . . . buffets*] HUDSON (ed 1880). Cut myself into two parts, and set the parts to cuffing each other

35 ff. *you, thee*] ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, pp. 153-155). A wife may vary between *you* and *thou* in addressing her husband. Lady Percy addresses Hotspur almost always in dialogue as *you*; but in the higher style of earnest appeal, and in the familiar "I'll break thy little finger," she uses *thou* . . . Hotspur generally uses *thou* to his wife, but, when he becomes serious, rises to *you*, dropping again to *thou* [and rising again to *you* in lines 98 ff.—ED].

35 *Kate*] STREEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): Shakespeare either mistook the name of Hotspur's wife, which was Elizabeth, or else designedly changed it, out of the remarkable fondness he seems to have had for the familiar appellation of *Kate*, which he is never weary of repeating when he has once introduced it; as in this scene, the scene of Katherine and Petrucchio [in *The Taming of the Shrew*] and the scene of the courtship of the king and the French princess [in *Henry VI*].

36 ff.] GREY (*Crit. Notes*, 1754). He has an image not unlike this in *Julius Caesar* [II, 1, 237 ff.].—GENTLEMAN (*Dram. Censor*, 1770): In the scene with his lady, Hotspur discovers much peculiarity and flightiness of temper, she with a kind of childishness endeavours to wheedle from him the cause of his manifest perturbation, which he declines communicating in a manner unnecessarily ungenteel, though bluntness seems to be a material part of his character. . . . Lady Percy is the very simpleton of tragedy, useless and unenterprising.—GERVINUS (*Sh. Comm.*, trans. Burnett, 1849, p. 310). The charming scene between Hotspur and his wife shows that he loves, because he banters, no other expression for his love could this unaffected nature find.—HUDSON (*Sh. Life, Art, &c.*, 1872; ed 1882, II, 75). Hotspur is a general favorite; nor is it without some reluctance that we see the prince set above him in our regard. Which may be owing in part to the interest we take in his wife; who, timid and solicitous, affectionate and playful, is a woman of the true Shakespearean stamp. How delectable is the harmony between her prying, inquisitive gentleness, and his rough, stormy courage. For in her gentleness there is strength, and his bravery is not without gentleness. The scene at Warkworth is a choice heart-refection; it combines beauty of movement and repose, it comes into the surrounding elements like a patch of sunshine in a tempest.

For what offence haue I this fortnight bin
 A banisht woman from my Harries bed ? 38
 Tel me sweet Lord, what ist that takes from thee
 Thy stomacke, pleasure, and thy goulden sleepe ? 40
 Why dost thou bend thine eies vpon the earth ?
 And start so often when thou sitst alone ?
 Why hast thou lost the fresh bloud in thy cheekes ?
 And giuen my treasures and my rights of thee
 To thicke eyde musing, and curst melancholy ? 45
 In thy faint slumbers I by thee haue watcht,
 And heard the murmur, tales of yron wars,
 Speake tearmes of mannage to thy bounding steed,
 Cry courage to the field. And thou hast talkt
 Of fallies, and retyres of trenches tents, 50

39 *ist*] *is it* T J. (1721).
 41. *thine*] *thy* F₁F₄, +.
 vpon] *vnto* Q₈
 42. *silst*] *sleepst* Thirby MS
 45 *curst*] *cursed* Cam., Glo.
 46. *thy*] *my* Q₁₋₈, Ff.
 haue] *Om* Q₄₋₈.
 47 *the murmur, tales*] *thee murmur*
tales Q₂, et seq

49 *Cry field*] *Cry, Courage!*—*to*
the field! Rowe 11, et seq.
 50. *retyres*] Q₁Q₂ *retyres*, Q₃₋₈,
 Dyce, Cam., Glo, Wh ii, Rlf, Tud.,
 Ox, Ard *Retires*, Ff, et cet.
 of trenches tents] *trenches, tents*
 Q₄₋₇, Ff, Rowe, Del *trenches, and*
tents Q₃. *of trenches, and tents* T. J.
of trenches, tents Q₂Q₈, Pope, et cet.

38 banisht . . . bed] HUNTER (*New Illust. of Sh*, 1845): The Lady Percy, Countess of Northumberland, of Shakespeare's time, was married to a morose and uncongenial person. . . . Thus, Manningham, *Diary*, Nov 6, 1602 "I hear that the Earl of Northumberland lives apart from his lady, now she hath brought him an heir. . . ." The audience could not fail to perceive a parallelism, and as the lady was sister to the Earl of Essex, it is more than probable that Shakespeare intended that they should do so.

40. goulden] HENDERSON (Var. ed. 1785). So, in Hall's *Chronicle*, *Richard III*: "He needeth now no more once for that cause eyther to wake or break hys golden sleep."—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): See *Richard III*, IV, i, 84; *Romeo and Juliet*, II, iii, 38.

45. curst] WALKER (*Crit Exam.*, 1860, ii, 15): *Curst* is not a different form of *cursed*, but an essentially different word, meaning *perverse* or *froward*; much the same as *cross*, with which I suspect it to be etymologically connected. [The N. E. D (1897) does not confirm Walker's "suspicion," but gives *curst* as a variant of *cursed*.—Ed.]—SCHMIDT (1874): Shrewish, waspish.—COWL (ed. 1914): Froward, cross, as in Plutarch's *Romane Questions*, trans. Holland, 1603: "Not kinde and gentle, but curst and terrible."

47 yron] COWL (ed. 1914): Cf. Chaucer's *Hous of Fame*, iii, 356-7: "For yren Martes metal ys Which that God is of battaile."

Of pallizadoes, frontiers, parapets,
 Of bafilisks, of canon, culuerin,
 Of prifoners ranfome, and of foldiors flaine,
 And all the currents of a heddy fight,

52

51. *frontiers*] *fortins* Han, Warb Sta, Wh. i, Ktly., Rlf the 'currents
rondeurs Warb. (conj.). Cap., Varr., Ran., Mal, Steev., Varr,
 53. *ransome*] *ransom'd* Cap. (conj), Sing, Walker (1854), Dyce, Hal,
 Dyce ii, iii, Huds ii. Huds ii th' *occurents* Mal. (conj.),
 54. *the currents*] *the current*, Q₄₋₆ Coll. MS.
the current Q₇Q₈, Ff, +, Knt., Del., *fight*,] *fight*. Q₈, Ff, et seq.

50. *retyres*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778). *Retreats*. So, Holinshed, p. 960:
 "The Frenchmen's flight, for many so termed their sudden retire"

51. *pallizadoes*] SCHMIDT (1874). Stakes set in the ground by way of defence.
frontiers] WARBURTON (*Letter to Burch*, 1738, fol 138, verso): All is here
 an exact recapitulation of the apparatus of a siege and defence; but the im-
 pertinent word *Frontiers*, which hath nothing to do with the business, hath
 crept in. Shakespeare wrote *Rondeurs*, an old French word for the round
 towers in the walls of ancient fortifications. . . . This word is extremely
 proper here, and in exact order of place, too, between palisades and parapets —
 EDWARDS (*Canons of Crit.*, 1748): Notwithstanding the "extreme propriety"
 and "the exact order of place," all this parade of military skill is dropped by
 Mr. Warburton in his edition; and we are directed to read, after the Oxford
 editor, *Fortins*. I do not think it a matter of importance which of these words
 is retained. . . . However, it would have been candid of Mr. Warburton to
 have owned his mistake, and to have acknowledged the correction of it,
 though it came to him from a gentleman "who has been recommended to him
 as a poor critic" [Hanmer is so referred to in Warburton's *Preface* to his edi-
 tion of Shakespeare — ED] — JOHNSON (ed. 1765) considers *fortins* a plausible
 conjecture — HEATH (*Revisal*, 1765): But I see no reason for discarding the
 common reading — STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1773). *Frontiers* meant not only the
 borders of territories, but the forts built near those limits — MALONE (*Suppl.*
to Var. ed. of 1778): The following lines from *Notes from Blackfriars*, by H.
 Fitz-Jeffrey, 1617, may serve to confirm the reading of the text: "He'll tell of
 basilisks, trenches, retires, Of palisadoes, parapets, frontires, Of culverins and
 barricadoes, too." — NARES (*Glossary*, 1822). The outwork of a fortification is
 called a frontier [see note on I, iii, 19, *moodie frontier of a servant browe*. — ED].
parapets] SCHMIDT (1874): Breastworks.

52. *basilisks* . . . *culuerin*] WARNER (*Letter to Garrick*, 1768, p. 23): Basilisk
 is a piece of ordnance or cannon made longer than ordinary, to command at a
 farther distance. We find it mentioned in Bacon's *New Atlants*. — DOUCE
 (*Illust. of Sh.*, 1807, i, 424): There was a serpent called basilisk, perhaps an
 imaginary one; and this animal, with others of like nature, being sculptured on
 the ancient pieces of artillery, supplied them with the various appellations of
 serpentine, culverines (French *couleuvre*), flying dragons, &c. Of these the
 basilisk was the largest. — KNIGHT (ed. 1839): In Harrison's *Description of*
England, basilisk, cannon, and culverin are fully described. The basilisk
 weighed 9000 pounds, the cannon 7000, and the culverin 4000.

Thy spirit within thee hath bin so at war, 55
 And thus hath so bestird thee in thy sleepe,
 That beads of sweate haue stood vpon thy brow
 Like bubbles in a late disturbed streame
 And in thy face strange motions haue appeared,
 Such as we see when men restraine their breath, 60
 On some great suddain heft. O what portents are these?
 Some heauy bufineffe hath my Lord in hand, 62

- 55 *spirit*] *spirt* F₂
 so] *hot or sore* Vaughan.
 56. *thus hath*] *thought hath* Johns.
 (conj.). *thou hast* Thirlby MS, Cap.
 (conj.), Walker (1860), Dyce ii, iii,
 Huds. ii *this hath* Thirlby MS.
 (conj.), Acting Version, 1763.
bestird] *disturb'd*. Johns.
 57. *beads*] *beds* Q₂₋₈, Ff, Rowe i,
 T. J (1710)
haue] *hath* Q₄₋₆, Ff
- 58 *in*] *on* Coll. iii.
streame] *streame*, Q₂₋₈. *Streame*;
 (or :) Ff, et seq.
 59. *motions*] *motion* F₃F₄.
 61 *suddain*] Om Steev.
hest] *haste* Q₂Q₃Q₇Q₈, F₃F₄, Bet-
 terton, Rowe, +, Cap, Varr, Ran.,
 Mal, Steev., Varr, Sing, Knt., Sta.,
 Hal, Ktly *hast* Q₄₋₆, F₁F₂. *heft*
 Acting Version, 1763.

54 *currents*] MALONE (ed 1790): Occurrences.—KNIGHT (ed 1839): the current, i.e., the course, the rush.—COLLIER (ed. 1858) A heady fight may well be said to run in currents, and therefore we do not alter the received text, but the corrected folio has "all th' occurrents," which Mr. Singer adopts, but without stating from whence he procured the hint. "Occurrents," if it were right, must, as he states, be understood as "occurrences," but nobody so understood it until the discovery of the corrected folio of 1632. [Mr. Collier's suspicions of Mr. Singer lead him, here, into an unpardonable mis-statement. A glance at the Textual Notes will show that Mr. Singer, in his edition of 1826, long before the "discovery of the corrected folio," had adopted the reading under discussion, following a long tradition which originated with Capell in the 18th century. Note, also, that the exact reading of the "corrected folio" was anticipated by Malone.—ED.]—ELTON (ed. 1889): Currents, tides.

56. *thus hath*] WALKER (*Crit. Exam.*, 1860, iii, 133): Perhaps in the MS. this was written *thou hath*, from the *hath* in the preceding line

61. *great . . . hest*] MITFORD (*Conj. Emend.*, 1844): Delete *sudden*, which is only a marginal explanation.—COLLIER (ed. 1842): *Hest*, for *behest*, command, is a very common word—IBID. (ed. 1858) *Sudden haste* would be something like *sudden suddenness*.—COWL (ed. 1914): On suddenly receiving some important command. *Hest*, behest, command: as in Chaucer. . . . It is possible that *hest* may here signify determination, purpose,—a meaning for which the N. E. D. quotes, among other examples, Stanyhurst, *Aeneis*, ii, 64: "In one heast hee stieflye remained." [Dr. J. Q. Adams suggests the propriety of *heft*, from *heaving*.—ED.]

portents] See ABBOTT on I, i, 97, aspects. Other examples of this normal accent on *portent* are *I Henry IV*, V, i, 20 (if *fear* is there regarded as a monosyllable) and *Julius Caesar*, II, ii, 80.

And I muſt know it elfe he loues me not.

Hot. What ho, is Gilliams with the packet gone ?

Ser. He is my Lord, an houre ago. 65

Hot. Hath Butler brought thoſe horſes from the Sheriffe ?

Ser. One horſe my Lord he brought euen now.

Hot. What horſe, Roane ? a cropeare is it not ?

Ser. It is my Lord.

Hot. That roane ſhall be my throne. Wel, I will
backe him ſtraight : O Eſperance, bid Butler lead him
forth into the parke. 70

La. But heare you my Lord. 73

64. after *ho*] (Enter a Servant)
Cap, Dyce, Hal i, Cam., Glo, Huds.
ii, Wh. ii, Rlf, Tud, Ox, Ard

after *gone*] Enter Servant Dering
MS., Rowe, +, Mal, Steev,
Varr, Sing, Knt, Coll, Huds. i,
Del, Sta, Hal, Wh. i, Ktly. Enter
Raby. J. P. Kemble.

65. *an*] above *an* Thirlby MS.,
Steev. (conj.). about *an* Vaughan.
ago] *agoe* Q₃-s. *agone* Ff,
Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han. i, Warb,
Johns. *gone* Han. ii.

66. *brought*] *bought* F₂.

Sheriffe] *Sheriffes* Q₁Q₃

67-69.] As two lines: *One horse ..*
What horse? / A roan...is't not? Serv.
'Tis, my Lord. Walker (1860).

67. *he*] *he* hath Ktly.

brought] *brought* it Vaughan.
euen] *ev'n* Pope, Theob., Han.,
Warb, Johns. *but even* Cap, Steev
(conj.).

68. *horse*,] *horse?* Q₃, et seq.

Roane?] Q₁Q₂ *roane*, Q₃-s. *a*
roane? Q₃, et cet.

not?] *not*. F₁.

69-72.] As verse, lines ending
throne / Esperance / parke / Pope, et
seq.

71. *O Esperance*,] Q₁-4 *Esper-*
ance, Q₃-s, Ff, Rowe. *Esperancel*
Knt. *O Esperancel* Pope, et cet.

After 72.] Exit Serv. Dering MS,
Han., Cap., et seq.

64 ff.] UPTON (*Crit. Observ.*, 1746). What tramontanes in love are the young Percy and King Henry VI!—CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p. 69). In the course of Shakespeare's plays we meet with several instances of dialogue where a speech is made not in sequence with words uttered immediately preceding it, but in reply to something said a short time before. . . . This he has made a special characteristic of the young Hotspur, the impetuous-spirited, vehement-spoken man of strong and sudden impulse. Witness the following lines. II, iii, 64-85, II, iv, 82-96; and IV, i, 10-14.

68. Roane] COWL (ed. 1914): Madden (*Diary of Silence*, XV) notes Shakespeare's fondness for roan horses.

71. *Esperance*] WARNER (*Letter to Garrick*, 1768, p. 7). Perhaps it may be said that this was Percy's word in battle, as St. George was that of the king. See V, ii, 97.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897). The motto of the Percies. Over the great gate of Alnwick is the inscription "*Esperance ma comforte*," according to Bishop Percy (*Earl of Northumberland's Household Book*, ed. 1827, p. 461).

Hot. What faist thou my Lady ?

La. What is it carries you away ?

75

Hot. Why, my horfe (my loue) my horfe.

La. Out you madhedded ape, a weazel hath not fuch a deale of spleene as you are toft with. In faith ile knowe your bufineffe Harry that I will, *I* feare my brother Mortimer doth ftir about his title, and hath fent for you to line
80 his enterprife, but if you go.

Hot. So far a foot I fhall be weary loue.

La. Come, come you Paraquito, anfwere me directly vnto this queftion that I afke, in faith ile breake thy little
84

74. *saisst*] *sarest* Q₂-s *sayest* Cap., Ktly.

thou] Om. Steev, Var. 1803, 1813.

75 *it*] *it that* F₃F₄, Rowe.

76.] As two half-lines, ending *horse*, / *horse*. Mal., Steev, Var. '03, '13, Coll, Sta, Hal, Wh. i, Dyce ii, iii, Ktly.

Why,] Om. Steev, Var. '03, '13, Hal ii

77-81.] As verse, lines ending *not* / *with* / *will* / *stir* / *you* / *go* Pope, Theob, Warb As verse, lines ending *hath* / *with* / *will* / *stir* / *you* / *go* Han. As verse, lines ending *ape* / *spleene* / *businessse* / *Mortimer* / *you* / *go* Ktly As verse, lines ending *ape* / *spleene* / *with* / *will* / *stir* / *you* / *go* Johns, Varr., Ran. Perhaps as prose. Johns. (conj.). As verse, lines end-

ing *ape* / *spleene* / *sooth* / *will* / *stir* / *you* / *go* Cap., Mal, et seq

78 *In faith*] *In sooth* Ff, Rowe, Var. '78, '85, Ran, Knt. Now, *in sooth*, *in sooth*, Cap

81 *go*.] *go* Q₁-s. *go*— Ff, et seq.

83-85] As verse, lines ending *me* / *aske* / *Harry* / *true* Pope, et seq.

83 *directly*] *direct* Wh. (conj), Dyce ii (conj).

84. *vnto*] *to* Pope, +, Cap., Varr., Ran., Mal, Steev., Varr, Sing. i, Knt., Huds., Dyce ii, iii, Hal. ii, Wh. ii. *that*] Om Pope, Theob., Han,

Warb, Johns
aske] *shall aske* Q₂-s, Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han., Warb., Johns, Knt.

in faith] *Indeede* Ff, Rowe. Om. Pope, Theob, Han., Warb, Johns.

75 *carries you away*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Figuratively, transports you.—COWL (ed 1914): What business takes you from home?

77, 78. *weazel* . . . *spleene*] HUDSON (ed. 1880): As the spleen was held to be the special seat of all sudden and explosive emotions, whether of mirth or anger, it is aptly assigned here as the seat of Hotspur's skittishness, or the swift jerks of speech and action which he is playing off. Cf. *Cymbeline*, III, iv, 160 "As quarrelous as the weasel."

80. *line*] STEEVENS (ed 1793): So, in *Macbeth*, [I, iii, 112]: "Did line the rebel With hidden help and vantage."—SINGER (ed. 1826). *Line*, to strengthen.—COWL (ed 1914): From strengthening a garment with a lining.

84, 85 *breake* . . . *finger*] AMNER [*i. e.*, STEEVENS, who signed the name of Amner, a Unitarian clergyman, to certain of his own, supposedly indelicate, notes] (*Suppl. to Var. ed. of 1778, 1780*): This piece of amorous dalliance appeareth to be of very ancient date, being mentioned in Fenton's *Tragicall Dis-*

finger Harry and if thou wilt not tel me all things true.

Hot. Away, away you trifler, loue, I loue thee not, 86
I care not for thee Kate, this is no world
To play with mammets, and to tilt with lips, 88

85. *Harry*] Om. T. J. (1710). *Away, away*] *Away*, Han
and] Om Ff, Rowe, Pope, Han. *Away*, / *Away*, Cap, et seq, except
an Theob., Warb., et seq. Sta.
if] Trans. to end of line 84. *loue*,] Q₁₋₃, Ff. *loue*; Q₄₋₈
Han. [See note, above, on 83-85.] *lovel* Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han. i,
me] *thee* Rowe ii. Warb., Johns., Ran., Cam, Glo.,
all things] Om. Ff, Rowe, Pope, Ktly., Wh. ii, Rlf., Tud., Ox, Ard
Han., Cap., Wh., Dyce ii, iii, Huds ii. *Love?* Cap., et cet
86.] *Hot* *Away, you trifler!* / *Lady* 88. *mammets*] *mammels* Becket,
lovel / *Hot. I love thee not.* / *This is* Vaughan.
no time Go! Johns. (conj.).

courses, 1579: "No sort of kysses or follyes of loue were forgotten, no kinde of crampe, nor pinching by the little finger."—DOUCE (*Illust. of Sh.*, 1807, i, 425): This "token of amorous dalliance" is more particularly exemplified in an ancient song entitled "Beware my lyttyl finger," printed by Mr. Ritson from Hawkins's *History of Music*. . . . It occurs in a small volume printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1530.

85. *all things true*] WHITE (ed. 1859) defends the emendation [see Textual Notes]: Hotspur's wife has asked and wanted to know only one thing, not *all things*, truly.

86.] MALONE (*Suppl. to Var. ed. of 1778*, 1780): The regulation of this passage proposed by Dr. Johnson [see Textual Notes] seems to me unnecessary. The first *love* is not a substantive but a verb. "—Love thee? I love thee not" Hotspur's mind being intent on other things, his answers are irregular. He has been musing, and now replies to what Lady Piercy had said some time before.

88. *mammets*] POPE (ed. 1723): Girls.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Puppets.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): Stubbs [*Anatomie*, Pt. I], speaking of ladies dressed in fashion, says: "They are not natural women . . . of flesh and blood, but rather puppets or mammets, consisting of rags and clowts." . . . Mammet, a corruption of Mahomet. Holinshed, p. 108, speaks of mawmets and idols. . . . —PINKERTON (*Letters of Lat.*, 1785, p. 171): French, Mamelles, a woman's breast. The connection calls for this interpretation.—SINGER (ed. 1826): Mr. Gifford (*Works of Ben Jonson*, v, 66) has thrown out the suggestion about the meaning of mammets from the Italian *mammetta*, which signifies *bosom* as well as *young wench*. I have not found the word in English in that sense.—WHITE (ed. 1859): The signification *breasts* is more appropriate to the context.—ELTON (ed. 1889): "Breasts." . . . The Percies certainly did not play dolls!—N. E. D. (1908): Dolls, puppets, with reference to this passage —COWL (ed. 1914): Gifford's suggestion receives support from many passages in Elizabethan literature [three examples are given.—Ed.]. If Gifford is right, we should expect to read *mammels* (French *mamelles*, Latin *mamilla*, a diminutive of *mamma*, breast) of which the N. E. D. cites several examples from Cax-

We must haue bloudy noses, and crackt crownes,
And passe them currant too : gods me my horse 90
What faist thou Kate ? what wouldst thou haue with me ?

La. Do you not loue me ? do you not indeed ?
Wel, do not then, for since you loue me not
I will not loue my selfe. Do you not loue me ?
Nay tel me if you speake in iest or no ? 95

Hot. Come, wilt thou see me ride ?
And when I am a horsebacke I will fweare
I loue thee infinitely. But harke you Kate,
I must not haue you henceforth question me
Whither I go, nor reason where about, 100
Whither I must, I must, and to conclude
This euening must I leaue you gentle Kate,
I know you wife, but yet no farther wife
Then Harry Percies wife, constant you are,
But yet a woman, and for secrecy 105
No Lady closer, for I well beleue
Thou wilt not vtter what thou dost not know, 107

90. 100] Om. T. J. (1710).
91. *what wouldst] would'st* F₂.
wouldst] woulds Q₈
92. *you not loue] ye not loue* Ff, +,
Wh. i.
you not indeed] ye not indeed F₁,
Wh. i
95. *you speake] thou speak'st* F₁,
T. J. *thou speakest* F₂₋₄, Rowe.
96. *Come,] Come to the park, Kate,*
Coll. MS, Coll. ii, iii.
97. *a] Qq, Ff, Rowe, Pope, Knt.*
o' Theob., et cet.
100. *Whither] Whether* F₁F₈.
where about] were about Q₆.
101. *Whither] Whether* F₁F₈.
102. *you] thee* Ff, +.
103. *farther] Qq, Cap., Coll., Wh.,*
Cam., Glo., Rlf., Tud., Ard. further
Ff, et cet.
106. *well] wil* Q₄. *will* Q₆₋₈, Ff,
Rowe, Pope, Han., Knt, Sing 11,
Ktly.

ton onwards. [Either *mammets* or *mammels* fits the context here; and as the word *mammel* is more usual, and is the reading of Qq, Ff, and all the early editions, I see no reason for emendation.—ED.]

89. *crackt crownes]* JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Both "cracked money" and "cracked heads." "Current" [line 90] will apply to both; as it is applied to money, its use is well known; as it applies to a broken head it insinuates that a soldier's wounds entitle him to universal reception. The same quibble occurs in *Sir John Oldcastle*, 1600.

90. *gods me]* N. E. D. (1901): Shortened form of "God save me."

96. *Come]* COLLIER (ed. 1858): "Come to the park" [see Textual Notes] is consistent with what Hotspur says in line 72.

107.] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1773): See Ray's *Proverbs*: "A woman conceals what she knows not."

And so far wil I trust thee gentle Kate.

La. How, so far.

Hot. Not an inch further, but harke you Kate, 110
Whither I go, thither shal you go too
To day will I fet forth, to morrow you,
Will this content you Kate ?

La. It must of force. *Exeunt* 114

[*Scena Quarta.*]

Enter Prince and Poinces.

Prin. Ned, preethe come out of that fat roome, and
lende me thy hand to laugh a little.

Poi Where haft bin Hal ? 3

108. *far wil*] *farewill* Q₆ *farre*
wil F₁

109 *How*] Q₁₋₆, Q₈, Theob. i.
How Q₇, Ff, Rowe, Pope. Om. Cap
How] Theob. ii, et cet.

far] *far*? Q₂, et seq.
110 *further*] *farther* Coll, Sing ii,
Wh. i, Ktly.

you] *you me* Han
Kate] *Kate*? Coll.

111. *Whether*] *Whether* F₂F₄

112. *forth*] *foorth* Q₆. *forward* Q₆₋₈.

114 *Exeunt*] Om. Ktly.

Scena Quarta.] Ff. Om Qq.

SCENE IV. Rowe SCENE VII. The
Tavern in *Eastcheap*. Pope, Han.
Scene, changes to the Boar's-Head
Tavern in *Eastcheap*. Theob.

SCENE VII Changes to the Boar's-
Head Tavern in *Eastcheap* Warb,
Johns. SCENE IV *Eastcheap*. A
Room in a Tavern. Cap. SCENE
IV. The Boar's Head Tavern in
Eastcheap. [with occasional slight
variants] Varr., Ran, Mal, et seq.

Prince] Qq, Ff. the Prince Cap.,
Cam, Glo., Wh. ii, Rlf., Tud., Ox.,
Ard Prince *Henry* Rowe, et cet.
and Poinces.] Om. Dyce, Hal i, Wh.
i, Huds. ii. followed by Poincs Coll.
iii.

1. *fat*] *hot* Ktly (*Expos.*), Huds.
ii (conj)

After 2.] Enter Pointz. Dyce, Hal
i, Wh. i, Huds. ii.

II, iv.] For survivals, in this scene, of the earlier, hypothetical play, see
Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Morgan, sections 17-19. For Falstaff in this
scene, see Appendix: Characters: Falstaff; esp. Maurice Morgann.

Scene-heading.] MALONE (ed. 1790). In the old anonymous play of *Henry V*
[*The Famous Victories*], *Eastcheap* is the place where Henry and his com-
panions meet: "*Hen. 5.* You know the old tavern in *Eastcheap*: there is good
wine." Shakespeare has hung up a sign for them that he saw daily; for the
Boar's Head Tavern was near the Blackfriars' playhouse. [Theobald, not
Shakespeare, has "hung up the sign" (see Textual Notes); but that Shake-
speare had the Boar's Head in mind is suggested by a pun in *II Henry IV*, II,
ii, 133: "Doth the old *boar* feed in the old *frank*?"—ED.]—STEEVENS (ed. 1793):
The sign of the Boar's Head in *Eastcheap* is mentioned in a letter from Henry
Wyndesore, 1459; see *Paston Letters*, i, 175. The writer was one of Sir John

[II, iv]

Fastolfe's household. . . Fastolfe was during his lifetime a benefactor of Magdalen College, Oxford; . . . and the Boar's Head Tavern in Southwark . . . and Caldecot manor in Suffolk were part of the lands he bestowed on the college—DRAKE (*Sh. and his Times*, 1817) The Boar's Head in Eastcheap, and the Mermaid in Cornhill . . . are enumerated in a long list of taverns given in an old black-letter quarto entitled *News from Bartholomew Fair*—KNIGHT (ed. 1839) Of the original Boar's Head Tavern there remains a very interesting, and to all appearances, authentic relic . . . In Whitechapel, some years since, there was a hillock, called the Mount, traditionally supposed to have been formed out of the rubbish of the Great Fire of 1666. Upon clearing away of that Mount, an oaken carving of a Boar's Head was found in a half-burned state . . . On the back was the date 1568, and the name which was that of the inn-keeper of that year. [It is now in the Guildhall, London.—ED]—CHAMBERS (*Eliz. Stage*, 1923, II, 443) There seem to have been at least six city inns under the sign The Boar's Head The most famous was on the south side of Great Eastcheap, in St Michael's, which seems to have been regarded in the middle of the [17th] century as the traditional locality of the tavern-scenes in *Henry IV* (cf E. Gayton, *Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixot*, 1654, p. 277 "Sir John of Famous Memory, not he of the Boares-head in Eastcheap."). [See quotations from COKE in note on Dialles, I, II, 8, and OLIVER GOLDSMITH: *The Dverting History of Sir John Falstaff* . . . To which is Added . . . The History of the Boar's Head Tavern, 1789—ED]

1-99] SKOTTOWE (*Life of Sh*, 1824). Hal's exploits with the drawers, and his poor witticisms upon Francis, are miserable attempts at mirth.—KNIGHT (*Stud of Sh*, 1849, p. 170) This scene was introduced by Shakespeare to show the quality of the Prince's wit when unsustained by Falstaff's. . . . With Poins, who is a cold, gentlemanly, hanger-on, the Prince has no exuberance; he is playful, smart, voluble, but not witty Falstaff is necessary to him to call out the higher qualities of his intellect. He fancies that he is laughing at Falstaff, while in truth the sagacity, readiness, covert sarcasm, unrestrained impudence, and crowning wit of that extraordinary humourist at once rouse the Prince's mind to a state of activity—GENTLEMAN (Bell's ed., 1773) This [lines 4-31] is a very strange incoherent rhapsody, yet not uncharacteristic for a volatile young fellow, nor unpleasant to an audience, it is not easy to utter it with that disengaged negligence it requires [It must be remembered, throughout the ensuing scene, that the "volatile young fellow" has spent several hours drinking with the drawers. The "incoherence" of this, and of later speeches in this scene, is perhaps due to something other than the volatility of his nature.—ED]

1. fat] [THEOBALD (*Letter to Warburton*, Jan. 13, 1730) declares that he has "no glimmering of what is intended." Succeeding editors for the most part make no comment.—SCHMIDT (1874) defines the word as "oily, greasy, nauseous."—HUDSON (1880) suggests the possibility of wine-vats, and refers to *Antony and Cleopatra*, II, vii, 113: "In thy fats our cares be drowned", but decides against this interpretation on the ground that a fat-room would be a room where wine is made, not where it is drunk. He therefore emends (see Textual Notes), and argues for the same emendation in *Hamlet*, V, ii, 274:

Prin. With three or foure loggerheades, amongst three
or fourescore hogfheades. I haue founded the verie bafe 5
of drawing, and can call them all by their christen names,
as Tom, Dicke, and Francis, they take it already vpon
their saluation, that though I be but prince of Wales, yet
I am the king of Curtesie, and tel me flatly I am no proud 10
Iacke like Falstaffe, but a Corinthian, a lad of metall, a
good boy (by the Lord so they call me) and when I am king
of England I shall command all the good lads in East- 13

4. amongst] Q₁Q₃. amongst Q₂, et
cet.

three] 3. F₁F₂.

5. sounded] founded Q₄Q₇.

7. all] Om. Ff, Rowe, Pope, Han.
christen] Q₁-4, Pope, Cam., Glo.,
Wh ii, Rlf., Tud., Ox., Ard. Om Ff,
Rowe. Christian Q₅-8, et cet.

9. saluation] confidence Ff, Rowe.
conscience Pope, +.

but] Om. Q₈-8.

10. and tel] telling Ff, Rowe, Pope,
Theob., Han., Warb., Johns

10, 11. no proud Iacke like] Q₁, F₁.
not proud Iack, like Q₄Q₅. not proud
Iack like Q₆-8, F₂. not proud like
Jack F₃F₄, Rowe. no proud Jack,
like Jack Pope, Han. no proud
Iacke, like Q₂Q₃, et cet.

12. (by.. me)] Om. Ff, Rowe, Pope,
Han., Knt.

"He's fat and scant of breath." In spite of the fact that the N. E. D. (1901) defines *fat* as a wine-cask or barrel, and thus gives a simple interpretation of this passage, ONIONS (1911) and COWL (ed. 1914) follow WRIGHT (ed. 1897) in defining the word as *close, stuffy*.—COWL suggests the possibility of *vat-room*. Note that the prince (line 5) says that he has been among the hogs-heads, and see also Cowl's note on that passage.—ED]

4. loggerheades] SCHMIDT (1874): Blockheads.

5. hogshheades] COWL (ed. 1914): Favored guests were sometimes invited to accept the courtesy of the cellar. See Dekker's *Guls Hornbooke* (ed. Grosart, ii, 260).

6. humilitie] [SCHMIDT (1874) defines the word, in this passage, as *affability, courtesy* (as in III, ii, 51). But, here, the prince uses the word rather in the sense of "freedom from pride or arrogance"; for the drawers say that he is "no proud Jack like Falstaff" (line 10), and it is "the base string" of humility that he boasts of having sounded.—ED]

leash] SCHMIDT (1874): Used, in contempt, of persons yoked together, three greyhounds making a *leash*.

7. drawers] N. E. D. (1897): Tapsters

7, 8. call . . . Francis] KNIGHT (ed. 1839): We learn from Dekker's *Guls Hornbooke*, 1609, that to be familiar with drawers was an accomplishment of gallants: "Your first compliment shall be to grow most inwardly acquainted with the drawers; to learn their names, as Jack, and Will, and Tom."

8, 9. take . . . saluation] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): "Maintain it as they hope to be saved." . . . The Folios, to avoid the Act against Profanity, substituted *confidence* for *salvation*.

cheape. They call drinking deepe, dying scarlet, and
when you breath in your watering they cry hem, and bid 15

15 *breath*] Q₁, Q₄₋₆, F₁, Cap.
breake F₂₋₄, Rowe, Heath. *breathe*
Q₂, et cet

they] *then they* Ff, Rowe
hem] Qq, F₁. *pem* F₂₋₄, Rowe.
Hem! Pope, et seq.

11. *Iacke*] SCHMIDT (1874) cites sixteen examples of Shakespeare's use of *Jack* as a term of contempt for a saucy, paltry, or silly fellow.

Corinthian] JOHNSON (ed 1765): A wench — STEEVENS (Var ed. 1773): This cant expression is common in old plays So, Randolph in *The Jealous Lovers*, 1632 "Let him wench; Buy me all Corinth for him" — DOUCE (*Illustr. of Sh*, 1807, i, 426) We are told by Strabo that the Temple of Venus at Corinth was furnished with a thousand young girls who performed the rites of the goddess. The city was so notorious for its luxury that ancient writers are full of allusions, cf., particularly, St Paul's *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, v, 1. [Modern editors interpret the word more generally, and more correctly (cf. N. E. D., a gay, licentious man) as signifying in this passage, and frequently in the Elizabethan drama, merely a gay, spirited fellow, cf. the prince's own definition of the term in the two phrases that follow — ED]

14. *drinking . . . scarlet*] H. C. HART (*New Sh. Soc. Trans*, 1877-9, p. 464) cites Rabelais's *Pantagruel* (*Oeuvres*, 1865, II, 22) "Il c'est celluy ruisseau que de present passe a Saint Victor, auquel Gobelain tainct l'escarlatte." Appended in Ozell's translation of Duchat's edition (Dublin, 1738), he finds "Parisius quando purpura preparatur, tunc artifices invitant Germanos milites et studiosos, qui libenter bibunt; et eis proebent largiter optimum vinum, ea conditione, ut postea urinam reddant in illum lanam." — P. A. DANIEL (*ibid*) gives a MS. note of Staunton's, quoting the following passage from Armin's *Nest of Nymphs* (ed. Collier, 1842, p. 55) "Where (i. e. in the cellar) they may carouse freely, though they dye deep in scarlet, as many doe, till they loose themselves in the open streets."

15. *breath . . . watering*] THEOBALD (ed. 1733): A decent way of expressing an indecency — HEATH (*Revisal*, 1765, p. 230) reads *break*, i. e. break wind — WARNER (*Letter to Garrick*, 1768, p. 42) "When you stop to take breath in your drinking" But I rather think it may have an allusion that is not decent. — STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1773): A certain maxim of health attributed to the School of Salerno may prove the best comment on this passage. I meet with the same expression in a MS. play of *Timon of Athens* which appears to be as ancient as the time of Shakespeare: "We also do enact That all hold up their heads and laugh aloud; Drink much at one draught; *breathe not in their drink*, That none go out to —." — BOSWELL (Var. ed. 1821): There is no ground for Steevens's filthy interpretation. The following, from Rowland's *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, will explain the phrase . . . "A pox of piecemeal drinking William says, Play it away, we'll have no stops and stays." — SINGER (ed. 1826): Thus, also, in Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman*, p. 194: "If he dranke off his cups cleanly, *tooke not winde in his draught*, spit not, . . . he had the prize." — WHITE (*Sh. Scholar*, 1854) By a laudable, but overstrained, effort for delicacy, this is interpreted to mean "take breath in your drinking." But

you play it off. To conclude, I am so good a proficiēt in
 one quarter of an houre that I can drinke with any Tinker 17
 in his owne language, during my life. I tell thee Ned thou
 haft lost much honour, that thou wert not with me in this
 action ; but sweete Ned, to sweeten which name of Ned, 20
 I giue thee this peniworth of fugar, clapt euen now into
 my hand by an vnder-skinker, one that neuer spake other
 English in his life then eight shillings and fixe pence, and 23

17. Tinker] skinker Vaughan.

spake] speake F₄

18. tell] will tell Q₈-8

23-25. eight.. pence, you welcome,

21. into] in Var. '03, '13, Var.,

anon. moone.] As quotations Ff, et

Sing. 1, Huds. i, Hal. ii

seq

22. vnder-skinker] under Skinner F₄.

23 shillings] shilling Q₈, F₄.

in Shakespeare's day not much *water* was drunk, especially in taverns, and why should the drawers cry *hem* in such a case, and bid the drinker "play it off?" "Watering" does not refer to the absorption of fluids.—COWL (ed. 1914): Montaigne, contrasting ancient and modern manners, says that the Romans "tooke breath while they were drinking" *Watering*, drinking, as in Dryden, *Wild Gallant*, I, i [This phrase must, I think, be interpreted in the light of the preceding phrase; see note on 14, *drinking* . . . scarlet.—ED]

cry hem] TYRWHITT (*Observations*, 1766) Here and in *Much Ado*, V, 1, 16, to *cry hem* seems to mean to cry courage—N. E. D. (1901). Hem: an utterance like a half-cough, used to attract attention, give warning, or express doubt.—COWL (ed. 1914). "Hem!" was an exclamation used by drinkers as incitement to drinking deep. Cf. *Much Ado*, V, i, 16; *II Henry IV*, III, ii, 206.

16. play it off] SCHMIDT (1874). Drink without hesitation. [Cf. citation from Rowland by BOSWELL, in note on line 15. breath . . . watering.—ED]

17, 18. Tinker . . . language] COWL (ed. 1914). Tinkers were famous tipplers, and they are described by Harsnet (*Declar. of Popish Impostures*, 1603) as "sitting by the fire with a pot of good ale between their legs" and singing catches and rounds. See Overbury, *Characters, the Tinker*. "... where the best ale is, there stands his music most upon crotchets. . . . His tongue is very voluble."

20. action] Used, jestingly, in the sense of a military exploit, in reference to his experience with the drawers

21. peniworth of sugar] STEEVENS (Var ed 1778). It appears from the following passage of *Look about You*, 1600, that the drawers kept sugar folded up in papers, ready to be delivered to those who called for sack: "But do you hear? Bring sugar in white paper, not in brown." Shakespeare alludes to a custom mentioned by Dekker in *The Guls Hornbooke*, 1609: "Enquire what gallants sup in the next roome, and if ther be any of your acquaintance, do not you, after the city fashion, send them in a pottle of wine and your name sweetened in two pittifull papers of sugar, with some filthie apologie crammed into the mouth of a drawer."

22. vnder-skinker] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): A tapster, under-drawer. *Shink* is drink, and a *skinker* one that serves drink at table.

you are welcome, with this shrill addition, anon, anon fir ;
 skore a pint of bastard in the halfe moone, or fo. But 25
 Ned, to driue awaie the time till Falstalffe come : I preethe
 doe thou stande in some by-roome, while I question my
 puny drawer to what end he gaue me the fugar, and do
 thou neuer leaue calling Frances, that his tale to me may
 bee nothing but anon, step aside and ile shew thee a pref- 30
 ent.

Po Frances *Prin* Thou art perfect.

Prin. Frances *Enter Drawer.*

Fran. Anon, anon fir Looke downe into the Pom-
 garnet, Ralphe 35

24 *welcome*] *welcome* *Sir* Rowe, + Wh. i, Cam, Huds ii, Coll iii, Ard
anon, anon sir,] *Anon sir, Anon*
sir, F₃F₄, Rowe, Pope, Han. 32 and 33. *Frances*] *Francis* T. J.,
 Cap, et seq

26 *the*] Om Q₄₋₈, Ff, Rowe, Pope, 33 *Prin*] *Poines*. Q₄, et seq
 Han, Knt, Ktly Enter Drawer.] Q₁₋₅, Ff Om.
come] *come*, Q₆, et seq. Q₆₋₈. Enter Francis the Drawer

28. *gaue*] *have* Q₈ Rowe, Theob., Var. '73 SCENE
 29. *thou*] Om Q₄₋₈, Ff, Rowe, VIII. Enter Francis the Drawer.
 Pope, Han. Pope, Han., Warb., Johns. Enter

Frances] *Francis* Q₄, et seq Francis. Var. '78, '85, Ran, Dyce,
 30, 31. *present*] *President* Ff, Rowe Hal. i, Wh i, Huds. ii. Exit Poins
precedent Pope, et seq. Enter Drawer (or Francis). Cap,
 After 31.] (Poins retires) Theob., Mal, et cet

Han, Warb., Johns, Varr., Ran 34, 35. *Pomgarnet*] Q₁₋₅, Ff, Sing ii,
 (Exit Pointz Dyce, Hal 1, Wh. i, Wh, Cam, Glo, Ktly, Rlf, Tud.,
 Cam., Huds ii, Coll iii, Ard. Ox, Ard. *Pomgranat* (or *Pomgranet*)
 32 *Po*] *Poin* (within) Dyce, Hal 1, Q₆₋₈, Rowe, et cet

25 *bastard*] A sweet Spanish wine; see note on II, iv, 66
halfe moone] HALLIWELL (ed 1859) The custom of naming the different
 rooms of an inn, formerly universal in England, is still retained in many parts
 of the country Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*: "Score a pint of Sacke in the
 Conney." [Cf. II, iv, 34, 35, *Pomgarnet*.]

28 *puny*] HERFORD (ed. 1899): The technical epithet of a younger son
 (puisé) playfully applied to the under-skinker. [N. E. D. (1909) gives same
 etymology and defines as weak, feeble, raw.]

30, 31. *present*] Obviously a misprint in Qq for *precedent*, example, of which
 the Ff reading *president* was an early spelling.

34-99.] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): This scene, helped by the distraction of the
 drawer, and the grimaces of the prince, may entertain upon the stage, but
 affords not much delight to the reader. The author has judiciously made it
 short.—GENTLEMAN (*Dram. Censor*, 1770): Henry plays upon the simplicity
 of the drawer in a manner that might well become a Bartholomew-Fair, but is
 too meanly farcical for the stage, though it seldom fails of laughable effect.
 [To the modern reader the dramatic function of this episode seems apparent:

- Prin.* Come hether Frances. *Fran.* My Lord.
Prin. How long haft thou to ferue Frances ? 37
Fran. Forfooth, fue yeeres, and as much as to.
Poi. Frances.
Fran. Anon, anon fir. 40
Prin. Fiue yeare, berlady a long leafe for the clinking
of pewter ; but Frances, dareft thou be fo valiant, as to
play the cowarde with thy Indenture, and shewe it a faire
paire of heeles, and run from it ?
Fran. O Lord fir, ile be sworne vpon all the bookes in 45
England, I could find in my hart.
Poin. Frances. *Fran.* Anon fir.
Prin. How old art thou Frances ?
Fran. Let me see, about Michelmas next I shalbe.
Poin. Frances. 50
Fran. Anon fir, pray stay a little my Lord.
Prin. Nay but harke you Frances, for the fugar thou

36. *Lord.*] *Lord?* Dyce, Hal. i, Cam., Glo., Huds. ii, Wh. ii, Rlf, Tud., Ox., Ard.

38. *yeeres*] *year* Mal, Steev., Varr., Sing. i, Huds., Hal. ii.

to.] *Q1Q2. to Q3-s to—Q2Q3,* Ff, et cet.

39, 47, 50, 57, 69. *Poi*] *Points* (within) Cap., Mal., et seq.

41. *yeare*] *Q1Q2, Cam, Glo., Wh ii, Rlf., Tud., Ard. yeeres* (variously spelled) *Q3,* et cet.

berlady] *by'rlady* Pope, et seq.

clinking] *cluncking* *Q3-s. chuncking* *Q3-s.*

43. *shewe*] *to show* Wh i, Hal. ii, Ktly.

44. *heelles*] *heelee* F2

45. *the*] Om. *Q1Q5.*

46. *in*] *it in* Coll. MS.

hart] *Q1Q2, Q4-s. heart* *Q3. heart.* Ff, Cam., Wh. ii. *heart—Rowe,* et cet.

47. *Anon*] *Qq, Cam., Glo, Rlf, Tud., Ard. Anon, anon, Ff, et cet.*

49. *shalbe*] *shall be.* *Q2Q7. shal be* *Q3-s. shalbe—F1. shall be—Q3, F2-4, et cet.*

51. *pray*] *Q1, Sing. ii, Cam., Glo, Ktly., Rlf., Ard. pray you* *Q2, et cet.*

the drunken buffoonery of the prince is used, hilarious as it is, as a foil to the brilliant and imaginative humour of Falstaff which follows hard upon it.—ED.]

34. *Anon . . . sir*] DOUCE (*Illustr. of Sh.*, 1807, i, 427): This was the "Coming, sir!" of the waiters of Shakespeare's day. In *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, Harvest says: "Why, friend, I am no tapster to say anon, anon, sir."

34, 35. Looke . . . Pomgarnet] STEEVENS (ed. 1793): To have windows, or loopholes, looking into the rooms beneath was anciently a general custom.

41, 42. clinking of pewter] COWL (ed. 1914). Cf. Dekker, *Jests to Make You Merry* (Grosart, ii, 289), where drawers are styled "pewter-pot clinkers."

46. find . . . hart] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Make up my mind. So, in *As You Like It*, II, iv, 4: "I could find in my heart to disgrace my man's apparel."

gaueſt me, twas a peniworth, waſt not ?

Fran. O Lord, I would it had bin two.

Prince. I will giue thee for it a thouſand pound, aſke 55
me when thou wilt, and thou ſhalt haue it,

Poin. Frances. *Fran* Anon, anon.

Prin. Anon Frances, no Frances, but to morrow
Frances ; or Frances a Thurſday ; or indeede Fraunces
when thou wilt. But Fraunces. 60

Fran. My Lord.

Prin. Wilt thou rob this leathern Ierkin, criſtall but-
ton, not-pated, agat ring, puke ſtocking, Caddice garter,

53. a] *but a Qs-a.*

54 *Lord,* [Qq, Pope, Theob., Han.,
Warb., Johns., Cam., Glo, Tud.,
Ard *Lord ſir*, Ff, et cet.

58. *Anon Frances,* [*Anon Frances*
(or *Francis*)? Qs, et seq.

59 a] Q₁Q₂. o' Cam., Glo., Wh ii,
Rlf., Tud., Ox., Ard. on Qs, et cet.

61. *Lord.* [*Lord?* Theob., Han ii,
Warb., et seq.

63 *not-* [*knot-* Pope, +, Cap, Coll,
Ox. *nott-* Var. '78, '85, Mal., Steev.,
Varr., Sing., Knt., Huds., Del., Dyce,
Sta., Hal., Wh. i, Ktly.

pated] *pate* Vaughan.

agat ring] *Aga-tring* Rowe, T. J.
puke] *poke* Cap. (conj).

62-64] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): The prince intends to ask the drawer whether he will rob his master, whom he denotes by many contemptuous distinctions — CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): The string of epithets is descriptive of Francis's master, drawn out in holiday finery . . . This speech, and the following, are very good examples of a figure in *The Wag's Art of Rhetorick*, called bambouze — ROLFE (ed. 1884). "Will you rob your master by breaking your indenture and running away?" [Dr. J. Q. ADAMS suggests that "the detailed description probably accurately fitted the costume worn by the Vintner, who enters a few lines later."—ED.]

62, 63 *leathern . . . button*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): It appears from the following passage in Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, that a leather jerkin with chrystal buttons was the habit of a pawn-broker: "A black taffata doublet, and a spruce leather-jerkin with chrystal buttons . . . I enquired of what occupation. Marry, sir, quoth he, a broker."—COWL (ed 1914): E. Howes (Stow's *Annales*, ed. 1631) says that about the tenth year of Elizabeth, "many young citizens and others began to wear Christall buttons upon their doublets, coats, and jerkins."

63. *not-pated*] PERCY (Var. ed. 1773): So, in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, the Yeman is thus described: "A not head had he with a brown visage." A person was said to be *nott-pated* when his hair was cut short and round.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): In Barrett's *Alwearie*, 1580, to "*notte*" the hair was to cut it.—CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): *Knot-pated* [see Textual Notes] refers to his curlings.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): The custom of wearing the hair short was more common among the lower and middle classes, and the Puritans got the nick-

fmothe tongue, fpanish pouch ?

Fran. O Lord fir, who do you meane ?

65

Prin. Why then your brown bastard is your only

64. *pouch?*] QQ, T. J. *pouch.* Ff, Johns *pouch?*—Ktly. *pouch*,—Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han., Warb., Cap., et cet.

name of roundheads because they for the most part belonged to these ranks—N. E. D. (1908): Short-haired (origin obscure).

agat ring] WRIGHT (1897): The ornament we find in *Romeo and Juliet* (I, iv, 55) on the forefinger of an alderman, a rank to which the vintner might aspire. If he really had three or four score hogsheads in his cellar (lines 4, 5), he must have been a man of substance

puke stocking] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): There is something wrong here which I cannot rectify. Puke stocking may have a dirty meaning, but it is not the meaning here intended, for the prince designs to mention the materials of the stocking—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778). In Salmon's *Chymists Shop Lard Open*, there is a receipt to make puke colour . . . from which it should appear that the colour was grey. . . . In the time of Shakespeare expensive silk stockings were worn, and in *King Lear* an attendant is called a worsted-stocking knave, by way of reproach; so that, after all, perhaps the word puke refers to the quality of the stuff rather than to the colour—MALONE (1790). I have no doubt that the epithet referred to the dark colour. Black stockings are now worn, as they probably were in Shakespeare's time, by persons of inferior condition on a principle of oeconomy.—MASON (*Comments . . . Observations*, 1798): French, *puce* . . . therefore flea-coloured stockings—N. E. D. (1909): *Puke*: superior kind of woollen cloth, a colour used for woollen goods, bluish-black, from L. G. *puk*, superior quality of cloth—COWL (ed. 1914): Stockings of puke colour, between black and grey. There is no connection between *puke* and *puce*. Cf. Stafford, *A brief conceipt of English pollicy*, 1581 (ed. Furnivall, p. 64). "I know when a servingman was content to go . . . with a paline white hose. . . . Now he will looke to have at the least . . . his Hosen of the finest Kersey, and that of some straung dye, as Flanders or French puke."

Caddice garter] STEEVENS (Var. 1773): Caddice was a kind of coarse ferret. Garters were worn in sight, and consequently were expensive. He who would . . . submit to wear a coarser sort was probably called by this contemptuous distinction. Cf. Glapthorne's *Wit in a Constable*, 1639,—addressed to a servant: "Dost hear, my honest caddice-garters?"—N. E. D. (1897): Caddice: a worsted tape used for garters

64 *spanish pouch*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897). Perhaps the expression describes the vintner's figure, the epithet "Spanish" being used because the jerkin was of Spanish leather. . . . But more probably the pouch was a characteristic part of the vintner's attire.

66–68.] GENTLEMAN (Bell's ed., 1773): This is totally in the humbug style; we are to seek no meaning.—CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p. 99): The fact that the prince is amusing himself by obfuscating the tapster-lad with some of the rambling irrelevance which was one form of jesting rejoinder when Shakespeare wrote, is made obvious by the fellow's bewilderment.

drinke ? for looke you Fraunces, your white canuas doub- 67
let will fulley. In Barbary fir, it cannot come to fo much.

Fran What fir ? *Poin.* Frances.

Prin. Away you rogue, dost thou not heare them cal. 70

*Here they both cal him, the Drawer stands amazed not
knowing which way to go. Enter Vintner.*

Vint. What standst thou stil and hearst such a calling ?
[lo]oke to the guefts within. My Lord, old fir Iohn with
halfe a douzen more are at the doore, shal I let them in ?

Pri Let them alone awhile, and then open the doore :
Poines 75

Poi. Anon, anon fir. *Enter Poines.*

Prince. Sirrha, Falstaffe and the rest of the theeues are 77

67 *drinke?*] *drinke* Q₃, et seq.

68. *In*] Om Q₄ (three copies. Cf.
Appendix: The Text)

Barbary] *Barbican* Grey (1754),
Hal. 1.

70. *thou not*] *thou* Ff, Rowe. *not*
thou Coll. MS.

cal] *call?* Q₃, et seq.

After 70. *him*] Om. F₃F₄, +.

the Drawer] Francis Dyce,
Hal. i, Huds ii he Wh. i.

Vintner] Quickly Hal i.

71. *What*] Q₁, F₃F₄, Rowe. *What*,
Q₂₋₈, F₁F₂, Pope, Theob, Han.,
Warb, Johns., Dyce, Hal i, Cam.,
Glo., Huds. ii, Wh. ii, Rlf., Tud,

Ard. *What!*— Cap, et cet.

72 *guests*] *Guest* F₄, Rowe i.

within.] *within.* (Exit Drawer)

Johns, Cap., Varr., Ran. *within.*
(Exit Francis) Han. ii, Mal, et seq.

74 *them*] *then* Q₄.

75, 76. *Poines*. *Poines*] *Poines*.

Enter Poines. *Poin.* *Anon, anon,*

sr. Ff, Rowe, Pope *Poines* Exit

Vintner Enter *Poines* *Poi* *Anon,*

anon, sr. Theob, Han, Warb Exit

Vintner. *Poins*, Enter *Poins* *Poins.*

Anon, anon, sr. Johns, Var. '73.

Exit *Vintner.* *Poins!* Re-enter

Poins. *Poins* *Anon, anon, sr.*

Cap, Mal, et seq.

66 *brown bastard*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): Barrett, in his *Alvearie*, 1580, says that bastard is muscadell, sweet wine. *Maison Rustique* (trans. Markham, 1616) says. "such wines are called mungrell or bastard which have neither manifest sweetness nor manifest astriction."—WRIGHT (ed. 1897) Brown bastard is enumerated by Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (I, ii, 2, 1) among the "black wines, over-hot, compound, strong, thick drinks" which are "hurtful to such as are hot or of sanguine, cholerick complexion."

67, 68. *white* . . *doublet*] COWL (ed. 1914): Worn by drawers and sailors.

68. *Barbary*] GREY (*Crit. Notes*, 1754): The scene was Eastcheap, so that instead of Barbary should be read Barbican, which is a street that comes out of the upper part of Aldersgate street.—COWL (ed. 1914): Sugar came from Barbary. Possibly the prince is reverting to [lines 52, 53]. [But probably he is continuing to talk nonsense.—ED.]

After 70. *Vintner*] HUNTER (*New Illust.*, 1845): The vintner of the Boar's Head, in Shakespeare's time, was Thomas Wright, a Shrewsbury man—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Halliwell [see Textual Notes] identifies the vintner with Mrs. Quickly's husband.

at the doore, shall we be merrie ?

Po. As merry as Crickets my lad, but harke ye, what
cunning match haue you made with this iest of the
Drawer : come whats the issue ? 79

Prin. I am now of all humors, that haue shewed them-
felues humors since the oulde dayes of good man Adam, to
the pupill age of this present twelue a clocke at midnight.
Whats a clocke Frances ? 85

Fran. Anon, anon fir.

Pr. That euer this fellowe should haue fewer wordes
then a Parrat, and yet the fonne of a woman. His indus-
trie is vp staires and down staires, his eloquence the parcel
of a reckoning. I am not yet of Percyes minde, the Hot- 90
spur of the North, he that kils mee some fixe or feuen

79. *lad*] Lord Thirlby MS.

84, 85. *a .a*] *o'...o'* Theob., et seq
clocke] *cloke* Q.

84. after *midnight*.] Re-enter Draw-
er, with Bottles. Cap. Re-enter
Francis, with wine Mal., et seq.

85. *Whats...Frances?*] Om T. J.,
(1721).

86. Fran.] Fran. (within) Dering
MS, Dyce, Hal. 1, Huds. ii.

After 86.] Exit. Coll., Huds. i,
Del., Sta., Wh., Cam., Ktly., Glo.,
Rlf., Tud., Ard.

89. *is*] *is*— Hal. ii, Coll. iii.

91. *sixe or seuen*] 6. or 7. Qs-8

79-81.] LLOYD (*Essays on Sh.*, 1858). The Prince is inferior even to Poins in the imaginative design and conduct of a jest. He has to be led step by step over one obstacle after another in the scheme of robbing the robbers [I, ii, 160-173], and the best he can do in this way is the perplexing of Francis, the drawer, which by no means satisfied the aesthetic requirements of a pregnant jest as conceived by Poins,—Poins who contrives the double robbery only as introductory to the amusing lies of Falstaff, "the virtue of the jest."

82-96.] JOHNSON (ed. 1765). The drawer's answer [in line 86] interrupted the prince's train of discourse. He was proceeding thus. "I am now of all humours, &c. . . . I am not yet of Percy's mind", that is, I am willing to indulge myself in gayety and frolick, and try all the varieties of human life. I am not of Percy's mind, who thinks all the time lost that is not spent in bloodshed, forgets decency and civility, and has nothing but the barren talk of a brutal soldier.—DAVIES (*Dram. Misc.*, 1785): This is the genuine language of a young man whose body is vigorous and mind active, who, having more spirits than he knows what to do with, and not being engaged in noble exercises or generous pursuits, spends his hours in idleness and frolick.—ELTON (ed. 1889) Dr. Johnson's explanation displays his shortcoming as a critic—rigidity.

84. *pupill age*] KNIGHT (ed. 1839): The *young* time of this present midnight contrasted with the *old* days of Adam.

89, 90. *eloquence . . . reckoning*] COWL (ed. 1914): His eloquence consists of the recital of the items [*the parcel*] of a reckoning [*or bill*].

90-96.] KNIGHT (ed. 1839): Nothing can be more historically true than the

douzen of Scots at a breakefast : washes his handes, and
faies to his wife, fie vpon this quiet life, I want worke.
O my sweet Harry faies she ! how manie haft thou kild to
day ? Giue my roane horfe a drench (fayes hee) and
aunfweres some fourteene, an houre after : a trifle, a trifle.
I preethe call in Falstafte, ile play Percy, and that damnde
brawne shall play dame Mortimer his wife. *Riuo* faies
the drunkarde : call in Ribs, cal in Tallow.

Enter Falstafte.

Poin. Welcome Iacke, where haft thou bin ? 100

92 *at a*] after Acting Version, 1763,
Huds. 11 (conj.)

94 *shel*] *she*, Ff, et seq.

98. *Riuo*] *Ribi*] Han, Warb, Johns
After 99 *Enter Falstafte.*] Qq, Ff,
Rowe SCENE IX. *Enter Falstaf*
Pope SCENE IX *Enter Falstaf*,

Gadshill, Bardolph, and Peto Han,
Warb, Johns *Enter Falstaf*, Gads-
hill, Bardolph, and Peto; followed by
Francis, with wine Dyce, Hal, Huds.
ii, Cam, Glo, Wh ii, Rlf, Tud, Ard.
Enter Falstaf, Gadshill, Bardolph,
and Peto. Theob., et cet.

prince's description of Hotspur. . . His abstraction, "some fourteen, an hour after," has been repeated by the poet in the beautiful scene between Hotspur and his wife [II, iii, a scene still fresh in the mind of the audience when this burlesque of it is offered by the prince.—ED.] The servant has been called and dismissed, the lady has uttered her reproof, a battle has been fought in Hotspur's imagination, before he answers his lady's question. [The sudden transition from Francis to Hotspur, in line 90, is surprising. It is, perhaps, the feverish activity of the drawer Francis, who is rushing up and down stairs, crying "anon" in reply to all questions, that reminds the prince of a similar nervous activity in Hotspur.—ED.]

98. *brawne*] N. E. D. (1892): 4. A boar, or swine, fattened for the table

Riuo] HANMER (ed. 1744): *Ribi*! or Drink away! (Italian).—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): *Rivo*, perhaps the cant of English taverns —FARMER (*Learning of Sh.*, 1767): So indeed it was: it occurs frequently in Marston. 'Take a quotation from his comedy, *What You Will*, 1607: "Musicke, Tobacco, Sacke, and Sleepe, The tide of sorrow backward keep: If thou art sad at others' fate, *Rivo*, drink deep, give care the mate"—N. E. D. (1910): Apparently of Spanish origin; perhaps from Sp. *arriba*, up, upwards. An exclamation used at revels and drinking bouts.

100-258. LLOYD (*Essays on Sh.*, 1858): When, after Falstaff's avowal that he will be damned for never a king's son, he responds briskly to the prince's proposal to take a purse [I, ii, 93-97]; of course he perceived the incongruity and put on the utmost unconsciousness to heighten it;—and so, throughout, as when his lips are scarce dry he protests that he has not drunk today [II, iv, 136]. . . . Hal is keen enough to form a not inaccurate picture of Falstaff's motives and character, but not to suspect or penetrate to the secret of the management by which he is played upon and amused. Thus the prince loses a large part of the wit that the reader enjoys in the contemplation of the prince

Falst. A plague of al cowards I fay, and a vengeance too, marry and Amen : giue me a cup of sacke boy. Eare 102
 I lead this life long ile fow neatherstocks and mend them, and foote them too. A plague of all cowards. Giue me a cup of sacke rogue, is there no vertue extant ? *he drinketh* 105
Prin. Didst thou neuer see Titan kisse a dish of butter, pittfull harted Titan that melted at the sweet tale of the 107

101, et seq. *plague of*] *plague on* Johns., Var. '73

102. *Eare*] *Ere* Q₂, et seq.

103. *sow*] *saw* Var '03, et seq.

neatherstocks] Q₁₋₅, Q₇. *neather stocks* Q₆Q₈, Ff, Cap., Varr., Ran, Mal, Cam., Glo., Wh. 11, Rlf, Tud., Ard. *nether Socks* Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han., Warb, Johns. *netherstocks* Var. '03, et cet

104. *and foote them*] Om. Ff, Rowe.

105. *he drinketh*] Om. Q₅₋₈, Ff, Rowe. He drinks Pope, et seq

106, 107. *Titan. Titan*] *Titan, pittful-hearted Titan, kiss a dish of butter,* Jervis.

106. *Titan*] *Titan* (to Poins) Cap.

106, 107 *butter, pittfull*] Q₁₋₇, Ff, Rowe *butter*; *pittfull* Q₈, Cap *butter* (*pittful*- Warb, Johns, Knt, Del *butter?* *pittful*- Pope, et cet.

107, 108 *pittfull.. sonnes*] Om. Coll. MS.

107. *Titan*] Qq, Ff, Rowe *Butter*, Theob, Han., Acting Version, 1763, Heath, Cap, Ran., Sing, Huds., Sta, Wh i, Dyce ii, iii, Rlf. *Titan*!) Warb, Johns, Knt, Del *creature* Ard. (ed 1930). *Titan*, Pope, et cet. *tale*] *face* Han. *talk* Vaughan. *ale* Jackson.

of the] *of his Steev.* (conj.). *of thy* Vaughan.

and Falstaff together. We may suspect that to the prince Falstaff was rather ludicrous than witty. Thus in the tavern scene after the robbery, he is amused at the gross bravadoes of a fat liar whom he anticipates the pleasure of surprising with exposure and conviction; but he loses the point of the jest that is salient to the spectator who is amused by the wily quickness of Falstaff, who, beforehand with his expectations, goes on, with daring presumption on his gullibility, to multiply two rogues into eleven with accumulative rapidity that it argues dullness in the prince not to perceive to be conscious. . . . In fact we are left at the end with the suspicion that the knight verily recognized the two rogues through their buckram, and ran and roared more heartily in order to hold the good jest up, and not only bragged so outrageously because he was aware of the effect he was producing, but hacked his sword, and made his companions stain their clothes with blood, on the certain calculation that he would be betrayed. . . . The prince himself was much more of a butt than the one whom he called "a clay-brained guts, a knotty-pated fool." [Cf. note on II, iv, 207. *These lies*—HUDSON.]

100.] DUPONT (*Essais litt. sur Sh.*, 1828): Here begins the scene which is incomparably the best of the play, one of the most comic in all drama.

101. *of*] ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, p. 115): *Of* is used sometimes metaphorically for *on*.

103. *neatherstocks*] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): [*Stocks*] has been ill changed to *socks* in all the modern impressions: but then is the epithet ridiculous, being implied in the word itself [*anglice*: the epithet *nether* is ridiculous if we use the

[106, 107 Titan . . . Titan]

word *sock*, for socks are by nature short —ED.]. It is still more ridiculous to talk of footing that which is itself nothing but foot.—STEEVENS (ed. 1793): Netherstocks are stockings.

106, 107 Titan . . . Titan] THEOBALD (*Sh. Restored*, 1726, p. 172) [defends his emendation as follows]: The absurd reading *Titan* [in line 107] . . . though it has passed through such a number of impressions is nonsense which we may pronounce to have arisen at first from the inadvertence of compositors. . . . 'Tis well known, Titan is one of the poetical names of the sun, but we have no authority from fable for Titan's melting away at his own sweet tale . . . The poet's meaning was certainly this: Sir John enters in a great heat . . . and the prince makes the following simile upon him "Do but look upon that compound of grease . . . his fat dripps away with the violence of his motion, just as butter does with the heat of sun-beams."—WARBURTON (ed. 1747) The common reading is right, and all that wants restoration is a parenthesis into which (pitiful-hearted Titan) should be put Pitiful-hearted means only amorous, which was Titan's character, the pronoun *that* refers to *butter*.—HEATH (*Reversal of Sh.'s Text*, 1765, p. 250): Pitiful-hearted, in the male at least, never signified amorous.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): The reader who looks for sense must . . . be indebted to Mr. Theobald. . . . The author might have written, "who melted at the sweet tale of his son," i.e., of Phaeton, who, by a plausible story, won on the easy nature of his father so far as to obtain from him the guidance of his chariot for a day —CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): The old reading, *Titan* [line 107] sprung from a very common mistake with compositors, whose eye glanced upon the word in another line.—MALONE (ed. 1790): Our author here, as in many other places, having started an idea, leaves it, and goes on to another that has but very slight connection with the former. Thus the idea of butter melted by Titan, the sun, suggests to him the idea of Titan's being melted, or softened, by the tale of his son, Phaeton,—a tale which Shakespeare had read in the third book of Golding's translation of Ovid, having, in his description of winter in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, imitated a passage that is found in the same page in which the story of Phaeton is narrated . . . This explanation was suggested by Steevens's note I would, however, wish to read *thy* son.—IBID. (ed. 1790, Appendix). I am now persuaded that *sonnes*, however ungrammatical, is right; for such was the phraseology in our poet's day So, again in this play [IV, i, 73]. "This absence of your *father's* . . ."—STEEVENS (ed. 1793) Till the deviation from established grammar be supported by other examples than those drawn from incorrect and vitiated publications, I must continue to exclude the double genitive as one of the vulgarisms by which the early printers of Shakespeare have disgraced his compositions.—MASON (*Comments on Several Edd.*, 1807): If we accept the simple amendment offered by Theobald . . . the meaning will be clear, and the simile is strongly descriptive of Falstaff's fiery face, heated with exercise, and his sweaty appearance, which is the compound the prince calls upon them to behold. [One of the most fantastic of Z. JACKSON'S (*Examples of Errors*, 1818) emendations and interpretations occurs at this point: He suggests a Sun Tavern, celebrated for its *sweet ale*, and frequented by an idiot called Titan of the Sun. The prince tries to make Titan kiss a dish of butter, and when Titan cries

fonnes, if thou didst, then behold that compound.

Falst. You rogue, heeres lime in this sacke too : there 109
is nothing but rogerie to be found in villanous man, yet a

107, 108 <i>the sonnes</i>] <i>Titan</i> ! Coll.	Sing., Coll 1, ii, Huds., Dyce, Sta,
iii. <i>the Sun</i> Jackson	Hal. i, Wh, Rlf <i>sun's!</i> Cam, Glo,
108 <i>sonnes</i> ,] <i>sonnes?</i> Q ₂ . <i>sunne?</i>	Ard. <i>son's!</i> Ktly.
Q ₂ -8, Ff, +, Cap., Varr, Ran, Knt,	<i>didst</i>] <i>never didst</i> Ktly
Del, Tud, Ox <i>son!</i> Mal., Steev,	110. <i>in</i>] <i>in</i> a F ₂
Var '03, '13, Hal 11, Vaughan. <i>sun!</i>	

offers him a pot of sweet ale.—ED.]—SINGER (ed. 1826) accepts Theobald's reading as satisfactory, and rejects Steevens's and Malone's. He defines pitiful-hearted as pitiful.—DYCE (ed. 1857) I forbear saying more about a passage which must remain a mystery until Shakespeare's autograph MS. turns up.—WHITE (ed. 1859) Warburton's reading is not in the style of Shakespeare, or of any other intelligible writer. It seems quite certain that *Titan* and *Butter* both occurring in the previous clause, the transcriber repeated the wrong word.—ELTON (ed. 1889) We must not resort to so great a change of text, if we can get good sense by only changing punctuation, and by Warburton's bracketing we can.—COWL (*Notes on Text of Hen IV*, 1927, pp. 11 and 22) S. Marmion, *The Antiquary*, III, 1, "Pet. When I read to her half a dozen lines . . . we both melt into tears. *Leo* Pitiful-hearted creatures!" The word *Titan* [line 107] is corrupt. It may be suggested that Shakespeare wrote "pitiful hearted creature," and that this is echoed in Marmion's *The Antiquary*. The following considerations strengthen this presumption. (1) the speech cited from *The Antiquary* and the prince's speech in *Henry IV* exhibit a close parallelism in thought and diction; (2) *The Antiquary* has numerous echoes of *Henry IV*; (3) the compound *pitiful-hearted* seems to have been coined by Shakespeare, and is used by him only in this passage, (4) *creature* is a favorite word with Shakespeare in expressions of playful commiseration, whether the allusion be to Falstaff's "larding the lean earth," or, less probably, to the sack melting at the touch of Falstaff's lips. [Warburton's punctuation of the passage is the natural and simple one. The figure is obviously of the sun (*Titan*) melting butter; and the prince, in his somewhat maudlin state, becomes facetious and presents the sun as a sentimental creature kissing a dish of butter and whispering a sweet tale as he kisses.—ED.]

108. compound] KNIGHT (ed. 1839): Falstaff is the compound, that looks like a dish of butter in the sun.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897) objects on the strange ground that Falstaff has been riding from Gadshill *by night*. He suggests that "behold that compound" may refer to the melting away of the sack as its froth disappears when Falstaff puts his lips to it.

109. *lime* . . . *sacke*] Warburton (ed. 1747): Sir Richard Hawkins, in his *Voyages*, p. 379, says: "Since the Spanish sacks have been common in our taverns, which for conservation are mingled with lime, our nation complains of calentures, of the stone, of dropsy, and of infinite other distempers."—ELTON (ed. 1889): Lime was put [into sack] perhaps to "make it mighty." Nares says it was for fining.—COWL (ed. 1914): Wine was doctored with lime to increase its dryness and to make it sparkle in the glass. The practice is still

cowarde is worfe then a cup of facke with lime in it A villanous cowarde. Go thy waies old Iacke, die when thou wilt, if manhood, good manhood be not forgot vpon the face of the earth, then am I a shotten herring · there liues not three good men vnhangde in England, and one of them is fat, and growes old, God helpe the while, a bad world I say, I would I were a weauer. I could sing pfalmes, or any thing. A plague of all cowards I say still.

Prin. How now Wolfacke, what mutter you ?

Falst. A kings fonne, if I do not beat thee out of thy

111. *then*] the Qs (some copies, cf Appendix The Text).

in it] Om Ff, Rowe [13 copies of F₁ in the Folger Shakespeare Library omit *lime*, and read *in't* for *in it*.]

115 *hues*] Qq, Ff, Rowe, Cap, Sta, Wh. 1, Cam, Ktly., Tud., Ard. *lwe* Pope, et cet.

not] but Coll iii

118. *psalmes thing*] all manner of songs Ff, Rowe, Johns., Varr, Ran. *psalms and all manner of songs* Pope, Theob., Han, Warb.

120 *sonne*,] *sonne*? Q₂-s, Ff, Rowe, Pope, Han. 1, Warb. *son!* Johns., et seq.

common, especially in the case of sherries, and is known as "plastering." Cf *Merry Wives*, I, iii, 14.

109, 110. *there . . . man*] COLLIER (ed 1842): This line is given, not quoted, in the *Palladis Tama* of Francis Meres, fol. 281, printed in the same year as the play before us. [Meres is obviously quoting the play, which was a popular success before it was printed.—ED.].—COWL (ed. 1914): . . . perhaps the earliest extant quotation from a speech by Falstaff.

113 *wilt*,] [A colon after *wilt*, instead of a comma, is needed to make this passage clear. Falstaff means to say. "I don't care when I die; for if manhood (courage) is not already forgotten on this earth, then am I, &c."—ED.]

114 *shotten herring*] SINGER (ed. 1856). A herring that has cast its spawn and is therefore very lean and lank.

117, 118 *weauer . . . psalmes*] THEOBALD (*Letter to Warburton*, Mar 18, 1728) returns thanks for Warburton's "most ingenious note" on this passage, which he prints in an expanded form in his ed. of 1733.—WARBURTON (ed. 1747). In the persecutions of the Protestants in Flanders under Philip II, those who came over to England on that occasion, brought with them the woollen manufactory. These were Calvinists, who were always distinguished for their love of psalmody—STEEVENS (Var ed. 1773). Ben Jonson makes Cutbeard [in *The Silent Woman*] tell Morose that the parson caught his cold by sitting up late and singing catches with cloth-workers.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Nothing more here is meant than to allude to the practise of weavers, who amuse themselves frequently with songs at their looms. The knight, being full of vexation, wishes he could sing to divert his thoughts.—ELTON (ed. 1889): Cf. *Twelfth Night*, II, iii, 56: "Shall we rouse the night-owl with a catch that will draw three souls out of one weaver?"

kingdom with a dagger of lath, and driue all thy subiects
afore thee like a flock of wild geefe, ile neuer weare haire on 122
my face more, you prince of Wales

Prin Why you horefon round-man, whats the mat-
ter ? 125

Falst. Are not you a cowaarde ? aunfwere mee to that,
and Poines there.

Poin Zoundes ye fat paunch, and ye call me cowaarde
by the Lord ile stab thee. 129

123. *more,*] *more.* Ff, et seq
Wales.] Wales? Qs, Ff, Rowe,
Pope, Han i, Warb. Wales! T. J.,
Johns, et seq.

124 *round-man*] *round man* Q4, et
seq.

126. *not you*] Q1, Cam, Glo, Wh.
ii, Rlf., Tud., Ard. *you not* Q2, et cet.

127 *there*] *there?* Ff, et seq. *there?*
(to Poin. Johns., Varr, Ran

128. *Poin*] *Prin.* Qs-8, Ff, +, Var
'78, '85, Ran.

Zoundes] Om Ff, +, Var '78,
'85, Ran

fat] *fat* F1F2
and] *an* T J., Pope, et seq.

129. *by the Lord*] Om Dering MS.,
Ff, +, Varr, Ran., Mal, Steev,
Varr, Sing, Knt, Coll. i, ii, Huds i,
Del., Dyce i, Hal., Wh i, Ktly.

121 dagger of lath] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): Such a dagger as the Vice in the old Morality Plays was armed with. So, in *Twelfth Night*, IV, ii, 119 "In a trice, Like to the old Vice, Your need to sustain Who with dagger of lath. . . ." In the second part of this play [III, ii, 298] Falstaff calls Shallow a Vice's dagger—GATCH (*Sh's Allusions to Older Drama, Philol. Quart.*, 1928): There is appropriateness in this allusion, for Falstaff is the Vice of this piece. This is no figurative manner of speaking. Shakespeare makes Hal call Falstaff the Vice in explicit terms in II, iv, 425. . . . The conception of Falstaff as the Vice affords one of the most readily acceptable explanations for his rejection [by Hal at the close of *II Henry IV*]. . . . The audience may have hated to part with the fun-maker, but it knew better than to waste sympathy on the unmoral Vice. The summary given by Cushman, in his *The Devil and the Vice*, of the characteristics of the Vice will indicate how close Falstaff would come to that general conception: "the embodiment of worldliness and sensuality, free from restraints of religion and bonds of moral ideas, he is concerned only that man should give free rein to his inclinations." There is one other characteristic of the Vice that Shakespeare's audience would have recognized in Falstaff. The Vice was often a coward and braggart. . . . This is not to say that Shakespeare was making a consistent Vice-character out of Falstaff. The genuine Vice was both nimble and incapable of affection.

128, 129.] STRUVE (*Studien zu Sh.'s Heinrich IV*, 1851). I cannot believe that the poet gave these lines to Poin. The preceding question is addressed to the prince, though both are included in the question. Why should Poin push himself forward? The following speech [cf. also note on IV, i, 95] is more applicable to the prince than to Poin, for Thomas de Elmham says of the prince: "Omnes coetaneos saliendo praecessit, cursu veloci simul currentes praeventit." [Elmham: *Henrici Quinti Gesta*, 1417, ed. 1850, p. 12.] [Note that

Falst. I call thee cowarde, ile see thee damnde ere I
call thee coward, but I would giue a thousand pound I
coule runne as fast as thou canst You are streight
enough in the shoulders, you care not who sees your backe
call you that backing of your friends, a plague vpon such
backing, giue me them that will face me, giue me a cup of
facke. I am a rogue if I drunke to day. 135

Prin. O villain, thy lips are scarfe wipt since thou
drunkst laft.

Falst. All is one for that. *He drinketh.*

A plague of all cowards still say I. 140

Prin. Whats the matter ?

Falst. Whats the matter, there be foure of vs here haue
tane a thousand pound this day morning

Prin. Where is it Iacke, where is it ?

Fal. Where is it ? taken from vs it is : a hundred vp- 145
pon poore foure of vs.

Prin. What, a hundred, man ?

Falst. I am a rogue if I were not at halfe sword with a
douzen of them two houres together. I haue scapt by
myracle. I am eight times thrust through the doublet, 150
foure through the hofe, my buckler cut through and
through, my sword hackt like a handfaw, *ecce signum.*

130. *cowarde,*] *cowarde?* Q₂-8, Ff, Cap., Han. ii. *coward!* Rowe, et cet.

131. *thee coward*] *the Coward* F₁F₂.

134. *friends,*] *friends?* Q₂, et seq.

139 *All is*] *All's* Q₃, et seq.

He drinketh.] *He drinks*
Q₅-8, Ff, +, Coll, Huds. i, Del, Wh.,
Cam., Ktly *He drinks.* [after line
140] Var. '78, '85, Ran., Mal., Steev.,
Varr., Sing. i, Knt, Dyce, Sta., Hal.
ii, Huds. ii. (*drinks again.*) Cap. *He*
drinks. Exit Francis. [after line 140]
Hal. i.

140. *of*] *on* Johns., Var. '73, Knt.

i, iii.

142. *there here*] *here be four of us,*
Q₃-8, Ff, +, Cap., Varr, Ran.

143. *day*] Om. Q₃-8, Ff, +, Varr,
Ran., Mal., Steev., Varr, Sing, Knt.,
Hal., Wh. i.

146. *of*] Om. Var. '03, Var., Knt

148. *were not at*] *were not a* Q₅.

149. *scapt*] *scaped* Q₃-8. *escaped*
F₁F₄.

150 and 151. *through*] *thorow* Q₁Q₃

152. *signum*] *signum.* (*shews his*
sword.) Johns., Var. '73. *signum*
(*drawing it.*) Coll. MS., Coll. iii.

the speech is assigned to the prince in the late Qq, the Ff, and many 18th century editions. The real, or assumed, angry violence of the speech is, however, much more in the manner of Poins than of the prince.—Ed.]

148. at . . . sword] SCHMIDT (1874): Within half the length of a sword, in close fight.

151, 152 *buckler, sword*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1773): It appears from the old comedy of *The Two Angry Women of Abingdon* that this method of defence

I neuer dealt better since I was a man, al would not do. A plague of all cowards, let them speake, if they speake more or leffe then truth, they are villains, and the fonnes of darkneffe. 155

Gad Speake firs, how was it ?

Roff. We foure fet vpon some douzen.

Falst. Sixteene at least my Lord.

Roff. And bound them 160

Peto. No, no, they were not bound.

Falst. You rogue they were bounde euerie man of them, or I am a Iew else an Ebrew Iew.

Roff. As we were sharing, some fixe or seuen fresh men fet vpon vs. 165

157. *Gad*] Qq, A E Morgan, 1924. '78, et seq.
 Prince. Ff, et cet. 163 *an*] and Q₂₋₄
 158, 160, and 164 Ross] Qq. *Ebrew*] I brew Q₄(?) [In the
 Bard Capell's MS., Coll, A. E. Folger copies and the Harvard copy
 Morgan, 1924 Gads Ff, et cet. of Q₄, the initial letter is apparently
 158. *some*] a Q₇Q₈. a broken E.] *Hebrew* Q₇Q₈, Cap.
douzen] dozen,— Cap, Var. 164. *sixe or seuen*] 6. or 7. Q₃Q₄Q₅₋₈

and fight was going out in Shakespeare's day That play was published in 1599, and one of the characters makes the following observation: "I see by the dearth of good swords that sword and buckler fight begins to go out. I am sorry for it, I shall never see good manhood again." [Cf II, iv, 113, 114; and note on I, iii, 230, sword and buckler.]

157-165] A. E. MORGAN (*Some Problems of Sh.'s Henry IV*, 1924): In the folio text, Gadshill's speech (line 157) is assigned to the prince, and Ross. becomes *Gads*. throughout. This implies a failure to understand Gadshill's character . . . He stands distinctly higher than Bardolph and Peto. He is "our setter" [II, ii, 47], and in II, i he has a way with him very unlike anything Bardolph or Peto could assume. Consequently, when Falstaff says "let them speak," Gadshill, as if to dissociate himself from Bardolph and Peto, who are merely "them," maintains a superior aloofness with his "Speak, sirs" Then Ross, i.e. Bardolph, and Peto tumble over one another in blurring out the concocted story. It may further be remarked that, in lines 276 ff., Gadshill maintains silence, while Bardolph and Peto confess the truth.—BRONSON (*Note on Gadshill*, *P.M.L.A.*, 1930, p. 749): In the current texts of the play Gadshill favors us with his presence in three scenes (II, i, ii, and iv) But his existence is amplified elsewhere by references to him (I, ii, 102, 123, 155): Falstaff and Poins mention him by name, and the number of robbers, excluding Hal and Poins, is six times given as four in the course of Act II. On the other hand, Gadshill is ignored on several occasions without apparent reason. . . . In I, ii, 155, Poins says "Falstaff, Bardolph, Peto, and Gadshill shall rob . . ." and, under the prince's questioning, immediately thereafter forgets one of the four (I, ii, 174, 175: "two of them . . . and for the third").

[163 Ebrew Iew]

Beside this may be set two passages which occur just before the robbery. In the first (II, ii, 47, 48), Poins, instead of questioning Gadshill, speaks only of Bardolph. And earlier in the scene, lines 19, 20, Falstaff calls vigorously on the others but ignores Gadshill even in his extremity. Again, in the great tavern-scene (II, iv, 445) Falstaff cries with eloquent pathos "Banish Peto, Bardolph, Poins." With Gadshill present, here is an ungenerous omission. In this scene the prince has nothing to say to Gadshill, though he taunts Peto and Bardolph with cowardice. For an explanation of all these omissions we must look to the nature of a "setter." He would naturally be an insignificant character. . . . Even in the hierarchy of thievery his place was low, for his duties were not dangerous . . . This was not the man of whom Falstaff or the prince could make a boon companion. Nor did they. He was used and disregarded, as the unprofessional thief which he admittedly was. In the accepted text, Gadshill has speeches in all three scenes in which he appears. But he is the merest shadow in two of them. In II, i, alone does he become flesh and blood . . . There is nothing in the character exhibited sufficiently individual to make Gadshill's speeches inappropriate to Peto, for all we know of the latter . . . We have seen that Gadshill belongs on a social level quite different from that of Falstaff and his friends. . . . It is therefore matter for wonder that he should be present at the tavern the night after a robbery which, from his point of view, had been entirely unsuccessful. Only convivial reasons would have brought him, and these were not his privilege. . . . Q₁ notes only Falstaff's entrance (II, iv, 100), but the development of the scene makes it clear that his companions enter with him. The speeches assigned to Gadshill are so few (lines 158, 160, 164) . . . as to make it seem poor economy to have disturbed the canons of society merely for this! And seriously it may be doubted that Shakespeare did so. Q₁ assigns line 157 to Gadshill, and Gadshill's three speeches to Ross. Thus Gadshill is left in the scene by virtue of one line only. . . . The question that he asks is inappropriate to him, but perfectly suited to the prince or Poins. Thus, since Q₁ makes no other mention of Gadshill in this scene, he appears in it, improperly under any consideration, for the sole purpose of asking a question utterly inappropriate to him. Must we not suppose that his name crept in by mistake, and remained undetected? The name Ross[ill] remains to be considered. . . . It cannot stand for Gadshill, there is a check on this point in I, ii, 155: "Haruey, Rossill, and Gadshill" . . . There is difficulty, perhaps serious, as at II, iv, 142 "there be foure of vs here." But it is not unreasonable to take *here* in the circumstantial, rather than local, significance. . . . If our argument has been a just one, Gadshill is enabled to sink back into the obscurity where he belongs, dropping entirely out of the great tavern scene. [See note on I, ii, 155.]

158, 160, 164.] WHITE (ed. 1859): Bardolph was a man who never spoke when there were others to speak for him; and the folio is doubtless correct in giving these speeches to Gadshill, who was talkative, and to whom was committed the arrangements for the robbery.

163. Ebrew Iew] STEEVENS (ed. 1793): Natives of Palestine were called Hebrews by way of distinction from stranger Jews. [Humorously emphatic: "A Jew of Jews!"—Ed.]

Falst. And vnbound the reft, and then come in the other.

167

Prin. What, fought you with them all ?

Falst. Al, *I* know not what you cal al, but if I fought not with fiftie of them I am a bunch of radish if there were not two or three and fiftie vpon poore olde Iacke, then am I no two legd Creature

170

Prin. Pray God you haue not muredred some of them.

Falst. Nay, thats past praying for, I haue pepperd two of them. Two *I* am fure I haue paid, two rogues in buckrom futes : I tel thee what Hall, if I tell thee a lie, fipit in my face ; call me horfe, thou knowest my olde warde . here I lay, and thus I bore my poynt, foure rogues

175

178

166 *come*] *came* Q₈, F₃F₄, +, Cap, Varr, Ran, Dyce 1 (conj), Dyce 11, 111, Huds 11, Coll 111.

167. *other*] *others* Cap (conj)

168 *you*] Q₁, Cap, Varr, Ran, Cam, Wh. 11. *he* Knt 1, 111 *ye* Q₂₋₈, Ff, et cet.

169 *you*] *ye* Q₂₋₈, Ff, +, Mal, Steev, Varr., Sing., Knt, Coll., Huds., Del., Dyce, Sta., Hal, Wh 1, Ktly., Ox

170. (2nd) *of*] Om. Q₈

173. *Prin*] *Poines* Q₅₋₈, Ff, +, Cap, Varr, Ran, Steev, Varr., Sing., Knt 1, 111, Hal 11.

God] *Heauen* Ff, +, Varr, Ran, Knt

muredred] *murthered* Q₂₋₈, Ff, +, Cap, Knt. 11, 1v, Wh, Rlf

174. *for, I*] *for, for I* Var '03, '13, Var, Sing, Hal, Ktly.

177. *face,*] *face*, Ff, et seq

horse,] *horse*: Q₂, et seq.

178 *warde*] *word* Q₅₋₈, Ff, Rowe 1, T. J. (1710)

171. *three and fiftie*] STEWART, G R (*Phil. Quar.*, July, 1935). In the popular accounts (Raleigh, Markham, Hakluyt) of the fight of the *Revenge* against the Spanish fleet at Flores in 1591, the number of Spanish ships is always given as three-and-fifty. Under such circumstances the use of this exact figure in Falstaff's description of his own combat can hardly be accidental

175 *paid*] MALONE (*Supplement to Var.* '78, 1780): Drubbed, beaten.—REED (Var. ed. 1803): Killed. [The context of the word in this passage (cf. *muredred*, l 173) and the use of *paid* in line 200, and in V, 111, 46, would indicate that Reed is correct.—ED.]

176, 177. *if . . . horse*] [Falstaff's most gigantic and obvious lies are often labelled by him with some such challenge as this; cf. III, 111, 97, and V, 1v, 146. His purpose, here, is to draw a contradiction from the prince The two in buckram whom he has "killed" are, of course, the prince and Poin, cf. I, 11, 171, "I have cases of buckram, &c." But the prince shows unusual restraint, and listens with no show of incredulity to the tale of his own death. It is inconceivable that Falstaff is ignorant of the identity of the two in buckram; as it is inconceivable that he should expect to be believed as he continues this narrative.—ED.]

177. *horse*] COWL (ed. 1914): A common term of abuse or contempt; cf. *Twelfth Night*, II, 111, 177.

in Buckrom let driue at me.

Prin What foure ? thou saidst but two euen now. 180

Falst. Foure Hal, I told thee foure.

Poin. I, I, he said foure.

Fal. These foure came all a front, and mainly thrust at me, I made me no more adoe, but tooke all their feuen points in my target, thus. 185

Prin. Seuen, why there were but foure euen now.

Falst. In Buckrom.

Po. I foure in Buckrom fuites.

Falst. Seuen by these hilts, or I am a villaine elfe.

Pr. Preethe let him alone we shall haue more anon. 190

Falst. Dost thou heare me Hal ?

Prince. I, and marke thee to iacke.

179. *Buckrom*] *buccorom* Qs.
me] *me*. Cap. *me*— Varr.,
 Mal, et seq
 180. *What*] Q1, Johns., Var. '73,
 Var., Coll 1, 11, Huds i, Wh. i. *What*,
 Q2-s, Ff, et cet.
 182. *I, I,*] *Ay, ay*, Rowe, et seq
 184. *me no*] *no* Q3-s, Ff, +, Knt.
 ii, iv.
all] Om. Var.
 185. *points*] *point* Qs.
186. *Seuen,*] Q1, Johns. *Seuen?*
 Q2-s, Ff, et cet.
 187. *Falst*] Om Mal (conj).
Buckrom] *Buccorom* Qs *buck-*
rom? Cap., Sta, Wh., Cam, Dyce ii,
 iii, Hal. ii, Huds. ii, Tud., Ard.
 188. *I*] *Ay*, Rowe, et seq.
 190. *Pr.*] *Prince.* (aside) Wh i,
 Huds. ii, Coll. iii. Poin. Vaughan
Preethe] *I pr'ythee* Var. '85.
 192. *to iacke*] *too, iacke* Q2, et seq.

177, 178. *olde warde*] COWL (ed. 1914): Accustomed guard.

178. *here I lay*] COWL (ed. 1914): At this ward I lay; this was my guard.

183. *a front*] COWL (ed. 1914). Abreast. The N E. D. quotes from *Purchas his Pilgrimes*. "Twelue men may ride afront through them." Cf. North's *Plutarch, Pyrrhus*. "Compelled to fight all on a front in a plain field."

mainly] HUDSON (ed. 1880): Mightily, "with might and main."

185. *target*] COWL (ed. 1914): Target identified with buckler, as in Butler, *Hudibras*, I, iii.

187. *In Buckrom*] MALONE (ed. 1790): I believe that these words belong to the prince's speech, line 186, and that Poinc concurs, line 188. . . . As the speeches are now regulated, Falstaff seems to assent to the prince's assertion that there were but four, if the prince will grant that they were in buckram; and then immediately after asserts that the number was seven. [The period after *Buckrom* in Qq and Ff has blinded many editors to the very characteristic nature of Falstaff's rejoinder. These words are, surely, uttered as a question, and with a puzzled air. It is as if Falstaff said, "You mean that I referred to those *buckram* fellows as only four in number?"—ED.]

189. *hilts*] COWL (ed. 1914): The hilt of the sword was divided into three parts, pommel, handle, and guard; whence the plural.

Falst Do so, for it is worth the listning to, these nine
in Buckrom that I told thee of.

Prince. So, two more already. 195

Falst. Their points being broken.

Poy. Downe fell their hose

Falst Began to giue me ground but I followed me
close, came in, foot, and hand, and with a thought, feuen
of the eleuen I paid. 200

Prin. O monstrous ! eleuen Buckrom men growne out
of two.

Fal. But as the diuell would haue it, three misbegotten
knaues in Kendall greene came at my backe, and let driue
at mee, for it was so darke Hal, that thou couldest not see 205
thy hand.

Prin. These lies are like their father that begets them,
grosse as a mountaine, open, palpable. Why thou clay-
braind guts, thou knotty-pated foole, thou horefon ob- 209

194. *of.*] *of*,—Rowe, et seq.

196. *broken.*] *broken*, Q₂₋₆. *bro-*
ken,—Rowe, et seq

197. *their*] *his* Q₂₋₈, Ff, Rowe,
Pope, Theob, Warb, Johns., Var
'73

198, 199 *me close*] *'em close* Del.
(conj.).

199 *foot,*] *foot* Q₈, et seq.

and hand] *in hand* Huds i.

202 *two*] Q₁, Coll, Wh. i. *two?*
Q₂₋₈, Ff, Ktly. *two!* Rowe, et cet

207 *their*] Q₁, Cam, Glo, Wh. ii,
Rlf, Tud., Ard *the* Q₂₋₈, Ff, et cet.

209 *knotty-pated*] *nott-pated* Douce,
Dyce, Hal. i, Wh i, Huds ii *knott-*
pated Coll. iii

196, 197 *points . . . hose*] JOHNSON (ed 1765): The double meaning of
points must be remembered, which signifies the sharp end of a weapon and the
lace of a garment —N. E. D. (1909) Laces

204. *Kendall greene*] STEEVENS (Var. ed 1778): Kendal, in Westmoreland,
is a place famous for making cloths and dying them. . . . Kendal green was the
livery of . . . Robin Hood. The colour is constantly mentioned in the old
play [*The Famous Victories*].

207 *These lies*] HUDSON (ed 1852): We cannot persuade ourselves that
Falstaff thinks of deceiving anyone by his string of "incomprehensible lies"!
He tells them, surely, for the pleasure he takes in the excited play of his facul-
ties, for the surprise he causes by his still more remarkable feats of dodging;
that is, they are studied self-exposures to invite an attack, that he may pro-
voke his hearers to come down upon him and then witch them with his facility
and felicity in extricating himself. Thus his course here is all of a piece with
his usual practice of surrounding himself with difficulties, the better to evince
and exercise his incomparable fertility and alertness of thought. . . . We
shrewdly suspect that he knew the truth [*i.e.*, about the part played by the
prince and Poin at Gadshill] all the time, but determined to fall in with the
joke on purpose to make sport for himself and the prince.

scene greasie tallow-catch.

Falst. What art thou mad ? art thou mad ? is not the truth the truth ? 211

Pr. Why, how couldst thou know these men in Kendal greene when it was so darke thou couldst not see thy hand, come tell vs your reason. What sayest thou to this ? 215

Po. Come your reason, Iacke, your reason.

Falst. What, vpon compulsion Zoundes, and I were at the strappado, or all the rackes in the worlde, I would 218

210 *catch.*] *chest.* Dering MS. Huds, Dyce, Sta, Hal., Wh., Ktly. *catch*,—Pope, Theob., Warb., Johns, *cake* Ard
Var '73, Cam, Glo., Rlf, Tud., 217. *Zoundes, and I were*] Qq.
Ard *keech*,—Han, Del, Knt, Ox. 'Zounds, an I were Cam, Glo., Wh ii,
keech,—Johns (conj), Var. '78, '85, Rlf, Tud, Ox., Ard. No. were I Ff,
Ran., Mal., Steev, Varr, Sing., Coll., et cet

209 *knotty-pated*] DOUCE (*Illust of Sh.*, 1807, i, 427): This should be changed to *not-pated*, polled or cropped The prince has a little before bestowed this epithet on the drawer. [On the vintner, in II, iv, 63, not on the drawer; nor has it been applied earlier to Falstaff, as Dyce (ed. 1857) and White (ed. 1859) suggest in their notes on this passage.—ED.]—ELTON (ed. 1889). "Wooden-pated." Probably mixed up with "not-pated."—N. E. D. (1908): Blockheaded; perhaps associated with not-headed, not-pated.

210 *tallow-catch*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): A cake, or mass, of wax is sometimes called a *keech*, which is doubtless the word intended here, unless we read *tallow-keech*, that is, a tub of tallow.—PERCY (Var. ed. 1773, Appendix, vol. x): *Tallow-keech* is right, but ill-explained in the note. A keech of tallow is the fat of the ox rolled up by the butcher in a round lump, in order to be carried to the chandler —WARTON (*Ibid.*) The prince's allusion is sufficiently striking if we alter not a letter, and only suppose that he means a receptacle for tallow. [And so, though Warton's note seems adequate, the discussion has continued. Steevens suggests *keech*, a ship, and reminds us that Goody *Keech* is the butcher's wife in *II Henry IV*. Capell (*Notes*, 1779) commends the reading, *keech*, tub, as comprehending the bulk as well as the greasiness of Falstaff. Cowl (ed. 1914) proposes *cake*, and cites several parallels and "echoes" which lend little weight to his suggestion.—ED.]

218. *strappado*] DAVIES (*Dram Misc*, 1785): The punishment of the strappado, as put in practice in Venice in the days of Shakespeare, is thus described by Tom Coriat. "The offender, having his hands bound behind him, is conveyed into a rope that hangeth by a pulley, after which he is raised up by two several swings, where he sustaineth such great torment that his joints are for a time loosed and pulled asunder."—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1803) quotes a similar description from Randle Holme's *Academy of Arts*, III, vii, 310.—DOUCE (*Illust. of Sh.*, 1807, i, 427): A military punishment. . . . Representations of this nefarious process may be seen in Breughel's *The Punishments of the Law*, in one of Gerini's *Views of Florence*, and in Callot's *Miseries of War*. The term is evidently taken from the Italian *strappare*, to pull or draw with violence.

not tell you on compulsion. Giue you a reafon on compulsion ? if reafons were as plentifull as blackberries, I 220 would giue no man a reafon vppon compulsion, I.

Prim. Ile be no longer guiltie of this finne This fanguine coward, this bed-preffer, this horfe-backe-breaker, this huge hill of flesh.

Fa. Zbloud youftarueling, you elfskin you dried neatf- 225

- | | |
|--|---|
| 220. <i>plentifull</i>] Q ₁ , Cam, Wh. ii, | Glo., Wh ii, Rlf, Tud, Ox., Ard. |
| Ox, Ard. <i>plentie</i> Q ₂ , et cet. | <i>Awy</i> Ff, et cet. |
| 221. <i>I</i>] <i>I?</i> Pope | <i>elfskin</i>] <i>eel-skin</i> Han, Warb, |
| 223. <i>presser</i>] <i>pressen</i> Q ₄ | Coll ii, iii, Wh. i, Dyce ii, iii, Ktly, |
| 224. <i>flesh</i>] <i>flesh</i> ,—Theob, et seq | Huds. ii, Rlf, Ard (ed 1930). <i>elf-</i> |
| 225. <i>Zbloud</i>] Qq. 'Sblood Cam., | <i>kin</i> Johns. (conj), Wright (conj.). |
| | <i>Elfin</i> Ran. (quoted). |

220 if reasons] HUDSON (ed. 1880): *Reason* and *raisin* were pronounced alike.—HENRY BRADLEY (*Sh's English*, 1916, ii, 154). There were some who made no distinction between the sound of *ai* and that of *ea*. The often-quoted Shakespearean pun on the words *reasons* and *raisins* is, however, not really to the point. The Old French word for grapes had the two dialectal forms *resin* and *raisin*, both of which came into English. Hence the word was often spelled and pronounced *reason*

222, 223. *sanguine*] SCHMIDT (1874): Red-faced, with much drinking.—COWL (ed 1914): A physiological term, signifying "of sanguine complexion." The sanguine man is described in Oriel MS. 76 (quoted by Skeat, Chaucer, *Prologue*, 333): "Largus, amans, hilaris, ridens, rubeique coloris, Cantans, carnosus, satis audax, atque benignus"

225. *elfskin*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): An eel-skin [see Textual Notes] bears no great resemblance to a man, though the Bastard in *King John* [I, i, 141] compares his brother's legs [*i.e.*, arms] to two eelskins—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778) rejects Johnson's conjectural emendation, for "in these comparisons Shakespeare is not drawing the picture of a *little fairy*, but of a *man* remarkably tall and thin, to whose shapeless uniformity of length *an eel-skin stuffed* certainly bears a humorous resemblance, as do . . . the following comparisons. The reading *eel-skin* is supported, also, by Falstaff's description of Shallow in the second part of this play [III, ii, 304] Shakespeare had historical authority for making the prince lean. Stowe [*Chron.*, ed. 1580, p. 582], speaking of him, says: "He exceeded the meane stature of men, his neck long, body slender and lean, and his bones small."—CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): To persons persuaded of the existence of that slender being, an Elf, *elfskin* conveyed a proper idea, correspondent with *starveling*.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): If *elfskin* is the true reading, Falstaff compares the prince, who was tall and thin, to the thinnest thing he could think of. . . . He was thin as a fairy's skin.—COWL (ed. 1914): Falstaff refers to the limp appearance of the empty skin, not to the thinness of the skin. [The strongest argument in support of Hanmer's emendation is, perhaps, that the three comparisons that follow all refer to fish or flesh; but there is no real need of emendation.—ED.]—COWL (ed. 1930). I have adopted *eel-*

tong, you bulspizzle, you stockfish : O for breath to vtter 226
 what is like thee, you tailers yard, you sheath, you bow-
 cafe, you vile standing tuck.

Prin. Wel, breath a while, and then to it againe, and
 when thou haft tired thy felfe in bafe comparifons heare 230
 mee fpeake but this.

Po. Marke iacke.

Prin We two faw you foure fet on foure, and bound
 them and were maifters of their wealth : marke now how
 a plaine tale fhall put you downe, then did wee two fet on 235

225, 226. *neatslong*] *neats tong* Qs
 et seq.

226 *you bulspizzle*] Q1Q2, Wh. i,
 Cam., Glo., Dyce ii, iii, Ktly,
 Huds. ii, Tud., Ox, Ard. Om. Rlf.
bulspizzle Q3-8, Ff, et cet.

vtter] *vtter*, Q2. *vtter!* Q3-8,
 Pope, Theob., Warb. *vtter*. Ff,
 Rowe i.

227. *thee*] *thee?* Q2-8, Ff, Rowe,
 Pope, Theob., Warb. *thee!* Han.,
 Cam. *thee*— Johns. *thee!*— Cap., et
 cet.

228. *tuck*.] *tuck*.— Theob., et seq.

229. *breath*] Q1, Q4-8, F1-8, Rowe,

Cap. *breathe* Q3, et cet

to it] *to't* Ff, +, Knt ii, iv,
 Huds. i, Wh i

230. *tired*] *tried* QsQ7.

231. *thus*] *thus* Q4-8, Ff, Rowe, Knt.
 ii, iv.

233. *foure, and*] *four, you* Pope, +,
 Cap., Varr, Ran, Mal, Steev., Varr,
 Sing, Knt ii, iv, Coll i, Huds., Dyce,
 Sta., Hal., Ktly. *four, and you* Del.,
 Ox.

bound] *bind* Coll ii.

235. *a plaine*] *plaine* a Cap. [cor-
 rected in Errata, Var. '03, '13, Var.,
 Sing, Coll., Huds. i, Del., Hal ii.

skin, which is verified by an echo in N. Field's *Woman is a Weathercock*, I, ii:
 "that little old dried neat's tongue, that eel-skin."

225, 226. *neatslong*] SCHMIDT (1874): Tongue of horned cattle. Cf. *Winter's
 Tale*, I, ii, 124: "The steer, the heifer, and the calf are all called neat."

226. *bulspizzle*] COWL (ed. 1914): The dried bull's-pizzle was used as a whip
 The idea of shrivelled dryness is brought out in [this list of comparisons].
stockfish] SCHMIDT (1874). Dried cod.

227, 228. *bowcase*] COWL (ed. 1914): Ascham recommends a woollen bow-
 case for every bow (*Toxophilus*, Arber, p. 191).

228. *standing tuck*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): A small rapier standing on end.—
 COWL (ed. 1930): A blade was said to *stand* when it had lost resiliency.

233. *and bound*] ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, p. 290): The ambiguity of this
 passage is removed by the context, "and (you) bound them." . . . The ellip-
 sis of the nominative in Elizabethan usage may be explained partly (1) by the
 lingering sense of inflections; partly (2) by the influence of Latin; partly (3)
 by the rapidity of Elizabethan pronunciation.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): The con-
 struction would be equally well explained by supplying the omitted "that"
 before "you" [see Textual Notes, Del., Ox.]. But it is more probably due to
 carelessness. A similar instance occurs in North's *Plutarch* (ed. 1595, *Julius
 Caesar*, p. 765): "Caesar . . . saw a private soldier of his thrust in among the
 capitaines, and fought so valiantly, &c."

Falst. And vnbound the reft, and then come in the other.

167

Prin. What, fought you with them all ?

Falst. Al, I know not what you cal al, but if I fought not with fiftie of them I am a bunch of radifh : if there were not two or three and fiftie vpon poore olde Iacke, then am I no two legd Creature.

170

Prin. Pray God you haue not muredred fome of them.

Falst. Nay, thats paft praying for, I haue pepperd two of them. Two I am fure I haue paied, two rogues in buckrom futes : I tel thee what Hall, if I tell thee a lie, fpit in my face ; call me horfe, thou knoweft my olde warde : here I lay, and thus I bore my poynt, foure rogues

175

178

166. *come*] *came* Q₈, F₃F₄, +, Cap., Varr., Ran., Dyce i (conj.), Dyce ii, iii, Huds. ii, Coll. iii.

167. *other*] *others* Cap. (conj.).

168. *you*] Q₁, Cap., Varr., Ran., Cam., Wh. ii. *he* Knt. i, iii. *ye* Q₂₋₈, Ff, et cet.

169. *you*] *ye* Q₂₋₈, Ff, +, Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt., Coll., Huds., Del., Dyce, Sta., Hal., Wh. i, Ktly., Ox.

170. (2nd) *of*] Om. Q₈

173. *Prin.*] *Poines*. Q₅₋₈, Ff, +, Cap., Varr., Ran., Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt. i, iii, Hal. ii.

God] *Heauen* Ff, +, Varr., Ran., Knt.

muredred] *murthered* Q₂₋₈, Ff, +, Cap., Knt. ii, iv, Wh., Rlf.

174. *for, I*] *for, for I* Var. '03, '13, Var., Sing., Hal., Ktly.

177. *face*] *face*, Ff, et seq.

horse] *horse*: Q₂, et seq.

178. *warde*] *word* Q₅₋₈, Ff, Rowe i, T. J. (1710).

171. *three and fiftie*] STEWART, G. R. (*Phil. Quar.*, July, 1935): In the popular accounts (Raleigh, Markham, Hakluyt) of the fight of the *Revenge* against the Spanish fleet at Flores in 1591, the number of Spanish ships is always given as three-and-fifty. Under such circumstances the use of this exact figure in Falstaff's description of his own combat can hardly be accidental.

175. *paied*] MALONE (*Supplement to Var.* '78, 1780): Drubbed, beaten.—REED (Var. ed. 1803): Killed. [The context of the word in this passage (cf. *muredred*, l. 173) and the use of *paid* in line 200, and in V, iii, 46, would indicate that Reed is correct.—ED.]

176, 177. *if . . . horse*] [Falstaff's most gigantic and obvious lies are often labelled by him with some such challenge as this; cf. III, iii, 97, and V, iv, 146. His purpose, here, is to draw a contradiction from the prince. The two in buckram whom he has "killed" are, of course, the prince and Poins; cf. I, ii, 171, "I have cases of buckram, &c." But the prince shows unusual restraint, and listens with no show of incredulity to the tale of his own death. It is inconceivable that Falstaff is ignorant of the identity of the two in buckram; as it is inconceivable that he should expect to be believed as he continues this narrative.—ED.]

177. *horse*] COWL (ed. 1914): A common term of abuse or contempt; cf. *Twelfth Night*, II, iii, 177.

heire apparant ? should I turne vpon the true prince ? why thou knowest I am as valiant as Hercules : but beware instinct, the lion will not touch the true prince, instinct is a great matter. I was now a coward on instinct, I shall

250. *prince*,] *Prince* Ff, et seq. Tud., Ard. Om. Q₂, et cet.
 251. *matter*,] *matter*; Johns, et seq. *instinct*,] *Instinct*. Ff, et seq.
 now] Q₁, Cam, Glo, Rlf,

of the felicitous business which enhanced Falstaff's reception of Prince Hal's exposure of his mendacity in the matter of the men in buckram, when a condensation of the two parts of *Henry IV* was produced by Robert Taber and Miss Julia Marlowe. After Falstaff has told his tale the Prince and Poins corner him. The scene represented the tavern with its huge fireplace, before which stood a spacious armchair with its back to the audience. After Falstaff had met the Prince's incredulity with abuse, he cried "O, for breath to utter!" and then he sank into the chair, sputtering out his final insults. Whereupon the Prince explained "We two saw you four, &c." As soon as Falstaff was convinced that his bluff was about to be called, he shrank into the chair and the back of his head was no longer to be seen; so the Prince stated his case to an invisible Falstaff, ending with "What trick, &c." Then Henry paused for a reply, and it was so long in coming that Poins backed up the Prince, saying "Come, let's hear, Jack!" Falstaff, out of sight of the audience, had twisted himself about in the chair until he was kneeling on it, and he slowly raised his face above its back—a face wreathed in smiles and ready to break into triumphant laughter, as at last he was ready with his retort. Whether this business was Owen's or Taber's or inherited from Samuel Phelps (Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson does not remember it in Phelps's performance), it is excellent, and it deserves to be set down in the actor's edition of the play.

250. *lion . . . prince*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): So, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Mad Lover*: "Fetch the Numidian lion I brought over; If she be sprung from royal blood, the lion Will do her reverence; else, he'll tear her."—KOELBING (*Eng. Studien*, 1892, *Zu Shs Henry IV*) cites many examples, from Pliny down, of this legend.

true prince] GILES (*Lect. on Falstaff*, 1850): Why *true prince*? His claim was unsound according to blood. . . . This allusion of Falstaff's implies not only the cunning pungency of brilliant wit, but the adroit flattery of a polished courtier. [But Hal was a true prince of the blood royal, whether he was legitimate heir to the throne or not.—ED.]

250, 251. *instinct . . . matter*] LORD KAMES (*Elem. of Crit.*, 1762, iii, 198): Absolute or general terms have no good effect in any composition for amusement. . . . Shakespeare's style in that respect is excellent. Every article in his descriptions is particular; and if accidentally a vague expression slip in, the blemish is extremely discernible. . . . Take the following example [II, iv, 246–258]. . . . The words I object to are *instinct . . . matter*, which make a poor figure compared with the liveliness of the rest of the speech. [But the very flatness of this generalization is its virtue. Falstaff, in his feigned embarrassment, pretends to be seeking explanation of his conduct and to be covering

thinke the better of my felfe, and thee during my life ; I
 for a valiant lion, and thou for a true prince but by the 253
 Lord, lads, I am glad you haue the money, Hosteffe clap to
 the doores, watch to night, pray to morrowe, gallants, 255
 lads, boyes, hearts of golde, all the titles of good fellowſhip
 come to you. What ſhall wee bee merrie, ſhall wee haue
 a play extempore ?

Prin. Content, and the argument ſhall bee thy running
 away. 260

Falſt. A, no more of that Hal and thou loueſt me.

(*Enter hoſteſſe*)

Ho. O Ieſu, my Lord the prince !

Prin. How now my lady the hoſteſſe, what ſaiſt thou
 to me ?

Ho. Marry my Lo. there is a noble man of the court at 265
 doore would ſpeake with you : he ſaies he commes from
 your father.

Prin. Giue him as much as will make him a royall 268

252. *ſelfe, and thee*] *ſelf and thee*
 Dyce, Coll. ii, iii, Hal., Wh., Cam.,
 Glo., Ktly., Huds. ii, Rlf., Ox., Ard.
ſelfe, and thee, Q₁, et cet.

253, 254. *by the Lord*] Om Ff,
 Rowe, Cap, Var '78, '85, Ran., Knt.
 254. *lads*] *lads* (*enter Hoſteſſ.*)
 Cap.

to] *too* T. J., Theob. iv.

256. *titles of good*] *good Titles of Ff*,
 Rowe.

257 *What*] Q₁Q₄. *What*, Q₂, et cet
merrie,] *merry?* Q₅₋₈, Ff, et

seq

258. *extempore*] *extemporary* F₁₋₃

261. *A,*] *Al* Rowe, et seq.

and] *if* F₃F₄, Rowe, Pope,
 Theob., Han., Warb., Johns. *an*
 Cap, et seq.

Enter hoſteſſe] [At line 254.]
 Cap. SCENE x. *Enter Hoſteſſ.*
 Pope, Han., Warb., Johns.

262. *O Ieſu,*] Om. Ff, Rowe, Cap.,
 Varr., Ran., Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing.,
 Knt, Hal, Ktly.

265. *Lo.*] *L.* Q₂₋₈. *Lord* Ff, et seq.

his embarrassment by serious philosophizing on life. Note the contradiction in his mutually exclusive explanations of his flight: he fled because he "knew" the prince and Poins (line 246); he fled *instinctively* (line 249): and then, catching at the latter explanation, he branches out into a general, philosophical, discussion of instinct!—ED.]

255 *watch, pray*] COWL (ed. 1914): An allusion to the Scriptural injunction, "Watch and pray" (Matt. xxvii, 41). Falstaff plays on the meanings of *watch*, viz. to keep vigil, and to revel or carouse. For the latter sense, cf. J. Heywood, *Thyestes* (1560), iii, i: "Nighes past forth in watch and wine."

265, 268. *noble, royall*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): I believe here is a kind of jest intended. He that had received a noble was, in cant language, a noble man; in this sense the prince catches the word and bids the hostess give him enough to make him a royal man, that is a *real* or *royal*.—TYRWHITT (Var. ed. 1773,

man, and fend him backe againe to my mother.

Fal. What maner of man is he ? 270

Hof. An olde man.

Falst. What doth grauitie out of his bed at midnight ?
Shall I giue him his answere ?

Prin. Preethe do iacke. *Fa.* Faith and ile fend
him packing. *Exit.* 275

Prin. Now firs, birlady you fought faire, so did you
Peto, so did you Bardol, you are lions to, you ran away
vpon instinct, you will not touch the true prince, no fie.

Bar. Faith I ran when I saw others runne.

Prin. Faith tell me now in earnest, how came Falstalfs 280
sword so hackt ?

Peto. Why, he hackt it with his dagger, and said hee
woulde fweare truth out of England, but hee would make
you beleue it was done in fight, and perswaded vs to do
the like. 285

Bar. Yea, and to tickle our noses with spearegrasse, to

275. *Exit.*] Om. Q₃-s.

276. *birlady*] Om Ff, Rowe *by'r*
lady Pope, et seq.

277. *did you| did you* F₂
hons to,| Q₁ (Dev.-Hunt.
copy), Q₂, et seq. *hons, to* Q₁ (Brit.
Mus. and Trin Coll. Camb. copies).

to| too Q₃, et seq.

278. *no fie.*] *no, fie.* Ff, Rowe, Pope.

no, fie! Theob., et seq.

280. *Faith*] Om. Ff, +, Cap., Varr,
Ran., Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing.,
Knt., Sta., Dyce ii, iii, Hal. ii, Ktly.,
Huds. ii.

283. *England*] *all England* F₃F₄,
Rowe.

286 *Bar*] Car. Q₂-s
and to| and F₃F₄, Rowe i

Appendix, vol. x): The royal went for 10s, the noble for only 6s 8d—TOLLET (Var. ed. 1778): Mr. John Blower, in a sermon before her Majesty, first said "My royal queen," and a little later, "my noble queen." Upon which, says the Queen, "What, am I ten groats worse than I was?"—COLLIER (ed. 1842), in a temporary aberration, suggests that the hostess is perhaps to make the messenger royally drunk and send him to the queen.—ELTON (ed. 1889): Cf. *Richard II*, V, v, 67: "*Groom.* Hail, royal prince! *K. Rich.* Thanks, noble peer, The cheapest of us is ten groats too dear." Ten groats is 3s 4d., the excess of a royal over a noble.

286. tickle . . . spearegrasse] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): So, in *The Famous Victories of Henry V*: "Every day when I went into the fields, I would take a straw and thrust it into my nose to make my nose bleed"—BEISLY (*Sh. Garden*, 1864, p. 93): Spear-grass is called nose-bleed grass in Lyte's translation of Dodoens's *History of Plants*, 1578.—COWL (ed. 1914): In Holland's *Plinie*, xxiv, xix, we read of the five-finger grass, with five pricks, which, "when they be wound together they use to put up into the nostrills . . . for to make the nose bleed."

make them bleed, and then to beslubber our garments with
it, and sweare it was the blood of true men. I did that I
did not this feuen yeare before, I blusht to heare his mon-
strous deuices. 287 290

Prin. O villaine, thou stolest a cup of Sacke eightene
yeares ago, and wert taken with the maner, and euer since
thou hast blusht extempore, thou hadst fire and sword on
thy fide, and yet thou ranst away, what instinct hadst thou
for it? 295

Bar. My Lord do you see these meteors? do you be-
hold these exhalations? *Prin.* I do. 297

- | | |
|---|---|
| 287. <i>to</i>] Om. F ₂₋₄ , Rowe, +. | <i>blusht</i>] <i>blush</i> Q ₇ Q ₈ . |
| 288. <i>sweare</i>] <i>to swear</i> Var. '03, '13,
Var, Sing., Coll, Del., Huds i, Wh. i,
Hal. ii, Ktly. | 290. <i>deuces</i>] <i>deuses</i> Q ₃₋₆ , Var. '85. |
| 289. <i>this</i>] <i>these</i> Pope, Theob., Han.,
Warb, Johns., Var. '78, '85, Ran
<i>do these</i> Var '73. | 292. <i>with the maner</i>] <i>in the manner</i>
Pope, Theob. <i>in the manour</i> Han. |
| <i>yeare</i>] <i>yeeres</i> Q ₄ Q ₅ Q ₈ , Ff, +,
Var. '85, Knt., Del | 293. <i>hadst</i>] <i>hast</i> Sing., Ktly. |
| | 294. <i>hadst</i>] <i>hast</i> Sing |
| | 297. <i>exhalations?</i>] <i>exhalations?</i>
(pointing to his own face Wh. ii. |

292 *taken . . . maner*] WARBURTON (ed. 1747). A law phrase, then in common use, to signify, *taken in the fact*. But the Oxford editor [Hanmer] alters it, for better security of the sense, to *in the manour*,—I suppose by the lord of it, as a strey—EDWARDS (*Canons of Crit*, 1748), commenting on Warburton's note, quotes the latter's note on *Love's Labour's Lost*, I, i, 199, in which he expresses preference for *in the manner* to *with the manner*.—KENRICK (*Rev of Johns. ed.*) criticizes Johnson's slavish following of Warburton both here and in the passage in *Love's Labour's Lost*.—WARNER (*Letter to Garrick*, 1768, p. 40): The French *manner* is a law term and signifies what the thief taketh away or stealeth. [This explanation is adopted and illustrated by HAWKINS (Var. ed. 1773), who derives it from the Latin *manu tractatus*, by STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778), who thinks that it is a corruption of "taken in the manoeuvre"; by REED (ed. Steevens, 1793), who quotes Pettengall's *Enquiry* to the effect that the phrase comes from *manifesto deprehensus*, translated by the Saxons *hand habend*, and who asserts that it is sometimes corruptly called *taken with the manner*; by WRIGHT (ed. 1897), who quotes Cowell, *Interpreter*, 1607: "*Mainour*, alias *Manour*, alias *Menour* . . . signifieth in our common lawe the thing that a theefe taketh away or stealeth: as, to be taken with the *mainour* . . . is to be taken with the thing stolen about him"; and by N. E. D. (1908): "*With the mainour*; later (16th cent.) *in the manner*, i.e., in the act of doing something unlawful."]

293. *fire*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): The fire was in his face

296, 297. *meteors, exhalations*] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): The undisturb'd good humour of Falstaff in all attacks that are made on him, and the pleasantry with which he repels them, are well contrasted with Bardolph's soreness; who, in this place, has no little mind to be angry with the prince, if he dar'd, and

Bar. What thinke you they portend ?

Prin. Hot liuers, and cold purfes.

Bar. Choler, my Lord, if rightly taken.

300

Enter Falstafte.

Prin. No if rightly taken halter. Here commes leane iacke, here commes bare bone : how now my fweete creature of bumbast, how long ift ago iacke fince thou fawest thine owne knee ?

Fal. My owne knee, when I was about thy yeares 305
(Hall) I was not an Eagles talent in the wafte, I could haue crept into anie Aldermans thumbe ring : a plague of fighting and grief it blowes a man vp like a bladder. Thers

After 300. Enter Falstafte] Qq.
Enter Falstafte. [After *halter*, line
301] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Han, Wh. i.
Re-enter Falstaff. Cap, Tud. Re-
enter Falstaff. [after *bare bone*, line
302] Dyce, Huds ii Re-enter Fal-
staff [after *halter*, line 301] Theob.,
et cet.

301. *halter.*] *halter* SCENE XI.
Pope, Han, Warb., Johns.

302. *bare bone*] *bare-bones* Qs.
my] Om Qs.

305 *knee.*] Q1, Sing. *knee?* Q2-8,
Ff, et cet.

306. *talent*] *tallon* Q7Qs. *Talon*
F1, et seq.

waste] *waist* Han. ii, Var. '78,
et seq

307. *of*] *on* Johns., Var. '73.

308. *a man vp*] *up a man* Johns.,
Var '73

answer him with rudeness; this disposition he gives way to in [III, iii], where his exhalations and meteors excite a fierce blaze of wit in Sir John, that flashes on him unmercifully.

297 exhalations] SCHMIDT (1874): Meteors; cf *Julius Caesar*, II, i, 44: "the exhalations whizzing in the air Give so much light."

299. Hot . . . purses] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Drunkenness and poverty. To drink was to heat the liver.

300, 301. Choler . . . halter] STEEVENS (Var. ed 1778): The reader must recollect the similarity of sound between *collar* and *choler*.

303. bumbast] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): The stuffing of clothes.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778) Stubbs, in his *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1595, says that in his time the doublets were so hard quilted, stuffed, bombasted, and sewed, as they could neither work nor well play in them. He adds that they were stuffed with four, five, six pounds of bombast. Again, in Dekker's *Satiromastix*: "You shall swear not to bombast out a new play with the linings of old jests."

306. talent] DYCE (ed. 1857): An old form of talon, cf. *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, ii, 61, where it is necessary to retain the old form: "If a talent be a claw, look how he claws him with a talent."

307. crept . . . ring] WHALLEY (*Learning of Sh.*, 1748): A humorous application of a Greek proverb . . . Cf. Aristophanes (*Plut.*, v. 1067): "You may draw me through a ring," the old woman says. "Ay," replies Chremylus, "if the ring were the size of a hoop."—SINGER (ed. 1826): Grave persons, citizens and aldermen, wore a plain gold ring upon the thumb.

villainous newes abroad, heere was fir Iohn Bracy from
 your father you must to the court in the morning That 310
 fame mad fellow of the North Percie, and he of Wales that
 gaue Amamon the bastinado and made Lucifer cuckold,
 and fwore the diuel his true liegeman vpō the croffe of a
 Welsh hooke what a plague call you him ? 314

309 Bracy] Bracy Q₃ Braby Q₄₋₈, Percy, Q₂, et cet.
 Ff, +, Varr, Ran 312. Amamon] Amaimon Cap.,
 310. 10] go to Q₅₋₈, Ff, + Varr, Ran, Mal., Steev, Varr, Sing,
 That] The Q₅₋₈, Ff, Rowe Knt, Coll, Del, Huds., Dyce, Sta.,
 311 North Percie,] Q₁, Q₅₋₈. North, Hal, Wh i, Ktly, Ox

309-314] AX (*Rel of Sh to Hol.*, 1912, p. 29). As to Sir John Bracy, we could nowhere discover him [in Shakespeare's sources], nor did we find those tales in the Chronicles which Falstaff tells about the feats of Glendower and the Douglas. [To search the scriptures for the sources of these flights of Falstaffian imagination has in itself a humour that Falstaff would appreciate—Ed.]

309 Bracy] COWL (ed 1914): If this is not the Sir John Bracy who was 'a secretary of state' under Richard II (see Hayward's *Life of Henry IV*), the name may point to some undiscovered source for the history of the play. Shakespeare may have obtained the name directly . . . from Sir John Hayward.

312 Amamon] GREY (*Crit Notes*, 1754): "Facit ad amorem, odium invisibilitatem et consecrationem eorum quae sunt de dominatione *Amaymonis*, et de potestate alterius exorcistae." Wieri *Pseudo monarchia Daemonum*, col. 924.—DOUCE (*Illust of Sh.*, 1807, i, 428). Amaimon, king of the East, was one of the principal devils, who might be bound from the third hour until noon. See Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, 1584, xv, 3

bastinado] N. E. D. (1893): A blow with a stick or cudgel, especially one on the soles of the feet.

made Lucifer cuckold] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): In Marston's *Malcontent*, II, v, Lucifer is spoken of with the same disrespect. . . . But this may be one of several reminiscences of Shakespeare in the same play. [Dr. J. Q. ADAMS suggests that the origin of this jest may lie in the fact that Lucifer is always represented with horns—Ed.]

313, 314. swore . . . hooke] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): A Welsh hook appears to have been some instrument of the offensive sort. It is mentioned in . . . Jonson's *Masque for the Honour of Wales*: "Owen Glendower, with a Welsh hook, and a goatskin on his back." Mr Tollet apprehends from the hooked form of the instrument, copied by him from Speed's *Hist. of Gr Brit.*, p. 180, as well as from the cross upon it, that this is the Welsh hook mentioned by Falstaff. I believe that it and the brown bill are varieties of the *securis falcata*, or probably a weapon of the same kind with the Lochinvar axe.—WHEALEY (*Learning of Sh.*, 1748): The Welsh hook was, I believe, pointed like a spear, to push or thrust with; and below had a hook to seize on the enemy if he should attempt to escape by flight. I take my ideas from Butler's *Character of a J. P.*

Poynes. O Glendower.

315

Falst. Owen, Owen, the fame, and his fonne in lawe Mortimer, and olde Northumberland, and that sprightly Scot of Scottes, Dowglas, that runnes a horfebacke vp a hill perpendicular.

Prin. He that rides at high speede, and with his pistoll killes a sparrow flying.

Falst. You haue hit it.

Prin. So did he neuer the sparrow.

Fal. Well, that rafcall hath good mettall in him, hee will not runne.

325

Prin. Why, what a rafcall art thou then, to praife him fo for running ?

Fal. A horfebacke (ye cuckoe) but a foote hee will not

315 O] Q₁, Q₆₋₈. Owen Dering MS., Thirlby MS., O] Coll, Del, Huds. i, Sta. O, Q₂₋₅, Ff, et cet

316. Owen, Owen,] Owen Glendower, Q₇Q₈.

317 that sprightly] the sprightly Q₃. the sprightly Q₄. the sprightly Q₆Q₈ the sprightly Q₇Q₈, Ff, Rowe, Pope,

Han, Cap, Knt. ii, iv.

318 and 328. a horsebacke] o' horsebacke Cap, Var '78, et seq

320. his] a Q₃₋₈, Ff, +.

324. hath] had Warb has Johns, Var. '73.

328. a foote] on foote Q₆₋₈. afoot Rowe, et seq.

(*Remains*, ii, 192), whom the witty author thus describes: "His whole authority is like a Welsh hook; for his warrant is a puller to her, and his mittimus a thruster from her."—MALONE (ed. 1790) *Minshew, Dict*, 1617, explains a Welsh hook thus: "Armorum genus est aere in falcis modum incurvato, perticae longissimae prae fixo."—WRIGHT (ed. 1897) and ONIONS (1911) agree that the exact nature of the weapon is unknown.—COWL (ed 1914) It was customary to swear by the cross of the sword, but here Falstaff humorously makes the Welshman swear the devil on the "cross" of a weapon that is not in the shape of a cross.—N. E. D (1928): A bill-hook. G. Silver (*Paradoxes*, 1599) The Welch hooke, or Forrest bill. Cotgrave (*Riveran*, 1611): A Welsh hook, or hedging bill, made with a hooke at the end.

315. O] DYCE (ed 1857): The editor of the Dering MS [Halliwell] (Introd., p. xvii) observes: "It is easy to see that *Owen* must be the correct reading [see Textual Notes] from Falstaff's reply. The error is one easily made, initials being constantly written for Christian names. Besides, an exclamation from Poin would be out of place." On the contrary, I think that Falstaff's reply decidedly proves the old text to be correct: Poin gives the Welshman's surname, and Falstaff adds his Christian name. Nor is the 'O' to be regarded as an exclamation—it is a slight interjection very naturally used on such an occasion.

320. pistoll] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Shakespeare never has any care to preserve the manners of the time. Pistols were not known in the age of Henry. They were, in our author's time, eminently used by the Scots.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1773): Beaumont and Fletcher, in *The Humorous Lieutenant*, have equipped one of the immediate successors of Alexander the Great with a pistol.

budge a foote.

Prin. Yes lacke, vpon instinct. 330

Falst. I grant ye vpon instinct · well hee is there to,
and one Mordacke, and a thoufand blew caps more.
Worcester is stolne away to night, thy fathers beard is
turnd white with the newes, you may buy land now as
cheape as stinking Mackrel. 335

Prin. Why then, it is like if there come a hote Iune,
and this ciuill buffeting hold, we shall buy maidenheads as
they buy hob nailes, by the hundreds.

Falst. By the masse lad thou faiest true, it is like wee
shall haue good trading that way : but tell mee Hall, art 340
not thou horrible afearde ? thou being heire apparant,
could the world picke thee out three such enemies againe ?
as that fiend Dowglas, that spirit Percy, and that diuel
Glendower, art thou not horribly afraid ? doth not thy

332. *blew*] *mad* Thirlby MS.

333. *to*] *by* Q₃₋₅, Ff, +, Var. '78,
'85, Ran., Knt, Del., Sing. ii, Ktly.

335. *cheape as*] *cheap a* Sing i.

336. *Why*] Om. Q₃₋₅, Ff, +, Cap,
Varr., Ran., Knt.

is is] *us* Q₃₋₅, Ff, +, Cap.,
Varr., Ran., Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing.,
Knt., Sta., Hal. ii, Ktly.

Iune] *sun* Q₄₋₅, Ff, Rowe,
Wh. i.

338. *hundreds*] *hundred* Rowe ii,
Dyce ii, iii, Huds ii.

340. *art*] *are* F₂.

341. *not thou*] *thou not* Cap., Varr.,
Ran., Mal, Steev, Varr, Sing., Coll.,
Del, Huds, Dyce, Sta., Hal., Wh. i,
Ox., Knt. iv.

horrible] Q₁Q₂Q₄₋₅, Ff, Cam.,
Glo. *horribly* Q₃Q₇Q₈, et cet.
afearde? ... apparant,] *afeard, ...*
apparent? Knt.

342. *again?*] *again*, Q₂, et seq.

343. *spirit*] *sprite* Q₇Q₈.

344. *Glendower,*] *Glendower?* Q₂, et
seq.

thou not] *not thou* Q₃₋₅, F₁.
horribly] *horrible* Q₄₋₅, Ff.

338. *ye cuckoe*] ELTON (ed. 1889): The prince had echoed—we should say
“parroted”—the words *rascal* and *running*.

332. *Mordacke*] See I, i, 95

blew caps] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): A name of ridicule given to the Scots
for their blue bonnets.

333. *Worcester . . . to night*] See Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Hol-
inshed, III, 23.

334, 335. *buy . . . cheape*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): In former times the pros-
perity of the nation was by the value of lands, as now by the price of stocks.
Before Henry VII made it safe to serve the king regnant, it was the practise
at every revolution for the conqueror to confiscate the estates of those that op-
posed, and perhaps even of those who did not assist, him. Those, therefore,
that foresaw a change of government, and thought their estates in danger,
were desirous to sell them in haste for something that might be carried away.

bloud thril at it ?

345

Prin. Not a whit ifaith, I lacke some of thy instinct.

Falst. Well thou wilt bee horrible chidde to morrowe when thou comest to thy father, if thou loue mee practice an aunfwere.

Prin. Do thou stand for my father and examine me vpon the particulars of my life.

Falst. Shall I ? content. This chaire shall be my state, this dagger my scepter, and this cushion my crowne.

Prin. Thy state is taken for a ioynd stoole, thy golden scepter for a leaden dagger, and thy precious rich crowne for a pittifull bald crowne.

346. *ifaith*] Om Ff, Rowe, Cap. 352. *state*] *state* (clapping himself down in it Cap.
347-455.] Om. Kidderminster MS. 354-356.] Om. Johns (conj).
347. *horrible*] *horrible* Q₁₋₆, Ff 354. *ioynd stoole*] Q₁₋₄, Q₆₋₈. *ioynd*
348. *loue*] *doe loue* Q₃₋₈, Ff, +, Knt. 354. *Stole* Q₆ *Ioynd-Stoole* Ff. *ioynd*
350-455.] Omit Quin MS., and *stool* Wh, Cam. *joint-stool* Rowe, et
most subsequent Acting Versions. cet

350-455.] GENTLEMAN (Bell's ed. 1773): A scene of a mock-trial is left out here [i.e. in Bell's edition], which, though it has some merit, would be dreadfully tedious in representation, nor much desired in the closet.—DAVIES (*Dram. Misc.*, 1785): This mock-representation of an interview between the prince and his father . . . has occasionally been revived, but never produced the effect which the admirers of Shakespeare expected. It is certainly managed with great art, and larded with wit and humour; but it is not heightened with incident, nor stuffed with that jocularly which throws an audience into fits of laughter. [These quotations from intelligent 18th century critics are given to illustrate the dramatic taste of the period in which they wrote. The omission of the "mock-trial" is unthinkable to the 20th century playgoer or reader.—ED.] See, also, Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Morgan, sect. 3.

350, 351.] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): In the old play of [*The Famous Victories of*] *Henry V*, the same strain of humour is discoverable: "Thou shalt be my Lord Chief Justice, and shalt sit in the chair, and I'll be the young Prince, and hit thee a box on the ear."

352. *state*] STEEVENS (ed. 1793): A state is a chair with a canopy over it. So, in *Macbeth* [III, iv, 5]: "Our hostess keeps her state."

353. *cushion . . . crowne*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1773): Dr. Letherland, in a MS. note, observes that the country people in Warwickshire use a cushion for a crown at their harvest-home diversions; and in the play of *Edward IV* is the following passage: "Then comes a slave, one of those drunken sots In, with a tavern-reckoning for a supplication Disguised with a cushion on his head."—COWL (ed. 1914): Extempore plays [cf. II, iv, 97, 98; 257, 258.—ED.] were among the humours of tavern life in Shakespeare's day.

354-356.] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): This reply might, I think, have been better omitted. It contains only a repetition of Falstaff's mock-royalty.—FARMER

Falst. Well, and the fire of grace bee not quite out of thee nowe shalt thou be mooued. Giue me a cup of Sacke to make my eyes looke redde, that it maie bee thought I haue wept, for I must speake in passion, and I will doe it in king Cambyses vaine. 357 360

Prince. Well, here is my leg.

Falst. And here is my speech; stand aside Nobilitie

Hofst. O Iesu, this is excellent sport ifaith. (vain.

Falst. Weepe not sweet Queene, for trickling teares are 365

Hofst. O the father, how he holds his countenance?

Fal. For Gods sake Lords, conuay my trustfull Queene,

357. *Falst.*] Prin. F₂.

and] *an* T. J., Pope, et seq.

359. *my*] Q₁Q₂, Cam., Glo., Wh. u., Rlf., Tud., Ard. *mine* Q₃, et cet.

361. *king*] *Kings* F₄

After 361.] (Drinks. Cap, Dyce ii,

iii, Huds. ii, Coll. iii.

364. *O Iesu*] Om. Ff, +, Cap,

Varr, Ran, Mal, Steev., Varr, Sing., Knt., Hal ii, Ktly.

365.] As prose. Ff.

367, 368.] As prose T. J., (1721).

(Var. ed. 1773, Appendix ii, vol. x). This is an apostrophe of the prince to his absent father, not an answer to Falstaff.—RITSON (*Remarks on the Last Ed.*, 1783): Rather, a ludicrous description of Falstaff's mock regalia.

354. *state . . . stoole*] HUDSON (ed. 1880): An old form of speech, which we should invert, viz.: "a joint stool is taken for thy state, &c." . . . A joint stool was a chair with a joint in it, a folding chair [This false etymology, taken from SCHMIDT, is repeated by WRIGHT.]—N. E. D. (1901) Joint-stool A stool made by a joiner, of parts joined and fitted together, as distinguished from one of more clumsy workmanship.

355. *leaden dagger*] COWL (ed. 1930). A dagger of soft metal, derisively described as 'lead.' See *II Henry IV*, I, i, 116-118; Ford's *Love's Sacrifice*, V, i, [&c.].

360. *passion*] WHITE (ed. 1859): Not anger, but grief; the word being used in its radical sense, suffering. See also line 389

361. *king Cambyses vaine*] THEOBALD (ed. 1733): The banter here is upon a play, written in old-fashioned metre, called *A Lamentable Tragedie, Mixt full of pleasant Mirth, concerning the Life of Cambyzes King of Persia, &c.* . . . This versification was chiefly in vogue in the 14th and 15th centuries.—HANMER (ed. 1744): *Cambyses, King of Persia*, by Thomas Preston.—[JOHNSON (ed. 1765), CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779), and HALLIWELL (ed. 1859) doubt, strangely enough, whether Shakespeare is definitely burlesquing *Cambyzes* in the "play extempore." They suggest that it is merely a burlesque of old-fashioned plays in general. But see notes on lines 365, 367-368. It is true that Shakespeare turns almost immediately from his burlesque of *Cambyzes* to his more famous burlesque of Lyly's *Euphues*, lines 372 to 392.—Ed.]

362. *leg*] bow.

365, 367-368.] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): This passage is probably a burlesque on the following in Preston's *Cambyzes*: "*Queen*. These words to hear

For teares do stop the floudgates of her eyes

Hofl. O Iefu, he doth it as like one of thefe harlotrie
plaiers as euer I fee.

370

Falf. Peace good pint-pot, peace good tickle-braine.
Harrie, I doe not onelie maruaile where thou fpendeft

367. *Gods*] *heaven's* Coll MS. Hal. ii.
 trustfull] *trustfull* Dering MS, *these*] *those* Rowe ii, +.
Coll. MS, Rowe, et seq. 370. *euver I*] *I euver* Pope, Theob.,
368 *stop*] *ope* Farmer *top* Vaughan Warb., Johns, Varr, Ran., Mal,
369. *Iesu*] *rare* Ff, +, Cap, Varr, Steev., Varr, Sing, Huds. i, Hal. ii,
Ran., Mal, Steev, Varr, Sing., Knt, Ktly

makes stilling tears issue from chrystall eyes."—FARMER (Var ed. 1778, Appendix ii, vol. x) There is a marginal direction in the old play of *Cambyses*: "At this tale told, let the queen weep," which, I fancy, is alluded to, though the metre is not preserved.

367 *trustfull*] MALONE (ed 1790): The word *tristful* [see Textual Notes] is used in *Hamlet* [III, iv, 50] —COLLIER (*Notes and Emend.*, 1852) Rowe seems to have been right, as we learn from the alteration introduced into the folio of 1632 —LETTISOM (*New Readings*, 1853). As if the authority of Rowe, or of any other person, were not just as good as that of the anonymous corrector of the 1632 folio, who, by his blunders, has proven himself singularly disqualified for his task.

368.] RITSON (*Remarks on the Last Ed.*, 1783): The allusion may be to the following passage in *Soliman and Perseda*: "How can mine eyes dart forth a pleasant look, When they are stopped with floods of flowing tears?"

369. *harlotrie*] SCHMIDT (1874): Vagabond? But perhaps Mrs. Quickly meant quite another thing, as, for instance, *Herod* or *Hero* players —WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Harlotry, like whoreson, was used as a term of playful contempt, without any thought of the origin of the word.—N. E. D. (1901) Base, scurvy, worthless. *Harlot.* 2. Itinerant jester, buffoon.

371. *tickle-braine*] STEEVENS (Var. ed 1778): The name of some strong liquor. So, in *A New Trick to Cheat the Devil*, 1636 "A cup of Nipsitate brisk and neat, The drawers call it tickle-brain."—WRIGHT (ed. 1897). Falstaff may only have intended to describe the flightiness of the hostess.—N. E. D (1926): Potent liquor; hence one that uses it. [The coupling of the word with *pint-pot* would indicate that a drink was in Shakespeare's mind. Perhaps Falstaff is conscious of the double application of the word.—ED.]

372-392.] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): A ridicule on the publick oratory of the time.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): The whole speech is supremely comick.—CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): The oration . . . is in the style of the author of *Euphues*, in several parts of it; and particularly in that about the camomile.—[See FARMER (Var. ed. 1778), note on 373-376.—ED.]—LANDMANN (*Sh. and Euphuism*, 1882, p. 250): We have here that peculiar parisonic antithesis, with transverse alliteration, which forms the main ingredient of Euphuism. There is no page in *Euphues* in which we do not find that predilection for an equal number of words in collateral or antithetical sentences, well-balanced often

thy time, but also how thou art accompanied. For though the cammomill, the more it is troden on, the faster it growes . so youth the more it is waisted, the sooner it weares : that thou art my son I haue partly thy mothers worde, partlie my owne opinion, but chieflie a villainous tricke of thine eye, and a foolish hanging of thy neather 375

373. *art*] are F₄.

374. *troden on*] *trode on* Q₄ *troden* Q_{5-s}, F₁F₂ *trodden* F₃F₄, Rowe, Knt., Sing. ii, Ktly. *trodden on* Pope, et cet.

375. *so*] Q₁Q₂, Coll. *yet* Q₃, et cet.

376. *that*] Om. Q_{3-s}, Ff, +, Hal. i.

377. *owne*] Om. Q_{3-s}, Ff, Rowe, Pope, Han.

378. *thy*] *the* Q₄.

to the number of syllables, the corresponding words being pointed out by alliterative consonances or rimes. . . . In lines 373-5, we find the second characteristic of Euphuism ridiculed directly, i e. Lyly's predilection for comparisons taken from nature. . . . Lyly's book labours under an oppressing load of examples and allusions to ancient history and mythology, as well as apothegms from ancient writers. Shakespeare has very humorously ridiculed this third principal element of Euphuism by lines 384-387. . . . (p. 264): Euphuism proper Shakespeare parodied only in this passage.—SCHWAN (Rev. of Landmann, *Eng. Studien*, 1883, p. 102) adds several verbal parallels, and calls attention to Shakespeare's use of the Lylyan constructions "not only . . . but also" and "though . . . yet," and of his charming mockery of the Lylyan periodic question in lines 379-384.—BOND (*Introd. to Complete Works of Lyly*, 1902, i, 150) takes issue with Landmann and Schwan, and contends that the influence of Lyly's Euphuism is apparent in Shakespeare's prose in many other passages. He cites particularly *I Henry IV*, I, ii, 2-5, 22-37, 145-150, 166-173.

373-376. For . . . weares] FARMER (Var. ed. 1778): The style immediately ridiculed is that of Lilly in his *Euphuus* [ed. Arber, p. 46]: "Though the camomile the more it is trodden and pressed downe, the more it spreadeth, yet the violet the oftener it is handled and touched, the sooner it withereth and decayeth."—BEISLY (*Sh. Garden*, 1864, p. 96): Parkinson, in his *Kitchen Garden*, 1629, p. 477, says: "Camomile is a common herbe, well knowne, and is planted in alleys in walkes and on bankes to sit on, for that the more it is trodden on and pressed down in dry weather the closer it groweth and the better it will thrive."

375. *so*] COLLIER (ed. 1842): The folios read *yet*, and thus spoil in some degree the non-appropriateness of the simile, in which the joke may be said to consist. Malone and the modern editors adopt *yet*—DYCE (*Remarks on Collier's Ed.*, 1844): Few things in Mr. Collier's *Shakespeare* have struck me with such astonishment as this. Malone and the modern editors followed the folios because *though* in the preceding part of the sentence proved that *yet* must be the right reading; because Farmer had shewn that the style immediately ridiculed is that of *Euphuus*, where we find *though . . . yet*; and because they never imagined that the acute Falstaff, even when fooling, would blunder like the addle-pated Dogberry.

lippe, that dooth warrant me. If then thou bee fonne to mee, heere lies the poynt, why beeing fonne to me, art thou fo pointed at ? shal the bleffed funne of heauen proue a micher, and eat black-berries ? a queſtion not to be aſkt. Shall the fonne of England proue a theefe, and take purfes ? a queſtion to be aſkt. There is a thing Harry, which thou haſt often heard of, and it is knowne to many in our land by the name of pitch. This pitch (as ancient writers do report) doth defile, fo doth the companie thou keepest : for Harrie, now I do not ſpeake to thee in drinke,

380 *hes*] *heth* Q₃₋₈, Ff, +, Knt II, iv, Sta, Ktly.

381. *sunne*] *sonne* Q₂₋₈, F₁. *Son* F₄, Rowe i, Pope, Theob. i, Mal. (conj), Vaughan.

388 *Harrie, now*] Q₁ (Dev-Hunt. copy) *Harrie now*, Q₁ (Brit. Mus. and Trin. Coll Camb copies).
I do] *do I* Pope, +.

378, 379 *tricke . . . lippe*] CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p. 407): Several indications of the conduct, looks, and gestures of characters are to be found in Shakespeare's plays.

foolish . . . lippe] COWL (ed. 1914). A hanging lip was considered to be a point of beauty and a sign of wantonness. See John Day, *Law Tricks*, III, i: "Mark but the glance of his eye, the hanging of his nether lip; the blush of his cheek; the curl of his haire, the pit of his chin, long fingers like a lady; &c" . . . R. Brome, *The Queen's Exchange*, II, i: "the hanging of the nether lip, which the best Physiognomists do tell us shows women apt to lust and strong incontinence." *Foolish*=wanton, as in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster*, IV, i: "A foolish twinkling with the eye"

382 *micher . . . black-berries*] POPE (ed. 1723): A micher is a truant; to miche is to lurk out of sight: a hedge-creeper.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): The allusion is to a truant boy, who, unwilling to go to school, and to go home, lurks in the fields and picks wild fruits.—DYCE (*Remarks on Collier's Ed.*, 1844). In Akerman's *Glossary of Provincial Words . . . in Wiltshire* we find: "Moocher. A truant. 'a blackberry moucher'—a boy who plays truant to pick black-berries"—CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p. 623): Micher is a Warwickshire word for truant.—SALMON (*T.L.S.*, Oct. 28, 1926): In Elizabethan English *mich* is employed in the sense of shrinking from view, . . . playing truant. . . . It is curious that *mich* and *blackberries* are still associated in Pembrokeshire. . . . While truancy prevailed, the ninety and nine just pupils, when they saw a truant, used to sing: "Micher, micher, blackberry-hunter, Miching by the river-side."

386, 387. *pitch . . . defile*] HOLT WHITE (Var. ed. 1803): Referring perhaps to Lyly's *Euphues* [ed. Arber, p. 111]: "He that toucheth pitch shall be defiled."—HARRIS (Var. ed. 1803): The quotation is from the apocryphal *Book of Ecclesiasticus*, xiii, 1.—ANDERS (*Sh. Books*, 1904, p. 203): This saying of Jesus, son of Sirach, . . . had no doubt come to be a common proverb. Shakespeare refers to it in five other plays.

but in teares ; not in pleafure but in paffion : not in words
onely, but in woes alfo : and yet there is a vertuous man, 390
whom I haue often noted in thy companie, but I know not
his name.

Prin. What maner of man and it like your Maieftie ?

Fal. A goodly portly man ifayth, and a corpulent, of a
cheerful looke, a pleafing eie, and a moft noble cariage, and 395
as I thinke his age fome fiftie, or birladie inclining to
threefcore, and nowe I remember me, his name is *Falftalffe*,
if that man fhoulde bee lewdly giuen, hee deceiue me.
For Harry, I fee vertue in his lookes : if then the tree may
bee knowne by the fruit, as the fruit by the tree, then 400
peremptorily I fpeake it, there is vertue in that *Falftalffe*,
him keepe with, the reft banifh, and tell me now thou
naughtie varlet, tell me where haft thou beene this
month ?

Prin. Dof thou fpeake like a king, do thou ftand for 405
me, and ile play my father.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 393. <i>and</i>] <i>an</i> T J., Pope, et seq. | Johns., Knt ii, iv. |
| 394. <i>goodly</i>] <i>good</i> Mal., Steev.,
Varr., Sing. i, Knt.
<i>and a</i>] <i>and</i> F ₂ F ₄ , Rowe. | 399, 400. <i>tree...fruit. fruit...tree</i>
<i>fruit...tree...tree...fruit</i> Han., Warb.,
Johns., Var. '73, '78, '85. |
| 396. <i>birladie</i>] <i>byrlady</i> F ₄ , et seq. | 402. <i>with</i>] <i>with thee</i> Thirby MS.,
Ktly. |
| 397. <i>Falstalffe</i> ,] <i>Falstallfe</i> : Q ₂ , et
seq. | 403. <i>hast thou</i>] <i>thou hast</i> Var. '85. |
| 398. <i>deceiue</i>] <i>deceiues</i> Q ₂₋₈ , Ff,
Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han., Warb., | 405. <i>king</i> ,] <i>king?</i> Q ₂ , et seq. <i>king?</i>
(plucking him out of his Chair. Cap. |

394. *portly*] SCHMIDT (1874): Good-looking, of stately appearance, imposing.
399, 400. *tree . . . tree*] HEATH (*Revisal*, 1765, p. 251): Sir Thomas Hanmer,
who is followed by Mr. Warburton [see Textual Notes], hath, for want of duly
attending to the context, given us the very reverse of the true reading. The
"king" is made to say, "I see virtue in his looks, therefore I conclude there is
virtue in the man" Virtue is the fruit; the man, the tree; consequently the
old reading must be right.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): I am afraid here is a
prophane allusion to the 33rd verse of the 12th chapter of St. Matthew.—
RITSON (*Remarks on the Last Ed.*, 1783): Alas! and if the allusion were inten-
tional, where is its profaneness?—COWL (ed. 1914): Quoted by Lyly, *Euphues*
[ed. Arber, p. 111].

401. *peremptorily*] SCHMIDT (1874): Positively.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): John-
son in his *Dictionary* quotes an example from Bacon's *Advertisement touching a*
Holy War (*Works*, ed. Ellis, vii, 25): "This I speak . . . only to desire Pollio
and Eupolis not to speak peremptorily or conclusively . . . till they have
heard me."

Fal. Depose me, if thou dost it halfe so grauely, fo
maiestically, both in word and matter, hang me vp by the
heelles for a rabbet fucker, or a poulters Hare

Prin. Well, here I am fet. 407

Fal. And here I stand, iudge my maisters.

Prin. Now Harry, whence come you ?

Fal. My noble Lord from Eastcheape.

Prin. The complaints I heare of thee are greeuous.

Fal. Zbloud my Lord they are false nay ile tickle ye 415
for a yong prince I faith.

Prin. Swearest thou vngratious boy, hence forth nere
looke on me, thou art violently carried awaie from grace,
there is a diuell haunts thee in the likenesse of an olde fat
man, a tun of man is thy companion why dost thou 420
conuerse with that trunke of humours, that boultinghutch

407. *me*,] Q₁Q₂, Q₅₋₈. *me*; Q₃Q₄. *me*:

Ff *me*! Rowe, Coll., Ktly., Huds. 11.

me Pope, Johns *me*? Theob., et cet.

408 *matter*] *manner* Cap. (conj.).

409. *poulters*] *poulterer's* Rowe,
T. J. (1710), Pope, +, Cap.

410 *here*] *there* T. J. (1721).

set.] *set.* (They change places.
Coll. 1, ii.

415. *Zbloud*] *Yfaith* Ff, Rowe.
'*Sblood* Pope, et seq.

ye] *thee* Var., Coll. i, ii, Del

416 *I faith*] Om Ff, Rowe, Pope,

Theob., Han., Warb., Johns

417. *boy*,] *boy*? Q₂, et seq

419. *there is*] *there's* F₄, Rowe,
Pope, Theob., Han., Warb., Johns

an olde fat] Q₁₋₄, Cam., Glo.,

Dyce ii, iii, Huds. 11, Wh ii, Tud,
Ard *a fat old* Q₅₋₈, Ff, et cet.

421. *trunke*] *kulke* Coll. MS

409. *rabbet sucker*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): I suppose, a sucking rabbit. The
jest is in comparing himself to something thin and little—STEEVENS (Var.
ed. 1773). Dr. Johnson is right; for in the account of a serjeant's feast by Dug-
dale in his *Orig. Judic.*, one article is a dozen of rabbit-suckers . . . Cf.
Lyly's *Endimion*: "I prefer an old coney to a rabbit-sucker."—ELTON (ed.
1889): Either a sucking rabbit or a weasel that sucks rabbits.—N. E. D.
(1914): A sucking rabbit.

poulters Hare] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): A painted hare, shaped on a
board, used by poulterers for a sign—HEATH (*Reversal*, 1765). Why not a real
hare hung up by the heels for sale?—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): A hare hung up by
the hind legs, without a skin, is long and slender.

415, 416. *may . . . faith*] COWL (ed. 1914): "Nay, I'll divert you in the rôle
of a young prince." Spoken, as an aside, to the audience [or to the prince?—
ED.]

417. *vngratious*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Graceless, profane. . . . The folios
removed the profanity [from line 415] by substituting "I'faith" for "'Sblood,"
and so made the rebuke pointless.

421. *trunke of humours*] SCHMIDT (1874): Chest of caprices.

boultinghutch] ELTON (ed. 1889): Sifting bin; cf. III, iii, 67.

of beaſtlineffe, that ſwolne parcell of dropſies, that huge 422
 bombard of ſacke, that ſtuft cloakebag of guts, that roſted
 Manningtrey Oxe with the pudding in his belly, that reuer-
 ent vice, that gray iniquity, that father ruffian, that vanity 425
 in yeares, wherein is he good, but to taſt ſacke and drinke it ?
 wherein neat and clenly, but to carue a capon and eat it ?
 wherein cunning, but in craft ? wherein crafty, but in
 villany ? wherein villanous, but in al things ? wherein
 worthy, but in nothing ? 430

424. *pudding*] *Puddings* F₂₋₄, Rowe. 426 *yeares*,] *yeeres*? Q₂Q₇Q₈, F₁₋₃,
 424, 425 *reuerent*] *reuerend* Ff, et Pope, et seq *yeares*. Q₆Q₈. *years*;
 seq. Rowe.

423. *bombard*] STEEVENS (ed. 1793): Barrel. So, in *The Tempest* [II, ii, 21] "Like a fowl bombard that would shed his liquor."—SINGER (ed. 1826): A large leathern vessel to hold drink, perhaps so called from its similarity to a short cannon of the same name. That it was not a barrel . . . is evident from the following passage: "His boots as wide as the black jacks, Or bombards toss'd by the king's guards." (Shirley. *Martyred Soldier*)—HALLIWELL (ed. 1859) presents an engraving of a leathern bombard, and quotes from Heywood's *Philocothonista*, 1635, p. 45 ". . . the great black jacks and bombards of the court, which when the Frenchmen first saw, they reported that the English used to drinke out of their bootes."

424-426.] GATCH (*Sh. Allusions to Older Drama, Phil Quar*, 1928): These phrases are all weighted with dramatic associations [see note on II, iv, 121]. *Vanity* recalls the abstractions of the Morality Plays, *Iniquity* is the name of the Vice in *King Darius* and in *Nice Wanton*. Even the Manningtrey ox was probably associated in Shakespeare's mind with the business of Morality Plays, for at Manningtrey the old plays were still being enacted.

424 *Manningtrey Oxe*] STEEVENS (1773) and CAPELL (1779) assume that this is an allusion to something of contemporary interest; and STEEVENS (*Suppl. to Var.* '78, 1780) has discovered that the inhabitants of Manningtrey were noted for their intemperance.—MALONE (*Ibid.*, 1780) cites Heywood's *Apologie for Actors*, 1612, to show that Manningtrey enjoyed the privilege of fairs by exhibiting a number of stage-plays yearly; and adds that at these seasons of festivity it was customary to roast an ox whole. [See also Gatch, note *supra*]

425. *vice, iniquity*] UPTON (*Crit. Observ.*, 1746) was the first to recognize the allusions to Morality Plays. He cites *Richard III* [III, i, 82]: "Thus, like the formal Vice, Iniquity, I moralize two meanings in one word." [See also Gatch, *supra*.]—COWL (ed. 1914): The reference to the Vice may have been suggested by the mention of Manningtrey, so famous for its stageplays.

427. *clenly*] N. E. D. (1893): *Clean*. 5. Of actions: neatly executed, deft.

428. *cunning*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Not yet debased to a bad meaning, *cunning* signified knowing or skilful.

Fal. I would your grace would take me with you,
whome meanes your grace ? 432

Prin. That villanous abhominable misleader of youth,
Falstafle, that olde white bearded Sathan.

Fal. My Lord, the man I know. 435

Prin. I know thou doest.

Fal. But to say I knowe more harme in him then in
my selfe, were to say more then I know : that he is olde the
more the pittie, his white haire doe witnesse it, but that
he is fauing your reuerence, a whoremaster, that I vtterlie 440
denie · if facke and fugar be a fault, God helpe the
wicked ; if to be olde and merry be a sin, then many an
old host that I know is damnd · if to be fat be to be hated,
then Pharaos lane kine are to be loued No my good lord
banish Peto, banish Bardoll, banish Paines, but for sweet 445
Iacke Falstafle, kinde Iacke Falstafle, true Iacke Falstafle,
valiant Iacke Falstafle, & therfore more valiant being as
he is old Iacke Falstafle, banish not him thy Harries companie,
banish not him thy Harries companie, banish
plumpe Iacke, and banish all the world. 450

Prin. I do, I will. *Enter Bardoll running.*

432. *whome*] *What* Rowe i.

434. *Falstafle*] *that Falstaff* Ktly.

439. *more the*] *more's the* F₃F₄,
Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han, Warb.

440. *sauing your reuerence*] Set off
with commas or parentheses Q₃, et
seq.

441. *God*] *Heauen* Ff, Rowe, Knt.

442, 443. *an old host*] *an old Oast*
Q₇Q₈. *an Hoste* F₃. *a Host* F₄,
Rowe.

443. *be to be*] *to be* F₃F₄.

444. *lane*] *leane* Q₃, et seq.

447. (A great knocking heard: Exeunt Hostess and Drawer; Bardolph follows.) Cap

449. *banish...companie*] Om. Pope,
+, Sing. i, Huds i, Del., Dyce ii
(conj), Ktly

451. *Enter*] Knocking, and Hostess
goes out. Enter Theob., Han, Warb.
Johns Re-enter Cap. Knocking;
and Hostess and Bardolph go out.
Re-enter Varr., Ran A knocking
heard Exeunt Hostess, Francis and
Bardolph. Re-enter Mal., Steev.,
Varr, Sing., Knt., Del, Dyce, Sta.,
Hal, Cam, Glo., Ktly., Huds. ii,
Wh. ii, Rlf., Tud., Ox, Ard. A
knocking heard. Exeunt Hostess
and Bardolph. Re-enter Coll., Huds.
i, Wh. i.

431. *take . . . you*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Go no faster than I can follow you;
let me know your meaning.

444. *Pharaos lane kine*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): For *Pharaoh's lean kine*, see
Genesis xli, 19-21.

449. *banish . . . companie*] KINNEAR (*Cruces Sh*, 1883): Dyce observes, Was
not Pope right in banishing this as an accidental repetition? But compare
IV, ii, 61-63: "food for powder, food for powder, . . . mortal men, mortal
men"; and V, iii, 52: "'tis hot, 'tis hot."

Bar. O my Lord, my Lord, the Sheriffe with a most monst'rous watch is at the doore. 452

Falst. Out ye rogue, play out the play, I haue much to say in the behalfe of that Falstafle. 455

Enter the hostesse.

Host. O Iesu, my Lord, my Lord !

Prin Heigh, heigh, the Deuil rides vpon a fiddle sticke, whats the matter ?

Host. The Sheriffe and al the watch are at the doore, they are come to searcho the house, shall I let them in ? 460

Falst. Doeſt thou heare Hal ? neuer call a true piece of golde a counterfet, thou art essentially made without seeming fo 463

452 *Sheriffe*] Shrieſe Q₅Q₇Q₈
most] most most F₁, Knt ii, iv.

454. ye] Q₁, Cam, Glo, Dyce ii,
iii, Huds. ii, Wh. ii, Rlf., Tud., Ox.,
Ard. you Q₂, et cet.

455 the] Om Theob. ii, -iv, Warb.,
Johns, Var. '73.

After 455. Enter] Re-enter Theob.,
et seq.

hostesse] hostess, hastily.
Cap., Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt.,

Huds, Dyce, Sta., Hal, Wh. i, Ktly,
Coll iii.

456 *Iesu*] Om Ff, +, Varr, Ran.,
Knt., Sing ii, Ktly.

457 Prin.] Fal Q₄-8, Dering MS.,
Ff, +, Varr, Ran, Mal, Steev.,
Var. '03, '13, Sing., Knt, Huds., Sta.,
Dyce ii (conj.), Hal. ii, Ktly.

462. thou] if thou dost, thou Cap.
made] Q₁-8, F₁F₂, Ard. mad
F₃, F₄, et cet.

452, et seq. *Sheriffe*] WALKER (*Sh. Vers.*, 1854, p 187) cites *II Henry IV*, IV, iv, 99, "Are by the sheriff of Yorkshire overthrown," to show that *sheriff* is commonly a monosyllable. Its pronunciation as a monosyllable here is specially worthy of notice as it emphasizes the fact that some of the prose of this passage is certainly fossilized verse. We may, for example, arrange lines 448-453 as five lines of blank verse, viz.—"Banish . . . companie, / Banish . . . companie, / Banish . . . world / *Prin* I do. I will. *Bar.* O . . . Sheriffe / With . . . doore." And lines 459-460: "*Host.* The . . . doore, / They . . . in." [Lines 474 and 475 are metrically more smooth if *Sheriffe* is there pronounced as a monosyllable.—ED.]

454, 455.] LLOYD (*Essays on Sh*, 1858): Readers make a sad mistake who, like Prince Hal, enjoy the humour of a character which they are unable to fathom and take him for a coward. Whatever else Falstaff may be, he is always indifferent and self-possessed, whether attacking travellers with the full gusto of frolic, or preoccupied with his play extempore and struggling to finish it amidst the interrupting announcements of the sheriff and a monstrous watch at the door.

457, 458. Deuil . . . sticke] COWL (ed. 1914): A proverbial expression signifying that there is some great commotion afoot, and that the cause must be something extraordinary, for instance, the devil flying on a fiddlestick.

461-463. neuer . . . so] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779) finds the unemended text un-

[461-463. neuer . . . so]

intelligible, and explains the passage, as emended by himself, as follows The speaker means to insinuate that he was the true piece of gold, the thing of value that a man should not part with, and advises the prince not to call it a counterfeit, that is, not to throw it away, as he would do by giving him up to the sheriff this if he should do, he would indeed be *mad*—MALONE (ed. 1790) Perhaps Falstaff means to say,—We must now look to ourselves, never call that which is real danger, fictitious or imaginary. If you do, you are a mad-man without seeming so. Should you admit the sheriff, you would deserve that appellation The first words, however, "Never call &c." may allude not to real or imaginary danger, but to the subsequent words only, *essential* and *seeming* madness—HUDSON (ed. 1880) Mr Joseph Crosby has written me an explanation which I think, fits the case all round The meaning is, "You are essentially, really, truly, a madcap, and are not merely putting on the semblance or acting the part of one it is a matter of character, not of imitation, with you, and to say that you have assumed the role of a make-sport for the fun and humour of it, is like calling a true piece of gold a counterfeit" So that here, as in other places, *seeming* has the sense of simulation or counterfeit, and *without* the sense of over and above, beyond, besides. In the mock-play just ended, the prince seeks to lay the blame for his spree upon . . . Falstaff. Falstaff is, of course, unwilling that any such idea of himself should be carried to the king. And when the game is interrupted by the arrival of the sheriff, Sir John wants to play out the play and have the prince practice a very different answer for his father—ELTON (ed. 1889) "You are really mad, though not seeming so I am really gold, though you call me a counterfeit (ie a counterfeit prince)" The meaning is obscure, it is only a flying quibble.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897) and many others incline to Malone's first suggestion.—COWL (ed. 1914) A difficult passage that has never been satisfactorily explained. Falstaff may mean: "Do not deliver me to the sheriff as a thief, I am a true man (a true piece of gold) though I may appear as a false thief (counterfeit), thou too art made of the same essence or nature (of true metal) without seeming so" The prince, however, may be the true piece of gold: "You will prove to be true in your friendship (a true piece of gold), you will not play me false for you are by nature true gold (essentially made) though you seem a counterfeit" . . . The word "natural" in the prince's reply seems to require "naturally" as the meaning of "essentially." "Essentially" is opposed to "fainedly" in Overbury's *Characters, An Excellent Actor*: "What he doth fainedly, others do essentially."—IBID. (*Notes on Henry IV*, 1927, p. 15): "Essentially made" and "natural" are expressions borrowed from the technical vocabulary of the more philosophical writers on alchemy. Thus Thos. Vaughan (1621-1665) . . . wrote concerning the creation and transmutation of metals (*Lumen de Lumine*, 1651): "To create, and to transmute essentially, and naturally or without violence, is the only proper office of the first power, the first wisdom, and the first love. Without this love the elements will never . . . inwardly and essentially unite." [Malone's first suggestion has the appeal of simplicity, but it perhaps does not take sufficiently into account the typical Shakespearean contrast between truth and "seeming." Cowl's explanation of the generally rejected reading of Q₁ is subtle and ingenious, per-

Prin. And thou a naturall coward without instinct.

Falst. I deny your Maior, if you wil deny the Sheriffe 465
fo, if not, let him enter. If I become not a Cart as well
as another man, a plague on my bringing vp, I hope I
shall as soone bee strangled with a halter as another.

Prin. Go hide thee behind the Arras, the rest walke vp 469

464. *thou*] *thou art* Q₃.

465. *Maior*,] Q₁₋₄ *Maior*; Q₅₋₈,
Ff, et seq.

Sheriffe] *Sherife*, Q₃, et seq.

466. *so*,] *so*: Ff, et seq.

467 *vp*,] *vp* Q₂₋₈, Ff, +. *up*!
Cap., et seq.

469. *vp*] Om Rowe, Pope, Han.

haps too subtle to be possible as the interpretation of lines in a stage-play. A literal, and certain, interpretation is obviously impossible. The reader should remember that the talk about counterfeiting and seeming follows hard upon the episode of the play extempore, in which Falstaff has counterfeited King and Prince. I do not feel that Cowl has made his case for the Quarto reading *made*. Hal's reply, which Cowl quotes, is more appropriate in answer to "mad": "Thou art a natural madman," says Falstaff, "and thou, a natural coward," replies the prince. Dr J. Q. ADAMS suggests that Falstaff is still acting his rôle in the play extempore after the momentary interruption at line 451. The "Dost thou hear, Hal," he takes as an effort to recall Hal's attention to the play—ED.]

465. *deny your Maior*] RITSON (*Remarks on the Last Ed*, 1783): Falstaff here intends a quibble, *major*, which *sheriff* brought to his mind, signifies as well one of the logical parts of a proposition as the principal officer of a corporation, now called a *mayor*.—MALONE (ed. 1790): To render this probable, it should be proved that the mayor of a corporation was called a *major*. That he was not so called at an earlier time than Shakespeare's appears from . . . *The History of King Edward V*, 1543, where we find the old spelling was *maire* (Hardyng's *Chronicle*, fol. 307b)—RITSON (*Cursory Crit.*, 1792). The proof required can be necessary only to one who has everywhere betrayed the profoundest ignorance of his authour's language. . . . The identical pronunciation in question happens to be preserved in *I Henry VI*, as printed in the folio of 1623 [I, iii, 85]: "Major, farewell. thou dost but what thou may'st."—HARDIN CRAIG (*Sh. and Formal Logic*, 1929, p. 385): Falstaff denies the major premise. One might construct the syllogism in the first figure (Mood Darii) somewhat as follows: *Major premise*: Natural cowards are cowards without instinct. *Minor premise*: Falstaff is a natural coward. *Conclusion*: Falstaff is a coward without instinct. In this syllogism, however, it is not the major that Falstaff denies, but the minor. The obvious explanation is that Falstaff is more anxious to make a pun on the word *major*, which might mean *mayor* or *officer*, than he is to describe the syllogism. . . . He does actually deny the major term of the syllogism, i e. "a coward without instinct."

466. *become . . . Cart*] COWL (ed. 1914): Am not a credit to the cart which will carry us to execution at Tyburn.

469, 470. *Arras, above*] [The arras between the outer and inner stage in the Elizabethan playhouse. *Above*, i. e., on the balcony of the stage.—ED.]

For *I* my felfe at this time haue emloyd him
 And Sheriffe, *I* will ingage my word to thee,
 That *I* will by to morrow dinner time 485
 Send him to anfwere thee or any man,
 For any thing he shall be charg'd withal,
 And so let me intreat you leaue the house.

Sher. I will my Lord · there are two gentlemen
 Haue in this robbery loft 300. markes. 490

Prin. It may be so · if he haue robd these men
 He shall be anfwerable, and so farewell.

She. God night my noble Lord.

Prin. I thinke it is god morrow is it not ?

She Indeed my Lord I thinke it be two a clocke. *Exit* 495

Prin. This oylie rascall is knowne as well as Poules ·
 goe call him forth.

Peto. Falstalfie : fast asleepe behind the Arras, and 498

484. *I will*] *I* Pope, +, Varr, Ran
 171 T. J. (1721), Dyce ii, iii, Huds. ii.
 490. 300] 3000. Qs.

494. *it is*] *it be* Var. '73.

495. *thinke it*] *think't* Dyce ii, iii,
 Huds ii.

be] *is* Q. Qs.

a] *o'* Theob., Warb., et seq.

Exit] *Exeunt* Sheriff and Car-
 rier. Han., Cap., Mal., et seq.

496, 497] As verse, lines ending
Poules/forth. Pope, et seq, except Hal

496. *Poules*] *Pauls* F4, et seq.
Paul's (Re-enter Peto Cap.

498, 503, 518, 519 Peto] Pains
 Dering MS., Johns (conj), Varr.,
 Ran., Mal, Steev., Varr., Sing, Knt.
 i, ii, iv, Dyce, Hal, Wh, Ktly.,
 Huds ii, Coll. iii.

498 *Falstalfie*] *Falstalfie?* Q2-s,
 Ff, Rowe, Theob. i *Falstalf*,—
 Theob ii-iv, Warb., Johns *Falstalf*!
 Han. *Falstalf*! (calling, and lifting
 the arras Coll. iii. *Falstalf*!— Cap.,
 et cet.

495. *be*] ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram*, 1870, p. 211): *Be* expresses more doubt than
is after a verb of thinking [See note on II, i, 13.—ED]

496. *Poules*] SINGER (ed. 1826): St. Paul's Cathedral.

498 Peto] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): The scenery here is somewhat perplexed.
 When the sheriff came, the whole gang retired and Falstaff was hidden. As
 soon as the sheriff is sent away the prince orders Falstaff to be called, by whom?
 by Peto. But why had not Peto gone upstairs with the rest? And if he had,
 why did the rest not come down with him? The conversation that follows,
 between the prince and Peto, seems to be apart from the rest. I cannot but
 suspect that for *Peto* we should read *Poins*: what had Peto done that his
 "place should be honourable" [line 514]? Or that he should be trusted with
 the plot against Falstaff? Poins has the prince's confidence, and is a man of
 courage. This alteration clears the whole difficulty,—they all retire but Poins,
 who, with the prince, having robbed only the robbers, has no need to conceal
 himself from the travellers. We may therefore boldly change the scenical
 direction [cf. Textual Notes on line 498].—COLLIER (ed. 1842) argues in favor

fnorting like a horfe

Prin. Harke how hard he fetches breath, fearch his 500
pockets.

He searcheth his pocket, and findeth certaine papers.

Pr. What hast thou found ?

Pet. Nothing but papers my Lord.

Prin. Lets see what they be, read them.

Item a capon. 2.s,ii,d. 505

Item fawce. iiij,d.

Item sacke two gallons. v.s,vij,d. 507

500 *breath*] *his breath* F₃F₄, Rowe,
Pope, Han

After 501. He papers] Peto
searches Cap., Knt. iii, Coll i, ii,
Huds. i, Del Poin's searches. Mal.,
Steev, Varr., Sing., Knt. i, ii, iv,
Dyce, Hal, Wh. i, Ktly., Huds ii,
Coll iii.

searcheth] searches Rowe ii,
+, Varr.

pocket] pockets Q₄-s, Ff, +,
Varr., Ran., Sta., Cam, Glo, Wh ii,
Tud, Ox, Ard.

findeth] finds Rowe ii, +,
Varr.

502 *Pr.*] Om. Han., Cap., Varr.,

Ran, et seq.

504 *they be,*] *they be* Q₂Q₃, Cap, et
cet. *be they* Q₄-s, Knt, Sing ii,
Wh i, Ktly *be they?* Ff, +, Wh. ii.

505 *Item*] Peto. *Item* Ff, Rowe,
Pope, Theob, Han, Warb., Johns,
Knt. iii, Coll i, Huds, Del, Sta., Ox.
Poin. *Item* Johns. (conj.), Varr.,
Ran, Mal., Steev., Varr, Sing, Knt.
i, ii, iv, Wh i, Hal ii, Ktly Peto.
(reads) *Item* Cap, Coll. MS, Coll ii,
Cam., Glo, Rlf., Tud, Ard. Poin
(reads) *Item* Dyce, Hal i, Huds ii,
Wh. ii, Coll iii.

2 s.] 255, T J. (1721).

507. *vij,d*] *vi d* Q₂Q₃ 4d. Rowe i.

of retaining *Peto*, on the ground that his name appears not only in speech-headings but is spoken by the prince in line 518. [Cf. note on III, iii, 186, *Peto*; and note that Poin's name fits the metre in both passages, whereas *Peto*'s does not.—ED.]

asleepe] HURDIS (*Cursory Remarks*, 1792). It is not likely that a man who runs behind the curtain for fear will fall asleep there. The effect of terror is vigilance. This, therefore, and the two foolish scenes [II, iv, 34-70, and III, i, 189-263] make me imagine that this play [was an early production of Shakespeare's]. [But what if Falstaff retired behind the arras, not in "terror" but in prudence? If his sleep is unfeigned, it is a good argument for his lack of "instinctive cowardice." But the sequel of this episode, in III, iii, may be taken to indicate that this sleep is not authentic!—ED.]

505-509. HAZLITT (*Characters of Sh. Plays*, 1817). Such is Falstaff's deliberate exaggeration of his own vices that it does not seem quite certain whether the account of his hostess's bill, found in his pocket, with such an out-of-the-way charge for capons and sack with only one halfpennyworth of bread, was not put there by himself as a trick to humour the jest upon his favorite propensities, and as a conscious caricature of himself.

507. *sacke*] MALONE (ed. 1790): It appears from Peacham's *Worth of a Penny* that sack was, not many years after Shakespeare's death, about two

Item anchaues and facke after fupper. 2,s,vj,d.

Item bread. ob.

O monstrous ! but one halfepeniworth of bread to this 510
intollerable deale of fack ? what there is elfe keepe clofe,
weel read it at more aduantage ; there let him sleepe till
day, ile to the court in the morning We muft all to the
wars, and thy place fhall be honorable He procure this
fat rogue a charge of foot, and I know his death will bee a 515
march of twelue skore, the money fhall bee paid backe
again with aduantage ; bee with me betimes in the morn-
ing, and fo good morrow Peto.

Peto Good morrow good my Lord. Exeunt 519

508. *anchaues*] *Anchovies* Theob. Varr, Sing i, Knt. i, ii, iv, Hal. ii.
iv, Cap., Han. ii, Var. '73, et seq. *a halfpenny. Ob* Knt. iii.
vj] *vi* Q7Q8. 510. O] Prince. O Ff, et seq.
509. *ob.*] *a halfpenny* Rowe ii, +, 516 *march*] *match* Q4,7, F1F2, Sing.
Cap., Varr., Ran, Mal., Steev., ii, Ktly.
517. *aduantage*] *aduantage?* Q6.

shillings a quart. . . . Perhaps Shakespeare set down the prices at random. He has, however, as a learned friend informs me, fallen into an anachronism in furnishing his tavern with sack in the time of Henry IV. "The vintners sold no other sacks, muscadels, . . . nor any other wines but white or claret till the 33rd year of Henry VIII, 1543. . . . All these sweet wines were sold till that time at the Apothecary's for no other use but for medicines." Taylor's *Life of Thos. Parr*, 1635. For this information I am indebted to the Reverend Doctor Stock. [It is apparently impossible for the learned doctor to imagine Mistress Quickly in the role of bootlegger.—ED.]—MALONE (ed. Steevens, 1793): I have learned from a passage in Florio's *First Fruits*, 1578, that sack was at that time but sixpence a quart. . . . Twenty years later it had probably risen to eightpence a quart, so that our author's computation is very exact.

508. *anchaues*] COWL (ed. 1914): Anchovies were eaten to provoke thirst. Burton, *Anat. of Mel.* (i, 2, 2, 5) and Wilkins, *Miseries of Enforced Marriage* (ed. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix, 523).

509. *ob.*] CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p. 66): The abbreviated form of obolus, the Greek word for a small coin; which abbreviation was used in Shakespeare's time . . . for a halfpenny.—COWL (ed. 1914). From an entry in *The Particular Book of Trinity College* it appears that in 1609 each Fellow of the College was allowed "in bread every meal an ob." (Mahaffey, *An Epoch in Irish History*, p. 153.)

512. *aduantage*] SCHMIDT (1874): Favorable opportunity.

514, 515 He . . . foot] GENTLEMAN (*Dram. Cens.*, 1770): A strange intention, because however flighty the prince might be in his general conduct we cannot suppose that in so serious and critical an affair as civil war he would put a proved poltroon, a known scoundrel, into commission: but the author has found it necessary, so without scruple or apology, he has sacrificed royal pru-

[*Actus Tertius. Scena Prima.*]

*Enter Hotspur, Worcester, Lord Mortimer,
Owen Glendower.*

Mor. These promises are faire, the parties sure,
And our induction full of prosperous hope.

2

Actus . Prima.] Ff. Om Qq. Act III. SCENE I. Rowe. Act III. SCENE I. Wales Pope. Act III. Scene, the Archdeacon of Bangor's House in Wales. Theob Act III. SCENE I. The Archdeacon of Bangor's House in Wales Han, Warb, Johns., Varr, Ran Act III SCENE I. Bangor. A Room in the Archdeacon's House a Table, with Chairs about it. Cap Act III. SCENE I. Bangor. A Room in the Archdeacon's House [or Bangor. The Archdeacon's House] Mal et seq. Hotspur, Worcester] Worcester, Hot-spur, Cap. Lord] Om Cap, Mal, et seq. Mortimer] Motimer Q₂ Owen Glendower] and Owen Glendower. Rowe, +, Varr, Ran and Glendower. Cap, Mal, et seq 2] Line missing in Devonshire-Huntington and Brit Mus. copies of Q₁. 2 prosperous] prosp'rous Pope, Theob, Warb., Johns

dence and decorum to the preservation and enlargement of his favorite character. [But how if neither Shakespeare nor the prince regarded Falstaff as poltroon or scoundrel? See Appendix: Characters: Falstaff—Maurice Morgann.—ED]

515. charge of foot] SCHMIDT (1874). Command of infantry.

515, 516 death . . . skore] POPE (ed. 1723): It will kill him to march so far as twelve-score foot —JOHNSON (ed 1765) Twelvescore yards.—MASON (*Comments on Last Ed.*, 1785): The prince quibbles on *foot* [*charge of foot*, line 515] . . . I cannot conceive why Dr. Johnson thought he meant *yards*, he might as well have extended it to *miles*.—MALONE (ed. 1790) Dr. Johnson supposed . . . *yards*, because that was the common phraseology of the day When archers talked of sending a shaft fourteen score, they meant fourteen score yards. So, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* [III, ii, 27]: "This boy will carry a letter twenty miles as easily as a cannon will shoot point blank twelve score." See also *II Henry IV*, III, ii, 43. I have therefore great doubts whether the equivocal pointed out by Mr. Mason was intended.

III, i.] GENTLEMAN (*Int. to Bell's ed.*, 1773) defends the omission of this scene: Shakespeare wrote, to begin his third act, a strange, unmeaning, wild scene between Hotspur, Glendower, &c., which is properly rejected.—MRS. GRIFFITH (*Morality of Sh.*, 1775): In this truly comic scene, which may be rather stiled so because there is no buffoonery in it, and which I therefore think preferable even to the humour of Falstaff, the vanity of old Glendower . . . with his vulgar ignorance of mistaking natural events for miracles is finely contrasted with the sturdy spirit, careless humour, and rational investigation of Hotspur.—DAVIES (*Dram. Misc.*, 1785): This interview of the principal conspirators has been often presented to the public, but could not

Hot Lord Mortimer, and coofen Glendower wil you
fit down ? and Vncle Worcester ; a plague vpon it I haue 4
forgot the map.

Glendow No here it is ; fit Coofen Percy, fit good
Coofen Hotspur, for by that name as oft as Lancaster doth 7

3-5] Qq, Coll, Huds. As verse,
four lines, ending *Glendower / down /*
it / map Ff, et cet., with the following
modifications Three lines, ending
you / it / map Cap, Ktly, three lines,
ending *Glendower / Worcester / map*
Sing 11, Vaughan

6-9] Qq. As verse, five lines, end-
ing *is / Hotspur / you / sigh / heauen*
Ff, Rowe Five lines, ending *Percy /*
name / you / sigh / heauen Sta. Six

lines, ending *is / Hotspur / Lancas-*
ter / you / sigh / heauen Coll i, 111,
Knt 11, iv, Wh. 1 Six lines, ending
is / Hotspur / name / you / sigh /
heauen Coll ii. Five lines, ending
is / Hotspur / Lancaster / with /
heauen T J, Pope, et cet

6. *is* *is* (laying it on the Table)
Cap.

7. *oft* *often* Q6-s.

preserve a permanent position on the stage It seems of great use, in the economy of the play, to unfold the progress of the rebellion and to portray the passions and interests of the several persons concerned in it. By the amputation of this scene Hotspur's part seemed so maimed that Mr. Garrick insisted on its being revived. However, after the first or second night's acting, finding that it produced little or no effect, he consented to omit it . . . The romantic forgeries and vain boastings of the Welshman are well contrasted with the blunt humour and contemptuous disdain of Hotspur. [The earlier critics looked at Glendower through the eyes of Hotspur, as they, in general, looked at Falstaff through the eyes of Prince Hal, and thereby missed the finer traits of each. That Glendower's boasting is not "vain," from Shakespeare's point of view, is shown by the fact that before the scene is over he gives definite proof of his magic powers (lines 222-230). The finest tribute ever paid to Glendower is that paid by his son-in-law in this scene (lines 162-172) See also Appendix: Characters. Glendower.—ED]—WRIGHT (ed 1897): The meeting at the archdeacon's house in Bangor, at which the tripartite convention was signed, took place a year later, 28 Feb, 1405. But Shakespeare follows Holinshed.

2. induction] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Entrance, beginning.—STEEVENS (Var. '78): Anciently something introductory to a play. . . . Shakespeare often uses the word, which his attendance on the theatre must have familiarized to his conception.—KNIGHT (ed 1839): In the sense in which he here uses the word it is synonymous with introduction.—N. E. D (1901): The initial step. [This passage cited.]

4. 5. I . . . map] SEYMOUR (*Remarks*, 1805): He had forgot [I, iii, 242] the name of the Duke of York's palace. These are incidents which have no connection with the plot, but which are admirably illustrative of the ardent and impetuous temper of Hotspur.

7 Hotspur . . . Lancaster] CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p. 780): Very natural is Glendower's calling Percy by his surname of Hotspur, in order to recall its effect upon King Henry; whom he, again, most naturally refers to by his simple patronymic of Lancaster, and later [line 62] by his family name of Bolingbroke, which has the effect of implying that he was a usurper.

fpeake of you, his cheeke lookes pale, and with a rising
figh hee wifheth you in heauen.

Hot. And you in hell, as oft as he heares Owen Glen- 10
dower fpoke of.

Glen. I cannot blame him ; at my natiuity
The front of heauen was full of fiery fhapes
Of burning creffets, and at my birth
The frame and huge foundation of the earth 15

8 *speake*] *hear* Thirlby MS
cheeke lookes] *Cheekes looke* Ff,
Rowe, Pope, Theob ii-iv, Han.

9. *sigh*] *sight* Q₂₋₄.

10-19] As verse, eight lines, ending
heares / him / heauen / cressets / foun-
dation / haue / cat / borne Vaughan
(conj.)

10, 11] As verse, two lines, ending
heares / of Pope, +, Cap, Varr, Ran.,
Mal, Steev., Varr, Sing. i, Knt. i,
Del, Dyce, Sta, Hal, Wh i, Tud,
Ox. As verse, two lines, ending
Owen / of T J, Sing ii, Ktly As

verse, two lines, ending *hell / of* Coll.
10 *oft*] *often* Pope, +, Cap, Varr.,
Ran., Steev, Varr, Sing i, Knt. i, ii,
iv, Dyce, Hal, Wh i, Ox.

12 *cannot blame him*] *blame him not*
Pope, Theob, Han, Warb, Johns.

13. *fiery*] *fire* Q₁₋₄ *firy* Var.

14-16.] As two lines, ending *frame /*
coward Ktly.

14. *and at*] *know that at* Pope,
Theob, Han, Warb., Johns *aye*,
and, at Cap, Dyce ii (conj.), Huds ii.

15 *huge*] Om. Q₂₋₃, Ff, Rowe i.
the Rowe ii, +, Varr., Ran., Steev.

10, 11] ELTON (ed 1889): Such liberties [as the versifying of the text in this
and other passages] are not to be followed.

12-40] [See Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Holinshed, where these won-
ders are said to have occurred at the time of *Mortimer's* birth —ED.] —MALONE
(ed 1790) In the year 1402, a blazing star had appeared, which the Welsh
bards represented as portending good fortune to Glendower. Shakespeare
had probably read an account of this star in some chronicle, and transferred
its appearance to the time of Glendower's nativity —COWL (*Sources*, 1928):
The Fugger News Letter of Apr. 27, 1596: "On the eve of St. Mark's day a ball
of fire appeared and floated across the sky. It came with such an uproar that
the earth began to quake" [Cf. Appendix: Date of Composition. —ED]

14. *cressets*] HANMER (ed. 1744): A cresset was a great light set upon
a beacon: . . . from the French word *croisette*, a little cross, because beacons
had anciently crosses upon them. —STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): Lights fixed on
a moveable frame or cross, carried on poles in processions —DOUCE (*Illust. of*
Sh., 1807, i, 429): The same as a beacon light, but occasionally portable. . .
It consisted of a wreathed rope smeared with pitch and placed in a cage of iron,
which was suspended on pivots in a kind of fork. . . . From the French
croiset, an earthen pot. —WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Cotgrave gives, "Falot: m. a
Cresset light (such as they use in playhouses) made of ropes wreathed, pitched,
and put into small cages of iron." . . . Milton uses them to illuminate Pan-
demonium (*P.L.*, i, 728). —N. E. D. (1897): Vessels made to hold grease or oil
to be burned for light; usually mounted on a pole. *Trans. & fig.* Torch.

Shaked like a coward.

Hot. Why fo it woulde haue done at the fame feason 17
if your mothers cat had but kittend, though your selfe had
neuer beene borne.

Glen, I fay the earth did fhake when I was borne. 20

Hot. And I fay the earth was not of my mind,
If you fuppofe as fearing you it fhooke.

Glen. The heauens wereall on fire, theearthdid tremble,

Hot O then the earth fhooke to fee the heauens on fire,
And not in feare of your natiuity, 25
Difeafed nature oftentimes breakes forth,
In ftrange eruptions, oft the teeming earth
Is with a kind of collicke pinchd and vext,
By the imprifoning of vnruely wind
Within her vvombe, vvvhich for enlargement ftriuing 30
Shakes the old Beldame earth, and topples down

16 *Shaked*] Q₁₋₄, Cam., Glo.,
Huds. ii, Ard. *Shook* Pope, +.
Shak'd Q₅₋₈, Ff, et cet.

17-19] As verse, three lines, ending
done / cat / borne Pope, +, Cap.,
Varr, Ran., Mal, Dyce, Hal. i. As
verse, three lines, ending *done / had /*
borne Steev, Varr., Sing. i, Knt. i,
Hal. ii. As verse, three lines, ending
season / your selfe / borne Ktly.

17. *Why*] Om. Pope, Theob., Han.,
Warb., Johns.

18. *but*] Om. Pope, +, Cap, Ma-
son, Ran., Dyce.

19. *neuer*] *ne'er* Pope, +, Cap.,
Varr, Ran., Mal., Steev., Varr, Sing.
i, Knt i, iii, Dyce, Hal., Vaughan.

21, 22.] As prose. Huds. ii

21. *And*] Om. Pope, Theob, Han.,
Warb., Johns.

the] *that the* Ktly
earth] *earth then* Pope, Theob,
Han, Warb., Johns.

23 *tremble*] *tremble*. Q₃, et seq

24] As two lines, ending *shooke /*
fire Ff, Rowe. [T. J. follows Qq]

the earth] *th'earth* T. J. (1721),
Pope, +, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. ii.

27. *off*] of Q₄. and Q₅₋₈, Ff, Rowe,
Pope, Theob., Han., Warb, Johns.,
Wh. i.

teeming] *teening* Vaughan
(conj).

31. *earth*] *through* Vaughan (conj).
topples] *toples* Q₆Q₈. *tombles*

F₁F₂. *tumbles* F₃F₄, Rowe.

17-19] VERPLANCK (*Sh. Plays*, 1847): The contrast between Glendower's self-deceiving enthusiasm and Hotspur's impatient bluntness is stronger by the metre of the one and the prose of the other.

24-34.] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): The poet has here taken, from the perverseness and contrariness of Hotspur's temper, an opportunity of raising his character, by a very rational and philosophical confutation of superstitious error.

27-32.] MALONE (ed. 1790): So, in our author's *Venus and Adonis* [1046]: "As when the wind, imprison'd in the ground, Struggling for passage, earth's foundation shakes."—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Hotspur's theory of earthquakes agrees with Pliny's. In Holland's translation of *The Natural History* (ii, 79) we read, "For mine own part I suppose that without all doubt the winds are

Steeple and moss-grown towers At your birth
 Our Grandam earth, hauing this diftemperature
 In passion shooke 34a
Glen. Coofen of many men
 I do not beare thefe crossings, giue me leaue 35
 To tell you once againe that at my birth
 The front of heauen vvas full of fiery shapés,
 The goates ran from the mountaines, and the heards
 Were strangely clamorous to the frighted fields. 39

32. *Steeple towers*] *High tow'rs* seq. *Cousin*, Qs, Rowe. *Cousin*
and moss-grown steeples Pope, Theob., Ff.
 Han., Warb., Johns. 35. *crossings*] *crossing* QsQs.
 33. *hauing*] *with* Pope, Theob., 39 *to*] *in* Pope, Theob., Han.,
 Han., Warb., Johns. Warb., Johns., Mason, Ran., Coll.
 34. *Coosen*] *Coosen*, Qs-7, Pope, et MS., Huds. ii.

the cause thereof. For never beginneth the earth to quake, but when the sea is still; . . . ne yet at any time but when the winds are laid and the blast is pent and hidden within the veines and hollow caves of earth."—ANDERS (*Sh. Books*, 1904): See Gabriel Harvey's *Pleasant . . . Discourse of the Earthquake in April Last*, 1580 (ed. Grosart, i, 45, 52): [Within the earth a disturbance is brought about by reason of the bad humours encountering the good] . . . "The materiall cause of earthquakes . . . is great aboundance or stoare of grosse and drye vapours, and spirites, fast shut up, as man would saye, emprysoned in the caues and dungeons of the earth; which winde or vapors, seeking to be set at libertie . . . violently rush out . . . which forcible eruption, and strong breath, causeth an earthquake."—COWL (*Notes on Hen. IV*, 1927): Chapman, *Bussy Dambours*, II, i: "As when a fume within the womb of earth . . . Exceeds his prison's strength . . . It tosseth temples in the air."

31. *Beldame*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): Not used here as a term of contempt, but in the sense of ancient mother. . . . So in Shakespeare's *Lucrece* [953]: "To shew the beldame daughters of her daughter."—N. E. D. (1893): 1. Grandmother. 2. (16th century) Nurse 3. With depreciative sense, hag.
 32. *Steeple . . . towers*] ELTON (ed. 1889): These words, coming after the fantastic simile in the line before, "flash upon the inward eye" in a sort of fire-picture.

33. *hauing*] WALKER (*Sh. Vers.*, 1854, p. 242): *Having* is very commonly pronounced as a monosyllable.

diftemperature] SCHMIDT (1874): Disorder of the body, disease.

34. *passion*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Pain or suffering; here, of the body.

38, 39. *goates . . . fields*] MALONE (*Suppl. to Var. ed. of 1778*, 1780), [as corrected by WRIGHT (ed. 1897)]: Shakespeare seems to have been as well acquainted with the rarer phenomena of nature as with the ordinary appearances. A writer in the *Philosophical Transactions*, no. 202, p. 833 [describing an earthquake in Italy, writes]: "The birds flew about astonished in the air, the beasts and cattle in the fields ran crying about, affrighted."

These signes haue markt me extraordinary,
 And all the courtes of my life do shew 41
 I am not in the roule of commen men :
 Where is he liuing clipt in with the fea,
 That chides the bancks of England, Scotland, Wales,
 Which cals me pupil or hath read to me ? 45
 And bring him out that is but womans sonne ?
 Can trace me in the tedious waies of Arte,
 And hold me pace in deepe experiments
Hot. I thinke theres no man speakes better Welsh :
 Ile to dinner. 50
Mor. Peace coofen Percy, you wil make him mad.
Glen. I can cal spirits from the vasty deepe.

42. *roule*] *rolle* Q₃Q₈. *roll* Q₄, et cet.
 43. *he*] *the* Q₄₋₈, Ff, Rowe, Knt. 1, 48. *And*] *Or* Pope, +, Varr., Ran.,
 ii, iv. Steev.
 44. *Scotland, Wales*] Scotland and 49. *theres*] *there is* T. J. (1721),
 Wales Q₄₋₈, Ff, Rowe. [T. J. fol- Pope, Theob. 1-iii, Han., Warb.,
 lows Q₁₋₄] *Wales or Scotland* Pope, Johns., Varr., Ran, Mal, Steev.,
 Theob, Han., Warb., Johns Sing. i, Coll., Huds., Del., Dyce, Sta.,
 45. *Which*] *Who* Pope, +. Hal, Wh i, Ktly.
 46. *sonne?*] Q₁ (Trin. Coll Camb. *speakes*] *that speaks* Thirlby
 and Devonshire-Huntington copies). MS., Cap.
senne, Q₇. *soone*, F₂ *sonne*, Q₁ 50. *Ile*] *I will* Cap., Varr., Ran.,
 (Brit Mus. copy), et cet. Mal, Steev, Var. '03, '13, Knt. i,
 47. *waies*] *way* Q₇Q₈. Hal. ii.
51. *coosen*] *brother* Cap

39. *to*] STEEVENS (ed. 1793), objecting to the emendation *in* for *to*. In the very next scene [III, ii, 98] *to* is used where we should use *in*.

43. *clipt in*] N. E. D. (1897): From *clp*, embrace Encircle, compass; "hug."

44. *chides*] SCHMIDT (1874): Used figuratively for "to be noisy about."—ELTON (ed. 1889). A favorite and splendid word of Shakespeare's for the brawling of sea and air.—N. E. D. (1897). Applied to sounds which suggest angry vehemence, said of . . . brawling streams [This passage cited.]

45. *read*] SCHMIDT (1874): Given lessons, taught.—CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p. 492): Given counsel: read, *rede*, an antique noun signifying advice.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Read lectures; cf. *Taming of the Shrew*, IV, ii, 7, 8.—N. E. D (1914): 12. To teach or impart by reading aloud.

47. *trace, Arte*] SCHMIDT (1874): Follow, magic.

49. *man . . . Welsh*] COWL (ed. 1914): Hotspur may mean "no man speaks a more unintelligible jargon." Welsh was, in popular opinion, a most difficult, if not barbarous, language. [Dr. J. Q. ADAMS suggests "no man brags better"; the Welsh were endlessly satirized on the stage for bragging.—ED.]

52. *vasty*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): A poetical form of *vast*, or an adjective from the substantive *vast*, which is used for boundless space or for the ocean in

- Hot.* Why fo can I, or fo can any man,
But wil they come when you do cal for them (Deuil.
Glen. Why I can teach you coofen to command the 55
Hot. And I can teach thee coofe to fhamme the deuil,
By telling truth. Tel truth and fhamme the deuil ·
If thou haue power to raife him bring him hither,
And ile be fworne I haue power to fhamme him hence :
Oh while you liue tel truth and fhamme the deuil 60
Mor. Come, come, no more of this vnprofitable chat.
Glen. Three times hath Henry Bullenbrooke made
Against my power, thrice from the bankes of Wye, (head
And fandy bottomd Seuerne haue I fent him
Booteles home, and weatherbeaten backe 65

55] As verse, two lines, ending
command Deuil Cap, Varr, Ran,
Mal, Steev, Varr, Sing, Knt i, iii,
Dyce, Sta., Hal., Glo., Huds ii, Wh.
ii, Cam. ii, Tud, Ox, Ard

Why] Om Seymour, Vaughan.
you] *thee* Qs-s, Ff, +, Cap,
Varr, Knt., Sing. ii, Dyce, Sta., Hal
i, Ktly, Huds ii, Ox.

coosen] Om. Pope, Theob,
Han., Warb, Johns.

56. *coose*] Q1-4 *coosen* Qs-s. *Cous-*
in Ff, Rowe, Cap, Varr., Ran. *coz*
Pope, et cet.

58 *haue*] *hast* Theob., Warb.,
Johns., Var. '73.

59. *I haue*] *I've* T J (1721),
Pope, +, Dyce ii, iii, Huds ii.

61. *Come, come,*] As separate line.
Pope, +, Cap., Varr, Ran, Mal,
Steev., Varr., Sing, Knt. i, iii, Coll,
Huds, Dyce, Sta., Hal, Wh. i, Ox.

63 *bankes*] *banke* Qs.

64. *sent*] *hent* Qs, Ff, F2.
sent him /] *sent* / *Him* Pope, +,
Ran, Ktly., Dyce ii, iii, Huds ii.

65. *Booteles.. backe*] *Bootless, and*
weather-beaten, home Cap *bootless*
back, and weather-beaten home Ran.

Booteles] *All bootless* T. J.
(1721).

Winter's Tale, I, i, 28, and in *Pericles*, III, 1, 1—N. E. D. (1928) derives the word from *vast*, a, + y, and cites this passage as the first appearance of the word.

57 Tel . . . deuil] REED (Var. ed. 1803): See Ray's *Proverbs*, 163.

61.] ABBOTT (*Sh Gram.*, 1870, p. 430): Apparent Alexandrines are sometimes regular verses of five accents preceded or followed by a foot, more or less isolated, containing one accent.

62-65.] See Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Holinshed, III, 17, and III, 20.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Hardyng (*Chron.*, ed. 1812, p. 358) says: "The kyng Henry thryce to Walys went, In the haye tyme and haruest dyuers yere, In euery tyme were mystes and tempestes sent, Of wethers foule that he had neuer power Glendour to noye, &c"—Ax (*Rel of Sh to Hol*, 1912, p. 32): The third of these expeditions has been antedated; for in 1405 "the king lost fifty carriages through abundance of rain" (Hol. III, 39). In the first campaign, which took place in 1400, Glendower escaped the king's revenge by "withdrawing into the mountains of Snowdon" (Hol. III, 37). But noth-

Hot. Home without bootes, and in foule weather too,
How scapes he agues in the deuils name ? 67

Glen. Come here is the map, shal we diuide our right ?
According to our threefold order tane.

Mor. The Archdeacon hath diuided it 70
Into three limits very equally :

66.] As two lines, ending *bootes* /
100 Ff, Rowe i. [T. J. follows Qq]

67. *scapes*] *scap'd* Thirlby MS,
Coll. MS, Coll. ii, iii, Wh., Dyce ii,
iii, Huds. ii.

68.] As two lines, ending *map* / *right*
Ff, Rowe i

here is] *heere's* Ff, et seq.
right?] *right*, Q₂, et seq.

69. *tane*] *tane?* Q₂, et seq. *taken?*
Varr., Ran.

70. *Archdeacon*] *Archbishop* Coll ii.
(conj.).

hath] *here hath* Vaughan (conj.).
it] *it already* T. J. (1721), Han.,
Cap., Steev. (conj.). *it for us* Ktly.
it between us Vaughan (conj.).

ing is here said of the weather's being bad. The second expedition, in 1402, was fruitless, and, as in the third, foul weather, which Glendower was said to have caused by sorcery, forced Henry to return (Hol. III, 20). We wonder that this expedition of August 1402 is nowhere in the play clearly alluded to. For although the king had no success, it was at least an attempt to "chastise the presumptuous Welshman," and the reproach of having undertaken nothing for the deliverance of Mortimer is unjust both in Holinshed and Shakespeare. For, had the king then vanquished Glendower and taken the castle where Mortimer was in captivity, he would have set his kinsman at liberty without the ransom which, afterwards, indeed, he craftily refused to pay.

65. [CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779) makes no attempt to justify his strange emendation. He admits that he has taken "a double license," and tries to explain "the source of the corruption" in Q₁. His theory, well concealed by his tortured style, seems to be that the printer accidentally inserted *home* after *bootless*, and then, feeling the need of a word after *weatherbeaten*, supplied *back*.—ED.]

65. *Booteles*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): Without reading *boot-e-less*, the metre will be defective—ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, p. 377): Monosyllables containing long vowels [e.g. *boot*], since naturally allowing the voice to rest upon them, are often so emphasized as to dispense with an unaccented syllable.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): There are many instances [of making a trisyllabic word out of a dissyllabic one], where *l* follows a consonant; cf. *wrestler*, *As You Like It*, II, ii, 13. Pope, not recognizing this, mended the metre. [The spelling of the word in the Qq supports Wright's theory.—ED.]

67. *agues*] See WALKER's note on I, i, 66, *welcom*.

68–71.] AX (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol.*, 1912, p. 31): To compose this scene Shakespeare took little from Holinshed and nearly everything from his own imagination. . . . The three rebel chiefs did themselves not meet to make the tripartition, but had it made by their deputies in the house of the archdeacon of Bangor. Nor does Holinshed say that the archdeacon made the tripartition.

70–79.] [LORD CAMPBELL (*Sh.'s Legal Acquirements*, 1859, *Pref.*) finds evidence, inconclusive though it be, in 23 of Shakespeare's 37 plays, that the

England from Trent, and Seuerne hitherto, 72
 By South and East is to my part assignd :
 Al westward, Wales beyond the Seuerne shore,
 And al the fertile land within that bound 75
 To Owen Glendower : and deare coofe to you
 The remnant Northward lying off from Trent,
 And our indentures tripartite are drawn,
 Which being fealed enterchangeably,
 (A bufineffe that this night may execute :) 80
 To morrow coofen Percy you and I

72. *England*] *England*, Ff, et seq. *Cousin Rowe*. *coz*, T. J., Pope, +, et
Trent,] *Trent* Cap, et seq. seq *brother*, Cap
hitherto] *Hitherto* (pointing to a 78. *drawn*] *drawing* Theob (conj).
 Part of the Map) Cap. Thirby MS.
 76. *coofe*] *Cuz*, Q²Q⁸. *Couze*, Ff. 81. *coosen*] *brother* Cap

author had some legal training. Three passages from *I Henry IV* are cited: III, i, 70-79; III, ii, 69; and IV, iii, 62. Of the first of these Lord Campbell writes: The business is conducted in as clerk-like, attorney-like, fashion, as if it had been the partition of a manor between joint tenants. . . . It may well be imagined that Shakespeare was recollecting how he had seen a deed of partition tripartite drawn and executed in his master's office at Stratford. [But the legal phraseology comes from Holinshed.—ED.]—ROBERTSON (*Baconian Heresy*, 1913, p. 69): Dekker knew as much law when he wrote: "You all fixt Your hands and seals to an indenture drawn By such a day to kill me" (*Match me in London*, IV.) Again we find that Jonson's plays were written by a lawyer inasmuch as he not only has "Here determines the indenture tripartite Twixt Subtle, Doll, and Face" (*Alchemist*, V, ii), but makes the Scrivener in the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair* present a full-drawn indenture—of which the book-holder gets the "counterpane"—in strictly quasi-legal form, between spectators and author.

71. *limits*] N. E. D. (1909): Bounds, territories. [This passage cited; also *Sonnet* xlv: "I would be brought From limits far remote, where thou dost stay."]

72. *hitherto*] MALONE (*Suppl. to Var. ed.* 1778, 1780): *I. e.*, to this spot, pointing to the map. [It is strange that no editors have adopted Capell's almost essential stage-direction at this line.—ED.]

78, 79 *indentures tripartite . . . enterchangeably*] HUDSON (ed. 1880): Indentures are covenants or pacts, here called tripartite because there are three parties to them. . . . They are to be signed interchangeably that each of the three might have a copy.

78. *drawn*] THEOBALD (*Letter to Warburton*, Jan. 13, 1729/30): I think this should be *drawing*, for Percy [line 138] asks "Are the indentures drawn?" Upon which Glendower says: "I'll haste the writer." Nay, Mortimer himself says [line 221]: "By this time will our book be drawn." After which [line 261] Glendower says: "By this our book is drawn."

And my good Lord of Worcester wil fet forth 82
 To meet your father and the Scottifh power,
 As is appointed vs at Shrewsbury.

My father Glendower is not ready yet, 85
 Nor shal we need his helpe thefe fourteen daies,
 Within that fpace you may haue drawne together
 Your tenants, friends, and neighbouring gentlemen.

Glen. A fhorter time fhall fend me to you Lords,
 And in my conduct fhall your Ladies come, 90
 From whom you now muft steale and take no leaue,
 For there wil be a world of water fhed,
 Vpon the parting of your wiues and you.

Hot. Me thinks my moity North from Burton here, 94

84-86.] Om T. J. (1721)	Varr, Ran
Before 87.] (To Glendower. Cap,	89 <i>shorter</i>] <i>short</i> F ₃ F ₄ .
Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt,	<i>you</i>] <i>you</i> , Q ₂₋₅ , Q ₇ , Ff, et seq.
Huds, Dyce, Sta, Hal, Ktly, Ox.	92 <i>For</i>] <i>Or</i> Walker (1860), Dyce
87. <i>you</i>] <i>he</i> Thirlby MS.	ii, iii (conj), Huds ii.
88 <i>your</i>] <i>his</i> Thirlby MS	<i>water</i>] <i>waters</i> Cap.
After 88.] (To Glendower. Johns.,	94. <i>moity</i>] <i>portion</i> Han, Warb.

81-86.] See Appendix. Sources of the Plot. Holinshed.

84. Shrewsbury] WALKER (*Crit. Exam.*, 1860, i, 158). *Shrew-* is to be pronounced *shrow-*, cf. *Taming of the Shrew*, IV, i: "He that knows better how to tame a *shrew*, Now let him speak; 'tis charity to *shew*." *Ibid.*, V, ii: "Your husband being troubled with a *shrew*, Measures my husband's sorrow by his *woe*." *Ibid.*, concluding couplet of the play: "*shrew* (folio *shrow*) . . . so." . . . Shrewsbury is still pronounced by some Shrowsbury.

92. *For*] WALKER (*Crit. Exam.*, 1860, ii, 322) supports his conjectural emendation with the following parallels: "Come, wife, let's in and learn to govern better; *For* (read *Or*) England yet may curse my wretched reign" (*II Henry VI*, IV, ix, 48); "These quicksands, Lepidus, Keep off them *for* (read *or*) you sink" (*Antony and Cleopatra*, II, vii, 58); "Keep up your bright swords, *for* (*or*) the dew will rust them" (*Othello*, I, ii, 59).—ELTON (ed. 1889): In neither case is Walker's *or* necessary. *For* *for else*, as in *Antony and Cleopatra*, II, vii, 58.

94-118.] AX (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol.*, 1912, p. 33): In Holinshed there is no allusion to the deputies having been dissatisfied.

94. *moity*] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): Hotspur is here just such a divider as the Irishman who made three halves: Therefore, for the honour of Shakespeare, I will suppose with the Oxford editor [Hanmer] that he wrote *portion*.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): I will not suppose it.—EDWARDS (*Canons of Crit.*, 1748, p. 11): If it were not for losing that foolish book-jest about the Irishman, these editors might just as well have supposed that Shakespeare used *moiety* for *portion*, or *share* in general, for he has so used it in *King Lear* [I, i, 5]: "Curiosity

In quantity equals not one of yours,
 See how this river comes me cranking in, 96
 And cuts me from the best of all my land,
 A huge halfe moone, a monstrous scantle out,

96. *cranking*] *crankling* Pope, Theob., Var. '73 (conj) *a monstrous* Qs and *monstrous* Huds 1
 98. *a monstrous*] *a mostrous* Qs. *scantle*] *Cantle* Ff, et seq.

in neither can make use of either's moiety" Now these moieties were third parts, or shares, in the kingdom, in one place as well as the other —MALONE (ed 1790) A moiety was frequently used by writers of Shakespeare's time as a portion of anything, though not divided into equal parts —N. E. D. (1908): 1 One of two equal parts 2 One of two (occasionally more) parts (not necessarily equal).

96 *cranking*] STEEVENS (Var. ed 1778) Perhaps we should read *crankling*. So, Drayton in his *Polyolbion*, song 7: "Hath not so many turns, nor cranking nooks as she" —MALONE (ed. 1790): *Cranking*, however, is right. So, in *Venus and Adonis*, 682: "He cranks and crosses with a thousand doubles." —SCHMIDT (1874) Crank, to run in windings —N. E. D. (1897): *Crank* to twist or turn about. [This passage cited] *Crankle* to turn, wind, twist (frequentative of *crank* after 1600; never common).

96-98] SIR JOHN SUCKLING (*Letter*, 1636(?); *Works*, ed 1766, p. 142): We at length arrived at that river about the uneven running of which my friend Mr Wm Shakespeare makes Henry Hotspur quarrel so highly with his fellow rebels, and for his sake I have been something curious to consider the Scantlet of Ground that angry Monsieur wou'd have had in, but cannot find it cou'd deserve his Choler —WRIGHT (ed. 1897): The Trent, turning northwards after leaving Burton till it joins the Humber, cuts out a good part of Nottinghamshire and the whole of Lincolnshire from what would have been Hotspur's share if it had continued in its easterly course —N. W. HILL (*N. & Q.*, 1907, June 22). There is considerable zigzagging of the river in the vicinity of Burton, and it was doubtless to two of these bends in the river that Hotspur alluded.

98 *scantle*] [Cf Textual Notes] STEEVENS (Var. ed 1778) A cantle is a corner, or piece, of anything. . . . To *cantle* is a verb used in Dekker's *Whore of Babylon*: "That this vast globe terrestrial should be cantled" The substantive occurs in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, song 1: "Rude Neptune cutting in, a cantle forth doth take" Again, in *A New Trick to Cheat the Devil*, 1636; "Not so much as a cantle of cheese." —BOSWELL (Var. ed. 1821): Mr. Todd, in his edition of Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary*, produces the authority of Lord Chesterfield for the verb *to scantle*—to divide into small pieces. [The following excerpts from the notes in the Variorum edition of 1821 on *Antony and Cleopatra*, III, x, 6, "The greater cantle of the world is lost," have bearing on this passage: POPE: Piece, lump.—JOHNSON: A corner. Caesar mentions the three-nooked world. Of this triangular world every triumvir had a corner —BOSWELL: Cockram, *Dict. of Hard Words*, gives cantle as the explanation of fragment.] —COWL (*Echoes*, 1925, p. 12): It may be that *scantlet* [in Suckling's

Ile haue the currant in this place damnd vp,
 And here the fmug and filuer Trent shall run 100
 In a new channell faire and euenly,
 It shall not wind with such a deepe indent,
 To rob me of fo rich a bottome here.

Glen. Not wind it shal, it must, you see it doth.

Mor. Yea, but marke howe he beares his courfe, and 105
 runs mee vp with like aduantage on the other side, geld-
 ing the oppofed continent as much as on the other side it
 takes from you.

Wor. Yea but a little charge wil trench him here,
 And on this Northside win this cape of land, 110

99. *damnd*] *damm'd* Rowe ii, et seq.
 (except Var. '78. *damn'd*)

104. *wind*] *wind?* (or *wind!*) Q₂, et
 seq.

105-108] As verse, four lines, end-
 ing *course* / *side* / *much* / *you* Ff,
 Rowe; ending *runs* / *side* / *much* / *you*
 T. J. (1721); ending *vp* / *side* / *much* /
you Pope, +, Varr., Ran., Coll.,
 Huds. i, Sta., Wh. 1, five lines, ending
but / *vp* / *side* / *much* / *you* Cap.,
 Cam., Glo., Dyce ii, iii, Huds ii, Wh

ii, Tud., Ox., Ard., ending *marke* /
vp / *side* / *much* / *you* Mal., ending
Yea / *vp* / *side* / *much* / *you* Steev.,
 Varr, Sing., Knt, Dyce 1, Hal., Ktly.
 105. *Yea*] Om. Pope, +. As sepa-
 rate line Steev, and others, see pre-
 ceding note

howe] Om Pope, +.

beares] *bends* F₃F₄, Rowe i.

106 *mee vp*] Om T. J. (1721).

107. *opposed*] *opposing* F₃F₄, Rowe
 i. [T. J. follows Q₂, F₁F₂.]

Letter, see note on lines 96-98] was a direct echo from the early 17th century stage, and therefore perhaps of the authentic text of the dramatist: the final *t* in *scantlet*—and *scanilet* was obviously for Suckling a recognisable word in the sense required by the context—may have dropped out in Q₁, leaving a doubtful *scanile*, for which F₁ substituted a word in common literary use, *cantile*.—IBID. (*Sources*, 1928): It is probable that the printer of Q₁ caught the initial *s* of *scanile* from the final letter of the preceding word, and that F₁ is right in reading *cantile*, the more literary word. . . . The word *scanile* would be more familiar.—N. E. D. (1919): *Scanile*: a small piece (in *I Henry IV* perhaps an error for *cantile*). *Cantile*: Section or segment cut out of anything.

99-101.] COWL (ed. 1914): Local tradition ascribes to the agency of Hotspur an alteration in the course of the Trent at Willington, where remains of an ancient river-dam and traces of an old river-bed are still to be seen.

100. *smug*] SCHMIDT (1874): Trim, spruce.—COWL (ed. 1914): Smooth-flowing. Minsheu: "Smugge . . . to be smooth." Cf. "smugge and smothe" in More's *Utopia*, The Epistle (trans. R. Robinson).—N. E. D. (1919): Smooth, neat, tidy; *later*, having an appearance of complacency. [This passage cited as *early*.]

107. *opposed continent*] COWL (ed. 1914): The opposite bank. *Continent* is used of anything that can be said to hold or contain something else.

109. *charge*] SCHMIDT (1874): Expense, cost.

And then he runs straight and euen

Hot. Ile haue it fo, a little charge will do it 112

Glen. Ile not haue it altred

Hot. Will not you ?

Glen. No nor you shall not. 115

Hot. Who shall say me nay ?

Glen. Why that will I.

Hot. Let me not vnderstand you then, speake it in

Glen. I can speake English Lord as well as you, (Welsh.

For I was traind vp in the English court, 120

Where being but yong I framed to the harpe

Many an English ditty louely well,

And gaue the tongue a helpful ornament, 123

- 111 *And*] Om. Han (1866), Ktly., Vaughan, Huds ii, Wh. ii.
runs] *runs me* T. J. (1721), 113. *Ile*] Qq, Ff, Rowe, Cam, Glo.,
Sta. (conj.). *runneth* Thirlby MS, Wh ii, Tud, Ard. *I will* Pope, et
Huds. ii, Wh. ii *runs all* Coll. MS., cet.
Coll ii, iii *runs you* Ktly 118] Qq, Ff, Rowe, Han, Cam,
straight] *straitly* Cap, Dyce ii, Glo., Wh. ii, Tud., Ard As two
111 *straight*, *fair*, Cartwright (1866). lines, ending *then* / *Welsh* Pope, et cet
euen] *even along* T. J. (1721). *you*] Om. Steev. (conj.).
evenly Thirlby MS, Cap, Coll. MS., 121. *but*] Om. Pope, +.
Coll. ii, iii, Dyce ii, iii, Cartwright 123 *the*] *thy* Thirlby MS.

111. *runs . . . euen*] [See Textual Notes.] COLLIER (*Notes and Emend*, 1852): Hotspur has just before said of the same river "fair and evenly."

119. Lord] WRIGHT (ed 1897): Glendower is losing patience with Hotspur and becomes formal. He no longer calls him "cousin Percy"

120] [See Holinshed: Appendix: Sources of the Plot]—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): The real name of Owen Glendower was Vaughan, and he was originally a barrister of the Middle Temple—MALONE (ed. 1790): He took the name Glyndour from the lordship of Glyndourdwyr of which he was owner. He was particularly adverse to the Mortimers because Edmund, Earl of Mortimer, was rightfully entitled to the principality of Wales, as well as to the crown of England, being lineally descended from Gladys, daughter of Llewellyn, and sister of David, Prince of Wales, who died in 1246. Glendower became squire of the body to Richard II, with whom he was in attendance at Flint Castle when Richard was taken prisoner by Bolingbroke. Glendower was crowned Prince of Wales in 1402, and for near twelve years was a formidable enemy of the English. He died in great distress in 1415.

121, 122.] COURTENAY (*Comment. on Hist. Plays*, 1840): I know not why the Welsh chieftain is made to boast of his musical accomplishments, of which history knows nothing. . . . Perhaps it was to induce Hotspur's disclaimer of such effeminate practices.

123. *tongue*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): The English language.—RITSON (*Remarks*

A vertue that was neuer feene in you.

Hot. Marry and I am glad of it with all my hart, 125
I had rather be a kitten and cry mew,
Then one of thefe fame miter ballet mongers,
I had rather heare a brazen cansticke turnd,
Or a drie wheele grate on the exle tree, 129

125] As two lines, ending *Marry/* Han. 1, Warb, Johns. *metre* Cap,
hart Walker, Dyce 1, Hal 1, Cam, Han. 11, Var '73, et seq
Glo, Tud, Ard. *ballet*] *ballet-Q2-8* *Ballad- Ff,*
and I am] *I'm* Pope, Han. et seq
and I'm Theob, Warb., Johns, Cap, 128 *I had*] *I'ad* Pope, Han. i.
Varr., Ran, Mal, Steev., Varr, *I'd* Theob, Warb, Johns
Sing, Knt, Coll, Del, Dyce 11, 111, *cansticke*] *Candlestick* Ff, +,
Sta, Wh i, Hal 11, Ktly, Ox. Cap., Var '78, Ran, Knt.
of it] *on't* Cap, Var. '78 *of't* *turnd*] *tun'd* F4, Rowe, Pope
Steev., Knt 129 *on the*] *on an* Var '03, '13,
127. *miter*] *meter* Q8. *Meeter* F1 F2. Var, Sing 1, Huds 1, Hal 11.
Meeter- F8 F4, Rowe, Pope, Theob, *exle*] *axle* Q2, et seq.

on the Last Ed., 1783): He graced his own tongue with the art of singing — MALONE (ed. 1790): Dr Johnson's explanation is the true one.—COWL (ed 1914): Gracing the words of the ditty with a musical accompaniment . . It may be added that "tongue" in the sense of language is a favorite word with the Welsh speakers in the dramatists. Thus Dekker and Webster, *Northward Hoe*, 11: "Mee thinks a Welshman's tongue is the neatest tongue!" and Dekker, *Patient Grissel*, 11, 1: "*Sir Owen*. . . Welsh tongue is finer as Greek tongue."

124] JACKSON (*Examples of Errors*, 1818): A lash at Hotspur who had a defect in his speech; see *II Henry IV*, II, 111, 24.

125-132.] THE DRAMATIC SCORPION (*Dramatic Satires*, 1818): "Hence! metric sounds, that make the drama lame, I, like a Hotspur, 'gainst thee loud complain."

127. *miter ballet mongers*] COWL (ed. 1914): Hotspur, in contempt. calls poets writers of doggerel ballads [Dr. J Q ADAMS suggests that the allusion is to ballad-singers. "Ballad-mongers sang their ballads on the streets, to sell them. Glendower sang to the harp, and criticizes Percy's inability not to write poetry, but to sing." But it is "mincing poetry," not song, to which Hotspur refers in line 131.—Ed.]

128. *cansticke*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): *Candlestick*, which destroys the harmony of the line, is written *canstick* in Q1-8, and so it might have been pronounced Heywood and several of the old writers constantly spell it that way.—COWL (ed. 1914): Stow, *Survey of London*: "founders that cast candlesticks . . and afterwards turne them to make them bright with turning and scrating . . make a lothesome noise to the by-passers"

turnd] THEOBALD (*Letter to Warburton*, Jan. 13, 1729/30): A candlestick tun'd [see Textual Notes]! I never made one at this sport; and I therefore chuse to read with the old copies, *turn'd*.

And that would fet my teeth nothing an edge,
Nothing so much as mincing poetry, 131
Tis like the forc't gate of a shuffling nag

Glen Come, you shal haue Trent turnd.

Hot I do not care, ile giue thrice so much land
To any well deferuing friend · 135

But in the way of bargaine marke ye me,
Ile cauill on the ninth part of a haire,
Are the Indentures drawn, shal we be gone ?

Glen. The moon shines faire, you may away by night
Ile haste the writer, and withal 140

Breake with your, wiues of your departure hence,
I am afraid my daughter will run mad,
So much she doteth on her Mortimer. *Exit*

Mor. Fie coosen Percy, how you crosse my father.

Hot. I cannot chuse, sometime he angers me 145
With telling me of the Moldwarp and the Ant,

130 *set nothing*] *set my teeth* F₂₋₄,
Rowe *nothing set my teeth* Pope, +,
Varr, Ran.

an] on Q₃Q₄, F₂₋₄, et seq

131. *mincing*] *mincing* Ff, et seq.

132. *gate*] *gait* Cap, et seq

134, 135] *I do not care: / To any
well-deserving friend I'll giue / Thrice
so much land, Cap (conj). Lines
end care / friend Coll, Wh. i, giue /
friend Ktly.*

135 *To*] *As that* to Han.

any] *any worthy* Walker
(1860).

139] *As two lines, ending faire /
night* Ff, Rowe. [T. J. (1721) follows
Qq]

140, 141.] *I'll haste the writer, and
withal I'll break / With your young*

wives of your departure hence Coll.
MS, Coll. in

140 *Ile*] *I will go* Han. *I'll in and
Steev. (conj, Var '78), Ran, Dyce ii,
iii, Ktly., Huds ii.*

writer] *writer forward* Cap.

withal] *withal the news or
withal at once* Vaughan.

141 *your,*] *your* Q₂, et seq.

After 143.] SCENE II Pope, Han.,
Warb, Johns

144. *coosen*] *brother* Cap.

145 *sometime*] *sometimes* Q₈, T. J.,
Cap., Varr, Ran, Mal., Steev.,
Varr, Sing, Knt. i, iii, Huds i, Coll.
ii, Sta, Hal. ii, Ktly., Ox

146. *me*] Om Pope, Theob. ii-iv,
Han, Warb, Johns., Var. '73.

of] *of of* Q₅.

131. *mincing*] SCHMIDT (1874): Mince: to walk in a prim and affected manner. Used [here] metaphorically—COWL (ed. 1914): Cf. W. Vaughan, *The Golden Grove*, 1600, iii, 42: "Sundry times haue I beene conuersant with such as blasphemed Poetry, by calling it mincing and lying Poetry."

133] HARRIES (*Sh. and the Welsh*, 1919): At this point Glendower seems to give up this forerunner of the typical public-schoolboy as hopeless, for suddenly, changing the subject, he says good-naturedly, as to a fractious child, "Come, you may, &c."

140. *withal*] SCHMIDT (1874): At the same time.

146-150. [Cf. Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Holinshed and Phaer].—

Of the dreamer Merlin and his prophecies, 147
 And of a Dragon and a finles fish,
 A clipwingd Griffin and a molten rauen,
 A couching Leon and a ramping Cat, 150
 And fuch a deale of skimble scamble stuffe,
 As puts me from my faith I tel you what,
 He held me laft night at leaft nine houres
 In reckoning vp the feuerall Diuels names 154

147. *the*] Om. Pope, Theob., Han, 153 *last*] *up last* T J *the last*
 Warb., Johns. Pope, + *but last* Steev., Hal. *fast*
 149 *clipwingd*] *clipt-wing* Warb., *last* K. Elze (*N. & Q.*, June 18, 1881).
 Johns., Var. '73. *least*] *the least* Cap., Var. '78,
molten] *moulthng* Pope, Theob., '85, Ran., Coll MS, Coll 11, iii, Dyce
 Warb., Johns., Var. '73 *moulten* 11, iii, Ktly., Huds. 11
 Q2-8, Ff, et cet. 154 *the*] *these* F3F4, Rowe
 150 *and*] Om F2-4.

STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): In *The Mirror for Magistrates*, written by Phaer, Owen Glendower is introduced speaking of himself: "And for to set us hereon more agog, A prophet came (a vengeance take them all!) Affirming Henry to be Gogmagog, Whom Merlin doth a moldwarp ever call, Accurs'd of God, that must be kept in thrall, By a wolf, a dragon, and a lion strong, Which should divide his kingdom them among." The moldwarp is the mole, so called because it renders the surface of the earth unlevel by the hillocks which it raises.—FRENCH (*Sh. Geneal.*, 1869): The dragon was the badge of Glendower; the lion, the crest of Percy, and Mortimer was called the wolf, from his crest, the white wolf.

147 *Merlin*] HUDSON (ed. 1880): The "deep science and hell-dreaded might" of the great magician, Merlin, was much celebrated in the ancient mythology of Wales. See Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, iii, 2.—COWL (ed. 1914): Merlin's prophecies are mentioned again, and with as slight respect, in *Lear*, III, ii, 79-95.

148. *finles fish*] COWL (ed. 1914): This sarcasm may have been suggested by Merlin's prophecy that "the Lion's whelps shall be transformed into fishes of the sea."

150. *couching, ramping*] COWL (ed. 1914): Burlesque of the heraldic terms *couchant*, lying down, and *rampant*, rearing.

151. *skimble scamble*] [This word seems to have been coined by Shakespeare for Hotspur's use. The N. E. D. defines it as *nonsensical*, and records no prior use of it.—ED.]

152. *puts . . . faith*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Makes me forget I'm a Christian.—COWL (ed. 1914): Makes me incredulous. Cf. Heywood, *Fair Maid*, II, i: "To put my friends from patience," i.e. to make them impatient.

153-155.] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): See Reginald Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, 1584, xv, 2, 377, where the reader may find his patience as severely tried as Hotspur's, and on the same occasion. Shakespeare must certainly have seen this book.

That were his lackies, I cried hum, and wel go to,
 But markt him not a word O he is as tedious 156
 As a tyred horfe, a railing wife,
 Worfe then a smoky houe. I had rather liue
 With cheefe and garlike in a Windmil far,
 Then feed on cates and haue him talke to me, 160
 In any fummer houe in Chriftendome
Mor. In faith he is a worthy gentleman,
 Exceedingly well read and profited 163

155.] Two lines, ending *Lacqueyes/* Huds., Sta (conj.), Dyce ii, iii, Hal. ii.
 too Ff, Rowe *a railing] or as a railing* T J,
hum] humph Mal., Steev., Pope, Theob., Han., Warb., Johns.,
 Varr., Sing., Knt. i, Coll, Huds. i, Ktly
 Del, Wh 1, Hal. ii, Ktly 158 *I had] I ad* Pope, Han. *I'd*
go to] Om Pope, Theob., Theob., Warb., Johns.
 Han., Warb., Johns., Cap., Huds. ii, 159 *Windmil far,] Windmill, far,*
 Wh ii. Theob., Warb., et seq
 156. *he is] Qq, Ff, Rowe, Sta,* 162 *is] was* Q₃₋₈, Ff, Rowe, Pope
 Cam., Glo., Tud., Ard. *he's* Pope, [T. J. (1721) follows Q₁.]
 et cet. *a worthy] an honest* F₃F₄.
 157. *As a] As is a* Cap., Varr., 163. *Exceedingly] Exceeding* Q₃₋₈,
 Ran., Steev., Varr., Sing. 1, Knt., Ff, Rowe [T. J. follows Q₁.]

155. go to] RITSON (*Remarks . . . on the Last Ed*, 1783): These two senseless monosyllables seem to have been added by some foolish player, purposely to destroy the measure. [See Textual Notes. Pope and his followers took every opportunity of reducing Hotspur's distinctive style to a level of "regular" mediocrity.—ED.]—N. E. D. (1901): Go to: used to introduce a contemptuous concession.

156-158.] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1803): Thus Chaucer, in *The Wyf of Bath's Prologue*: "smoke And chiding wives maken men to flee Out of hir owen hous."

156, 157.] ELTON (ed. 1889): Many metrical difficulties disappear if we remember that Shakespeare meant his plays to be heard, not read. Often a gap in metre is tided over by a pause, a gesture.

159 Windmil] HUDSON (ed. 1880): Windmills, used for grinding corn, were perched over the houses in which the grinding was done. Such a house would not be a quiet residence. [But why "cheese and garlic" in the windmill, unless there is some foolish implication that their odor would be spread by the windmill?—ED.]

160. cates] SCHMIDT (1874): Dainties.

161. summer house] COWL (ed. 1914): Men of wealth had their summer houses, that is country houses, pleasantly situated, spacious and airy. . . . They were costly luxuries, and fortunes were squandered on them. See Webster, *Westward Hoe*, I, i: "Your prodigality, your dicing, . . . your building a summer-house, hath undone us!"

163, 164. profited . . . concealments] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Skilled in wonderful secrets.—CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): Strange concealments were hidden arts, magick and sorcery.

In strange concealements, valiant as a lion,
 And wondrous affable, and as bountifull 165
 As mines of India; shal I tell you coosen,
 He holds your temper in a high respect
 And curbs himselfe euen of his natural scope,
 When you come crosse his humor, faith he does,
 I warrant you that man is not aliue 170
 Might so haue tempted him as you haue done,
 Without the taft of danger and reproofe,
 But do not vse it oft, let me intreat you
Wor. In faith my Lord you are too wilfullblame,
 And since your comming hither haue done enough 175

164-166] Four lines, ending *concealments* / *affable* / *India* / *Cousin*
 Ff, Rowe. [T. J. follows Qq]

165. *and as*] as Pope, Theob., Han, Warb., Johns.

166. *coosen*] *brother* Cap

169 *come*] Qq, Cam., Glo, Wh. ii, Tud., Ard *doe* Ff, et cet.

170. *man*] *a man* F₃F₄

174.] *In faith, my wilful lord, you are to blame* Coll MS, Coll ii

too] to Q₄, Steev (conj).

wilfullblame] *wilfull blame* Q₂₋₈,

Ff, Rowe, Pope. *wilful-blame* Theob., et seq., except Coll and Ktly *wilful-blunt* Thirby MS, Johns (conj.) *wilful-bent* Johns. (conj.) *to blame, too wilful*, Johns. (conj.) *wilful-blameable* Ktly. *wilful-blunt* Walker (1860).

175 *hither*] *here* T. J. (1721), Pope, Theob., Han, Warb., Johns

168 *curbs . . . scope*] WRIGHT (ed 1897): Keeps in check the natural tendency of his disposition

174 *too wilfullblame*] STEEVENS (ed 1793): I suspect our author wrote "to wilful-blame," i. e., you are wilfully to blame—SINGER (*Text of Sh. Vindicated*, 1853): And so [referring to Collier's emendation] we are to twist and turn the old phraseology of the poet to our own caprice. It has been well observed that the phrases are not always to be construed grammatically, a phrase is an abridgment of a sentence, and comprehends essentially the whole meaning. This phrase, like others, gives the first adjective the power of an adverb, and signifies, "You are wilfully to blame."—WHITE (ed. 1859): No one hesitates about the meaning of this passage, and yet almost all the editors have thrown doubt upon it. . . . They must have forgotten *King John*, V, ii, 124: "The Dolphin is too wilfull opposite."—DYCE (ed 1864): The following passage shows that "too blame" in the sense of "too blameworthy" was a current expression: "Blush and confess that you be too, too blame," Harr. *Epi.* 84.—ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870): "Too" is often used in the phrase "I am much too blame." . . . This is so common in Elizabethan authors as to require more explanation than the confusion between "too" and "to." Perhaps "blame" was considered an adjective, and "too" may have been used, as in early English, in the sense of "excessively."—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): "Too wilfully blameable." . . . Shakespeare uses "wilful-slow" in Sonnet li, 13, and "wilful-negligent" in *Winter's Tale*, I, ii, 255.

175. *hither*] WALKER (*Sh. Vers.*, 1854, pp. 105, 106): In numerous passages

To put him quite besides his patience,
 You must needs learne Lord to amend this fault, 177
 Though sometimes it shew greatnes, courage, blood,
 And thats the dearest grace it renders you,
 Yet oftentimes it doth present harsh rage, 180
 Defect of manners, want of government,
 Pride, haughtinesse, opinion, and disdain,
 The least of which hanting a noble man,
 Loofeth mens harts and leaues behind a staine
 Vpon the beauty of all parts besides, 185
 Beguiling them of commendation

Hol. Wel I am schoold good manners be your speed,
 Here come our wiues, and let vs take our leaue.

Enter Glendower with the Ladies

Mor. This is the deadly fight that angers me,
 My wife can speake no English, I no Welsh. 190

Glen. My daughter weepes, sheele not part with you,

176 *besides*] Q₁, Q₃₋₈, Ff, +, Wh 1,
 Tud *beside* Q₂, Cap, et cet

178 *shew*] *shews* Rowe ii, +, Wh. 1,
 Hal ii.

183. *noble man*] *Nobleman* Q₅₋₈,
 F₁F₂F₄, et seq

184. *Looseth*] *Loseth* Q₂, et seq

185. *besides*] *beside* Cap (conj.).

187.] Two lines, ending *schoold* /
speed Ff, Rowe. [T. J (1721), fol-
 lows Qq.]

187. *schoold*] *school'd*. Ff, et seq.
be] by Q₇Q₈.

188. *our wiues*] *your wiues* Q₃₋₅. Ff.
leaue] *leaues* Q₆₋₈

After 188.] SCENE III Pope, Han.,
 Warb, Johns.

Enter] Qq, Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob,
 Han, Warb, Johns, Wh. 1. Re-
 enter Cap, et cet.

the Ladies] Lady Mortimer
 and Lady Percy Dyce, Hal 1, Wh. 1,
 Huds. ii the Ladies, Mortimer and
 Percy Coll iii.

191. *weepes*] *weeps*, *swears* Vaughan.
sheele] *she will* T J, Pope, et
 seq

of our old authors, "hither," "thither," "whither," &c. are printed as dissyllables where the verse indicates that they are monosyllables.

178. *bloud*] SCHMIDT (1874). High temper, mettle.

182. *opinion*] MASON (ed. Malone, 1790): Self-opinion, conceit.

188. Here . . . *wiues*] AX (*Sh. Rel. to Hol.*, 1912, p. 34): The presence of the ladies, dramatic as it may be, we consider unlikely; for Bangor was a place where none of the lords dwelt, and where important political negotiations were to be transacted.

and] COWL (ed. 1914): "And" is often used by Shakespeare and his contemporaries to connect an affirmation and a command, a usage obsolete in modern English. See V, iv, 34.

189-224.] TYRELL (*Int.* to ed. 1850, ii, 81): The little dialogue between Mortimer and his wife is exceedingly sweet and poetical; amidst scenes of angry disputation and the storm of war, it is like soft music on a summer's night.

Sheele be a fouldior to, sheele to the wars. 192

Mor. Good father tell her, that she and my Aunt Percy
Shal follow in your conduct speedily

*Glondower speakes to her in Welsh, and she answeres
him in the same*

Glen. She is desperate here, 195

192. *to*] *too* Q₂, et seq.

193 *Good father*] *Good-Father* F₄.
tell.. Percy] *say, she and my*
sister Percy Seymour (1805)
that] Om. Pope, +, Cap.,
Varr, Ran., Dyce II, iii, Huds. ii.
Aunt] *sister* Cap.

Percy] Om. T. J. (1721)
After 194. *her*] *him* F₂ his Daugh-
ter Cap., Mal., Steev, Varr, Sing.,
Knt, Sta., Hal II, Ktly. Lady
Mortimer Dyce, Hal I, Wh. i, Huds
II, Ox.

in Welsh] *Welsh* F₂₋₄, Rowe.
195-197.] As verse, three lines,
ending *here* / *harlotrie* / *vpon* Ff,

Rowe. [T. J. (1721) follows Qq]
Two lines, ending *harlotrie* / *vpon*
Pope, +, Cap, Mal, Steev., Varr,
Sing., Knt, Huds., Del., Dyce, Sta.,
Hal, Ktly., Ard, ending *one* / *vpon*
Var '78, Var. '85, Ran., Coll I, III,
Wh. I, three lines, ending *here* / *one* /
vpon Coll II. As prose Cam, Glo.,
Wh. II, Rlf, Tud, Ox.

195 *She is*] *She's* Pope, +, Cap.,
Varr, Ran, Mal, Steev., Varr,
Sing., Knt., Coll, Huds, Del, Dyce,
Sta, Hal, Ktly., Ox.

desperate] *desp'rate* Pope, The-
ob., Han., Warb, Johns.

[But is not the real function of the sentimental Mortimers in this scene to serve as contrast to the high-spirited Percies?—ED.]

193. *Aunt*] See on I, iii, 80.—CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779) defends his emendation: Holinshed tells us she was his aunt, but Shakespeare makes her his sister—and that rightly and advisedly; for to have called her “aunt,” and (of course) her husband “uncle” would have destroyed that air of youth which he thought proper to throw into both these characters. But, in this scene, the historical truth seems to have taken possession of his imagination.

195-242.] W. J. LAWRENCE (*Welsh Song*, 1922): There is some slight evidence indicating that at the height of the craze for Welsh colour [in the Elizabethan drama] boys of Welsh extraction were sometimes selected to play female parts. As these boy players were the singers of the company, and generally received a sound musical education, the point is one of considerable importance. . . . The words [of Lady Mortimer] were doubtless left to the discretion of the duly instructed boy-player, who must have spoken rational Welsh, since before an end-of-the-century Elizabethan audience (always with some Welsh components) jargon would not have sufficed. . . . In connexion with [“the Welsh song”] it is necessary to recall that Shakespeare was familiar with the members of his company and wrote them parts according to their capacities. . . . The lines on which he conceived Lady Mortimer show that he had a Welsh singing-boy at his command. [A discussion of “Welsh songs” in other Elizabethan plays follows.] In most cases the songs were probably sung in Welsh; but in Middleton’s *Chaste Maid*, IV, i, after the stage-direction “Musicke and Welche Song,” the words of the song are given in full and in English. Possibly, even here, the song was originally sung in Welsh, and an

[195-242. Foerster]

English translation, or a new song, provided when the play was printed.—FOERSTER (*Die Kymr. Elem.*, 1924, p. 356): Lady Mortimer must actually have spoken in Welsh. . . . Jonson, in the Masque, *For the Honour of Wales*; Webster, in *Northward Hoe*; Middleton, in *A Chaste Maid*; and Dekker (?), in *Patient Grissell*, put into the mouths of their Welsh characters Welsh phrases more or less correct. Not that Shakespeare himself knew enough Welsh to have written the lines: the explanation may lie in his relationships, as in the case of Jonson who probably has his Welsh friend, James Howell, to thank. . . . A considerable number of Welsh names appear among the actors of the time . . . Of these, Henry Condell, Robert Gough, and John Rice appear among the *Dramatis Personae* of the Shakespeare Folio. . . . But why do the Welsh speeches not appear in print? Quotations from foreign languages are omitted by the Elizabethan printers in other cases [examples follow]. . . . In 1912 Professor Max Reinhardt looked about for a Welsh text which might be recited on the stage. He turned to Professor Brandl, who, through the assistance of Professor Herford, obtained a modern Welsh text from Professor Anwyl of Aberystwyth, who was probably the author of it himself. . . . I here offer this version with its German equivalent [here translated into English—Ed]:

Reconstruction of lines 195-242

[*Glendower speaks to her in Welsh, and she answers in the same*]

Glen. Be brave and reasonable. . . . The soldiers must go on ahead, you and your Aunt Percy are to follow with me. You will see Mortimer again.

Lady M. My heart is breaking; I cannot let him leave me. He is going to the wars; and who shall say whether I shall ever see him again? O my father, let me go with him: I am not afraid.

Glen. Impossible, you must remain here.

Lady M. That I will not do. I go with him. Nothing shall stop me . . .

1. 195. [*Glen* She is desperate here, &c.]

Lady M. O my beloved, we cannot part. God has united us. Stay with me, or let me go with thee. I am a soldier's daughter, and I have no fear.

1. 198. [*Mort.* I understand thy looks, &c.]

Lady M. Let thine eyes shine with love. Take me in thine arms and press me against thine heart . . . (kissing him) Thy lips are sweet—sweeter than the honey which bees gather from the heather. I must be always with thee, to comfort and arm thee for battle

1. 202. [*Mort.* I understand thy kisses, &c.]

1. 209. [*Glen.* Nay, if you melt, &c.]

Lady M. My darling, rest upon these rushes, and lay thy gentle head in my lap; and I will sing to entice sleep. . . . My song shall lull thee to sweet sleep, and when thou wakest thou wilt be full of strength and vigour. . . . Sleep, my heart, until the sun rises in glory out of the distant east.

A peeuish selfewild harlotrie, one that no perfwasion can
doe good vpon.

197

The Ladie speakes in Welsh.

Mor. I vnderstand thy lookes, that prettie Welsh,
Which thou powrest downe from these fwelling heauens, 199

196. *selfewild*] *selfe wilde* Q₂₋₄
selfe-wild Q₅. *self-will'd* Q₆₋₈, Ff, et
seq.

one] Om. Pope, +. and one
Coll MS, Coll ii
that] Om. Steev, Hal, Dyce
ii, iii, Huds ii.

196, 197 no. doe] *perswasion can do*
F₈. *Perswasion can do no* F₄, Rowe 1

After 197. The Welsh] Daugh-
ter again in Welsh, to her Husband.
Cap Lady speaks to Mortimer in
Welsh. Var. '78, '85, Ran. Lady
M. speaks to Mortimer in Welsh.
Mal., Steev., Varr, Sing, Knt,
Sta, Hal ii, Ktly. She speaks to

Mortimer in Welsh Coll, Huds. 1,
Del, Ox Lady Mortimer speaks to
Mortimer in Welsh. Dyce, Hal 1, Wh.
i, Huds ii

199 Which these] *Which, from those*
swelling heavens, thou down-pourest,
Ktly. (*Exp*)

powrest downe] *pour'st down*
too Cap. *down-pourest* Seymour,
Ktly.

from these] *from those two*
Pope, Theob, Han, Warb, Johns,
Steev. (conj), Huds ii

swelling] *wellng* Coll MS,
Sing. ii, Dyce i (conj.), Coll ii, iii
melting Kinnear

1. 210. [*Mort.* O, I am ignorance itself, &c]

1. 242. [*Hot.* Peace, she sings.]

Lady M. (*sings*) Forward to battle, with my father! Great be thy
glory! Arm thyself to fight for us! Thou are dearer than life, but it
were better to die bravely on the field than to play the coward.

... It is doubtful whether the stage-direction "A Welsh Song" calls for
Welsh words, or merely for a Welsh melody.

196. *peeuish . . . harlotrie*] RITSON (*Remarks . . on the Last Ed.*, 1783):
Capulet, in *Romeo and Juliet* [IV, ii] uses the same expression—WHITE (ed.
1859): *Harlotry* was used with as little meaning of reproach in Elizabethan
times as *slut* in Queen Anne's.—N. E. D (1909): *Peevish*: Perverse, head-
strong.

197. *doe good vpon*] COWL (ed. 1914): Reduce to submission Brome,
A Mad Couple, III, 1: "This crosse abusive letter may do good upon her"
D'Avenant, *News from Plymouth*, II: "I have done little good upon him his
metal will not bow."

198. *prettie Welsh*] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): Her tears; and the "parley," a
little lower down, signifies—language.

199. *swelling heauens*] STEEVENS (ed. 1793): The defect of harmony in this
line induces me to suppose with Sir T. Hanmer that our author originally wrote
"these two swelling heavens," meaning her two prominent lips [!]
—DOUCE (*Illust.*, 1807): Rather, eyes swollen with tears. Glendower has just said that
she wept; and Mortimer tells her that he would answer the melting language
of her eyes, if it were not for shame.—LETTSOM (*New Readings*, 1853): Col-

I am too perfect in, and but for shame
In such a parley should I answer thee. 201

The Ladie againe in welsh

Mor. I vnderstand thy kisses, and thou mine,
And thats a feeling disputation,
But I will neuer be a truant loue,
Till I haue learnt thy language, for thy tongue 205

200. *shame*] *shame*, Q₇Q₈, Ff, et seq
201. *should*] I Q₇. *I could* Q₈
would I Mal, Steev, Varr, Sing,
Coll. 1, 11, Huds. i, Wh. i, Hal, Ox.
thee] *thee*—Ktly

After 201 The *Welsh*] Daughter
again to her Husband; kissing and
embracing him Cap. Lady M
speaks. Mal, Steev, Varr, Sing. i,
Knt, Sta., Hal 11 She speaks again
Coll, Huds. i, Del, Sing 11, Ktly,

Ox. Lady Mortimer speaks to him
again. Dyce i, Hal 1 Lady Mor-
timer speaks again. Wh. 1 Lady
Mortimer speaks to him again in
Welsh Dyce 11, 111, Huds. 11 The
Lady speaks again in Welsh. Cam,
Glo, Wh 11, Rlf, Tud, Ard.

203. *feeling*] *feeble* F₂₋₄, Rowe,
Pope.

204. *truant*] *truant*, Q₇Q₈, Ff, et seq.

lier's "Old Corrector" now and then makes a good hit . . . Her eyes might be swollen, but that is not a pretty picture.—WHITE (*Sh. Scholar*, 1854). The substitution of *welling* is pretty and plausible; but I am far from being confident of the necessity of a change—STAUNTON (ed. 1858). Perhaps Mortimer alludes to her swelling bosom.—DYCE (ed. 1864): In my former edition I adopted the reading of Mr. Collier's "MS. Corrector," but in my *Addenda* I remarked that I ought to have been content to mention the alteration without adopting it. The old reading is supported by a passage from *Macbeth*, I, ii, 27: "So from that spring whence comfort seemed to come, Discomfort swells", where, however, Thirlby proposes to read *wells* for *swells*.—COLLIER (*Trilogy*, 1874, ii, 19): Dyce had always too little confidence in his own judgment . . . He thought it better to be misguided by anybody than guided by the old Corrector.—KINNEAR (*Cruces Sh.*, 1883) defends his emendation by citing many parallels; e.g. *Lucrece*, 1227; *Othello*, V, ii, 352; *Richard III*, IV, iii, 7.—COWL (ed. 1914): Eyes brimming with tears.

200 perfect] COWL (ed. 1914): Proficient.

200, 201. but . . . thee] "Pride alone keeps me from answering tears with tears."—ED.

203. *feeling disputation*] THEOBALD (*Letter to Warburton*, Jan 13, 1729/30): "I understand thy kisses . . . and that's a FEEBLE disputation" [see Textual Notes]; but I am sure Mr. Pope did not understand them; nor, I am almost afraid by this *feeble* epithet, ever understood the joy of a delicious kiss—*sic verbo venia!* Considering how enamoured Mortimer is of his young wife . . . I am confident you will read with me, from the old copies, "feeling disputation"; what can be more tender and expressive!—IBID (ed. 1733): "Though I don't understand your Welsh, I understand the tenderness of your kisses, I feel the force of their argument and moving rhetoric."—N. E. D. (1901): *Feeling*: Moving, affecting the passions.

Makes Welſh as ſweet as ditties highly pend,
 Sung by a faire Queene in a ſummers bowre, 207
 With rauifhing diuifion to her Lute.

Glen. Nay, if you melt, then will ſhe run mad.

The Ladie ſpeakes againe in Welſh.

Mor. O I am ignorance it ſelfe in this. 210

Glen. She bids you on the wanton ruſhes lay you
 And reſt your gentle head vpon her lap, (downe,

206. *sweet*] *sweets* QsQ4.

209. *Nay,*] *Nay, nay,* Ktly.

if] *an if* Han.

you] *thou* Q4-s, Ff, +, Knt,

Sing. ii, Ktly.

then] *why then* Steev. (conj.).

she] *she ev'n* Seymour, Coll.

MS. *she needs* Kinnear.

mad] *quite mad* Cap., Dyce ii,

iii, Huds. ii.

After 209 The...Welsh] Daughter
 again to her Husband. Cap. Lady M.
 ſpeaks again. Mal., Steev., Varr,
 Sing., Knt., Sta., Hal. ii, Ktly. She
 ſpeaks again. Coll., Huds. i, Del., Ox.

Lady Mortimer ſpeaks to Mortimer
 again Dyce i, Hal. i. Lady Mor-
 timer ſpeaks again. Wh i. Lady
 Mortimer ſpeaks to Mortimer again
 in Welſh. Dyce ii, iii, Huds. ii.

211.] As two lines, ending *bids you /*
downe Ff, +, Varr., Ran, Mal.,
 Steev., Var. '03, '13, Dyce i (conj.),
 Dyce ii, iii, Hal. ii, Ox

211. on] *All on* Pope, Theob., Han,
 Warb., Johns *Upon* Varr., Ran.,
 Mal., Steev., Var. '03, '13, Dyce i
 (conj.), ii, iii, Hal. ii, Ox.

wanton] Om. Cap.

downe] Om. Vaughan.

206. *ditties highly pend*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Bacon, in his Essay of Masques, recommends that the ditty be "high and tragical, not nice or dainty."—N. E. D. (1901): *Highly*: 4. In high style. 4d. To a high degree of artistic quality or finish [examples of 4 d. from 1715 on].

207, 208. *Queene . . . Lute*] MALONE (ed. 1790): Perhaps a compliment to Queen Elizabeth, who was a performer on the lute and virginals.

208. *diuifion*] BURNEY (ed. Steevens, 1793): Divisions in vocal musick were very uncommon during the time of Shakespeare.—DYER (Var. ed. 1821): A division in music is a variation of melody upon some given fundamental harmony.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Mr. Naylor (*Sh. and Music*, p. 28) says, "'Division' means roughly a brilliant passage of short notes, which is founded essentially on a much simpler passage of longer notes." See *Romeo and Juliet*, III, v, 29: "Some say the lark makes sweet division"

209. *Nay*] COLERIDGE (*Lect. and Notes*, 1818): The "nay," so to be dwelt on in speaking as to be equivalent to a dissyllable, is characteristic of the solemn Glendower.

211. *She bids you*] COLERIDGE (*Lect. and Notes*, 1818): This imperfect line [see Folio reading in Textual Notes] is one of those fine hair strokes of exquisite judgment peculiar to Shakespeare;—thus detaching the lady's speech, and giving it the individuality and the entireness of a little poem, while he draws attention to it.—WHITE (*Sh. Scholar*, 1854): Perhaps such an arrangement would have been a stroke of exquisite judgment had Shakespeare made it; though that is not so obvious to me even after Coleridge's setting forth; but

And she will sing the song that pleafeth you,
And on your eyelids crowne the God of sleepe,
Charming your bloud with pleasing heauineffe, 215
Making fuch difference twixt wake and sleepe,
As is the difference betwixt day and night,
The houre before the heauenly harneft teeme
Begins his golden progresse in the east.

Mor. With all my heart ile fit and heare her sing, 220
By that time will our booke I thinke be drawne.

213. song] sung Q₄
 216. twixt] betwixt Q₄₋₈, Ff, +,
 Varr., Ran., Knt., Sing. ii, Dyce,
 Hal. i, Ktly., Huds u.
 217. betwixt] 'twixt Thirby MS,
 Wh. ii.

218. harness] haruest Q_{6Q7} har-
 vest Q₈
 219 Begins ms] Begin their Cap
 (conj).
 220. With all] Withall F₈. Withal
 F₄.

Shakespeare did not make it. . . . It is in one line in all the quartos. [This is mere quibbling. The typographical arrangement of the words on the printed page is not the point. Shakespeare's *audience* would hardly be affected by that, but would be affected by the music of the passage, which Coleridge analyses so feelingly — Ep.]

211. wanton] SCHMIDT (1874) and N. E. D. (1928): Luxuriant—COWL (ed. 1914): Fresh and green; cf. *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, i, 99—IBID (*Sources*, 1928): The definition "luxuriant" is hardly applicable to cut rushes.

rushes] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): It was the custom in this country, for many ages, to strew the floors with rushes as we now cover them with carpets.

214. eyelids . . . sleepe] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): The expression is fine; intimating that the God of sleep should not only sit, but that he should sit *crowned*, i.e. pleased and delighted.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778). The same image, whatever it was meant to convey, occurs in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster*: "Who shall take up his lute, And touch it till he crown a silent sleep Upon my eye-lid"—MALONE (ed. 1790): The God of sleep is to sit crowned, i.e. with sovereign dominion. So, in *Twelfth Night* [V, i, 131]: "Him I will tear out of that cruel *eye*, Where he sits *crowned* in his master's spite."—WRIGHT (ed. 1897), accepting Malone's reasonable explanation, remarks: Warburton, as usual, is wide of the mark.

216-219.] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): She will lull you by her song into soft tranquility, in which you shall be so near to sleep as to be free from perturbation, and so much awake as to be sensible of pleasure, a state partaking of sleep and wakefulness, as the twilight of day and night.—MRS. GRIFFITH (*Morality of Sh.*, 1775): A beautiful description of that most pleasing crisis of mind and body, between sleeping and waking, when the passions are just subsiding to rest, but the senses not yet deprived of their notices. . . . This is neither "meter-ballad-monger stuff" nor "mincing poetry." If Glendower is not original here, he has at least the merit of a good translator.

221. booke] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Paper of conditions.—STEEVENS (Var. ed.

Glen. Do fo, & thofe mufitions that fhall play to you,
Hang in the aire a thoufand leagues from hence, 223
And ftraight they fhall be here, fit and attend.

Hot. Come Kate, thou art perfect in lying downe, 225
Come quick, quick, that I may lay my head in thy lap.

La. Go ye giddy goofe.

The muficke playes.

Hot. Now I perceiue the diuell vnderftands Welſh, 228

222] Two lines, ending *so / you*
Ff, +, Var. '78, et seq

222 *Do* Go F₃F₄

&] *An* Mal., Steev (conj ,
Var. '78), Huds ii.

those] *tho' th'* Han., Warb.
these Mason.

223. *hence*] *thence* Q₄-7, Ff, Rowe.

224. *And*] *Yet* Rowe, +, Cap.,
Varr., Mason, Ran, Steev, Var. '03,
'13, Sta., Dyce ii, iii, Hal. ii, Huds. ii.

225, 226.] As verse Qq, Ff, Rowe,

Coll. i, ii, Wh. i, Hal ii, Ktly., Tud.
As prose. Pope, et cet.

225. *Kate*,] *Kate, come* Ktly.

After 227. The playes] Glen-
dower mutters some Incantations in
Welsh, and a Musick plays Cap
Glendower speaks some Welsh words,
and then the musick plays. Mal.,
Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt., Sta, Hal
ii, Ktly Glendower speaks some
Welsh words, and music is heard. Ox.
228-230.] As prose Pope, Theob,
Han., Warb, Johns., Huds. i.

1778): Every composition, whether play, ballad, or history, was called a book on the register of ancient publications—MALONE (Var. ed. 1821): It is more pertinent to say that patents, grants, covenants, articles, &c., when in MS., were called books—SCHMIDT (1874) cites, as another example of this use of the word, the paper containing the oracle of Jupiter in *Cymbeline*, V, iv, 133.

222-224.] [See Textual Notes on these lines.—ED.]—WARBURTON (ed 1747): The particle *yet* being used adversatively must have an article of concession preceding it. I therefore read, "And though the. . ."—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): *And* for *an* is frequently used in old writers [Note that Steevens retains Rowe's *Yet* for *And* in 224, and therefore has to explain the & of 222—ED.]—MASON (*Comments on the Last Ed.*, 1785): The passage is right as it stands [i.e. as Mason makes it stand: "And these . . . Yet straight"], and is indeed so well and clearly expressed that I should think it required neither amendment nor comment. That proposed by Warburton is unnecessary, and the reason he assigns for it is confuted by the practice of every hour. . . . Though the word *an* does signify *if*, it never signifies *though*, and in the sense of *if* it would not answer here—MALONE (ed. 1790): Glendower had before boasted that he could summon spirits from the vasty deep; he now pretends to equal power over the spirits of the air. [Is "pretends" quite fair? Cf. s.d. after line 227, and note on line 228.—ED] . . . The change from *And straight* to *Yet straight* does not seem absolutely necessary. [The reading of Q₁ is simple and clear—ED.]

228.] CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p. 724): The sly comment put into Hotspur's mouth lets us into the secret that probably the Welsh chieftain has some such instrument as an Aeolian harp placed under the control of one of his people,

And tis no maruaile he is fo humorous,
Birlady he is a good mufition.

230

La. Then should you be nothing but muficall,
For you are altogither gouerned by humors,
Lie still ye thiefe, and heare the Lady fing in Welfh.

Hot. I had rather heare lady my brache howle in Irifh. 234

229. *maruaile*] *marvel*, Theob., Warb, Johns, Cap, Han 11, Var. '78, '85, Ran., Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt., Coll 1, Huds 1, Del, Wh. 1, Ktly.

he is] *he's* Cap, Var. '78, '85, Ran., Mal, Steev., Varr., Sing 1, Knt., Dyce, Sta., Hal, Huds ii.

230. *he is*] *he's* [same as in 229, with addition of Coll. ii, iii, Wh. 1, and Ox.]

231-233] As prose Pope, +, Varr, Ran, Mal., Steev., Varr, Sing, Knt., Huds., Del, Dyce, Sta, Hal, Cam, Glo, Wh. ii, Rlf, Tud., Ox., Ard.

231. *should*] *would* Q₄-s, Ff, +, Knt.

232. *altogither*] *all together* F₄, Rowe.

gouerned] Om Q₇Q₈.

233. *in Welfh*] As separate line. Cap, Coll, Wh 1

234. *heare brache*] Q₁, T J (1710) *heare, lady, my brache* Q₂Q₃, Rowe 11. *heare Lady, my brache* Q₄. *hear Lady, my breech* Q₅. *heare, Lady, my breech* Q₇Q₈. *heare (Lady) my Brach* Ff. *hear, Lady, my brach*, Rowe 1, T J. (1721), Coll 1. *hear my lady-brach* Ktly. (*Exp*). *hear Lady, my brach* Q₅, Pope, et cet [followed, in most editions, by a comma]

commissioned, at a signal, to set it playing. . . . The "solemn music" of *Cymbeline*, IV, 11, is naturally accounted for, and the "ingenious instrument" of that passage was probably of similar kind to the one Glendower had at his command. [These passages are two of nine, headed Supernatural Music in Shakespeare, in Clarke's *Key*. The *Cymbeline* passage hardly belongs in this list, for there is no suggestion that its solemn music is supernatural. In none of the other passages (*Tempest*, III, iii; IV, i; V, i, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, IV, 1; *As You Like It*, V, iv; *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV, 11; and *Pericles*, V, i) is the authenticity of the supernatural quality of the music questioned by author or reader, nor should it be in this passage. We may safely assume that Shakespeare believed in Glendower's magic powers, whatever Hotspur's opinion may have been. Moreover, Hotspur's comment here is not "sly"; it is a facetious, and somewhat embarrassed, confession that, after all, there seems to be something in Glendower's claim to supernatural power.—DR. J. Q. ADAMS thinks that the position of the musicians' "room" in the Elizabethan theatre, high up over the stage, explains the "apparent magic." But the fact that the stage-musicians were invisible to both Hotspur and the audience does not seem to me to have much bearing on the question of the authenticity of Glendower's supernatural powers.—ED.]

229.] ELTON (ed. 1889): If we read a comma after *marvel*, the sense is, "No wonder he knows Welsh—he's humorous (capricious) enough for anything." The sense without the comma is better, "No wonder he's humorous if he knows Glendower's language."

234. *lady . . . brache*] DYCE (*Remarks on Collier* . . . , 1844): Is it possible that Mr. Collier could suppose that *lady* was an address to Lady Percy? [See

La. Wouldst thou haue thy head broken ?

Hotsp. No.

236

La. Then be still.

Hotsp. Neither, tis a womans fault.

235. *thou*] Om Q₂₋₈, Ff, +, Cap, Varr, Ran, Knt, Sing ii, Del, Ktly

Collier's punctuation in Textual Notes.]—COLLIER (ed. 1858): Here the Reverend Mr. Dyce caught our first edition tripping at a misplaced comma. We may smile to see such trifles swelled into such importance, and we hope that it shows that really valuable matter requiring correction is scanty. We willingly remove this grave and just subject of complaint, and thank Mr. Dyce.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): In the folios "lady" is printed as if it were addressed to Lady Percy—CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p. 485): Cf. *Lear*, I, iv, 125: "While Lady, the brache, may stand by the fire and stink."

brache] POPE (ed. 1723): A degenerate hound.—NARES (*Gloss.*, 1822): Any fine-nosed hound: used by corruption for bitch, from similarity of sound.—N. E. D. (1888): A hound that hunts by scent; in later English use, always feminine, and extended to any kind of bitch-hound. T. Nashe, *Saffron Walden*, T, "And so it is with his brache or bitch-hound."—COWL (ed. 1914): A Fleming, *Of English Dogs*, 1576: "We Englishmen call bitches belonging to the hunting kind of dogs by this term [brach]."

238. JOHNSON (ed. 1765): I do not plainly see what is a woman's fault.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): A proverbial expression. I find it in *The Birth of Merlin*, 1662: "'Tis a woman's fault: pox on this bashfulness." I believe the meaning is this: Hotspur, having declared his resolution neither to have his head broken, nor to sit still, slyly adds that such is the usual fault of women; i. e., never to do what they are told to do.—*AMNER (*Suppl. to Var. ed. 1778*, 1780): The whole tenour of Hotspur's conversation here shows that the stillness which he here imputes to women as a fault was something very different from silence; and that an idea was couched under these words which may be better understood than explained—He is still in the Welsh lady's bed-chamber.—BOSWELL (Var. ed. 1821): Without attempting to penetrate Mr. White's [i. e. Mr. Amner's] occult meaning, it may be questioned whether there is any ground for supposing that this scene takes place in the Welsh lady's bed-chamber. [Mr. "Amner" is obviously thinking of line 240, and is perhaps

* Richard Amner was a Presbyterian-Unitarian clergyman, whose name George Steevens attached "to notes so gross that he was ashamed to attach his own to them"; see *D. N. B.*, where the statement is made that these notes appeared in Steevens's 1793 ed. This particular note, and some half-dozen others, appeared in Malone's *Supplement*; but it is repeated, under the name WHITE, in Malone's ed. of 1790, and Steevens's ed. of 1793. In the *Preface* to Malone's *Supplement* of 1780, we read: "To the friendship of Mr. Steevens I am indebted not only for the numerous observations which are subscribed with his name, but also for many judicious hints for the conduct of the present work." Apparently, Mr. Steevens also supplied observations subscribed with a name other than his own.

La. Nowe God helpe thee.

Hot. To the Welsh Ladies bed.

240

La. Whats that ?

Hot. Peace, she sings.

Here the Ladre sings a welsh song.

Hot. Come Kate, ile haue your song too.

La. Not mine in good footh.

Hot. Not yours in good footh. Hart, you fweare like 245

240, 241.] Om Rlf.

After 242. Here .song] A Welsh
SONG Cap. A Welsh SONG sung
by Lady M. [or by Lady Mortimer].
Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., Coll., Knt.,
Dyce, Del., Hal., Sta., Wh., Huds.,
Ox.

243. Kate] Om. Q₃-s, Ff, +.

245-247] As verse, four lines, ending
sooth / wife / hue / day Ff, Rowe,
Ktly.

245. *sooth.*] *sooth?* Q₂-s, Ff *sooth!*
Rowe, et seq.

Hart] Om. Ff, +. 'Heart' Cap,
Var. '78, et seq.

like] *like to* Coll. MS.

speaking figuratively. Hotspur is, *already*, in his thoughts, in the bedchamber.—ED]—SEYMOUR (*Remarks*, 1805): A woman's fault is that she will do neither the one thing nor the other.—COLLIER (ed. 1842): To refuse to hear, and to be continually talking, is the usual fault of women.—HUDSON (ed. 1880). Probably an ironical compliment: he cannot be still while he has his wife to talk to, and cannot listen to the singing while she keeps him talking.—COWL (ed. 1914): The woman's fault is to affect stillness or modesty, to appear indifferent to the thing she desires. See R. Greene, *Planetomachia*, 1585 (ed. Grosart, v, 133): "... a woman's faulte, to thrust away that with her little finger, which they pull to them with both theyr hands."

242. s.d. *welsh song*] HARRIES (*Sh. and the Welsh*, 1919, p. 138): We would give much to learn what the song was, and whether it was accompanied by the harp. Brinley Richards, in his *Songs of Wales*, tells us . . . there was a revival of the harp in the days of Elizabeth. A celebrated Welsh harpist, Thomas Pritchard . . . died in London in 1597.

245-253.] CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p. 454). Shakespeare is satirizing aristocratic objection to paltry and plebeian oaths. Cf. *II Henry IV*, I, ii, 33: "A rascally *yea-forsooth* knave! to bear a gentleman in hand"—COWL (ed. 1914): The protestations which Hotspur ridicules belong to the category of "city-words" which, according to Brome's *Covent-Garden Weeded*, III, i, "gaine you credit and bring you into good and ciuil estimation." See Jonson's *Postaster*, IV, i: "your city-mannerly word, *forsooth*." Lyly, *Pappe with an Hatchet* (Bond, iii, 403): "Martin will not sweare but with indeede, in *sooth*." Marston, *What You Will*, III, 1: "avoide . . . aboute all those too ungentlemanlike protestations of indeede and verilye." And Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Chances*, II, ii: "Now must I cry, 'No, *forsooth*' and . . . 'Surely' and 'Truly as I liue' and 'As I am honest!'" "So God mend me" is among the "pretty oaths that are not dangerous" by which Rosalind swears in *As You Like It*, IV, i, 168.

a comfit-makers wife, not you in good footh, and as true
 as I liue, and as God shall mend me, and as fure as day 247
 And giueſt ſuch ſarcenet ſurety for thy oathes,
 As if thou neuer walkſt further then Finsbury.
 Sweare me Kate like a ladie as thou art, 250
 A good mouthfilling oath, and leaue in footh,
 And ſuch proteſt of pepper ginger bread
 To veluet gards, and Sunday Citizens 253

246. *you*] *yours* Coll MS., Coll. ii, *walkst*] Qq, Ff, Rowe, Theob.
 iii, Wh. 1. *mine* Huds. ii *I* Lettsom. iv, Cam, Glo., Rlf., Tud. *walk'dst*
 247. *liue*] *loue* Pope, Han. Pope, et cet.
and as God] *as God* Coll MS. *further*] *fur'* Walker (1860).
 248, 249] As prose Pope, +, Varr, *far* Vaughan.
 Ran 252 *protest*] *protests* Han, Cap.,
 249. *neuer*] *ne'er* Steev. (conj.), Var. '78, '85, Ran.
 Walker (1860), Dyce ii, iii, Huds ii. 253. *Sunday*] *London* Thirlby MS.

248. *sarcenet surety*] SCHMIDT (1874): Confirmation, or warrant, of fine woven silk, such as becomes a merchant's wife — WRIGHT (ed 1897): *Sarcenet*, said to be *sericum Saracenicum*, was a finely woven silk, so thin as to be transparent, and therefore insubstantial

249. *further*] WALKER (*Crit. Exam. of Text*, 1860, i, 189) cites examples of the use of *far* and *near* as comparatives, e.g., *Macbeth*, II, iii: "The near in blood, The nearer bloody." — ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, p. 347): Some degree of softening, though not expressed in writing, seems to have affected *th* in the following words: brother, further, neither, rather, thither, whither.

Finsbury] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): Open walks and fields near Chiswell st., London Wall, by Moorgate, the common resort of the citizens, as appears from many of our ancient comedies. — GIFFORD (*Works of B. Jonson*, 1816, i, 10): In Jonson's time Finsbury was the usual resort of the plainer citizens. People of fashion . . . probably mixed but little in these parties; hence the contemptuous expression of Hotspur [Gifford's note on *Every Man in his Humour*, I, 1: "*Stephen*. Because I dwell at Hogsden, I shall keep company with none but the archers of Finsbury."]

250, 251. *Sweare . . . oath*] COWL (ed. 1914): Sir T. Elyot (*The Governour*, xxvi) writes: "Swearing . . . they name nobleness (for they will say, he that sweareth deep sweareth like a lord)."

252. *protest . . . bread*] MALONE (ed. 1790): Such protestations as are uttered by the makers of gingerbread — HENLEY (ed. Steevens, 1793): Hotspur had just told his wife she swore like a comfit-maker's wife. [Is it not that the "protests" themselves are characterized as made of gingerbread? — ED.]

253. *veluet gards*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Such as have their clothes adorned with shreds of velvet, which was, I suppose, the finery of Cockneys — STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): "Cloaks, doublets, &c. (says Stubbs in his *Anatomie of Abuses*) were guarded with velvet guards, or else laced with costly lace." . . . Velvet guards, however, seem to have been a city fashion. So, in *Histriomastix*, 1610: "Nay, I myself will wear the courtly grace: Out on these velvet guards."

Come fing.

La. I will not fing

255

Hot. Tis the next way to turne tayler, or be redbrest teacher, and the indentures be drawn ile away within thefe two houres, and fo come in when ye will. *Exit*

Glen. Come, come, Lord Mortimer, you are as flow, As Hot Lord Percy is on fire to go :

260

By this our booke is drawne, weele but feale,

256-258.] As verse, three lines, ending *teacher / within / will* Ktly. Four lines, ending *way / teacher / within / will* Ktly. (*Exp.*)

256. *be*] Om Ran.

redbreast] *Robin-Red-Breast* Pope, +.

257 *and*] *if* Pope, +. *an* T. J, Cap., Var. '78, et seq.

258. *ye*] *you* Qs.

259. *Come, come,*] *Come on* Coll. MS.

as] Om Qs-s

260 *Hot.*] *Hot*, Q4 *Hot* Qs-s *hot* Ff, et seq.

261. *booke* 1s] *book's* Steev, Knt. 1, iii, Hal., Dyce ii, iii, Ktly, Huds. ii.

weele] *we will* Rowe ii, Pope, Han, Warb., Johns., Varr, Ran., Knt. ii, iv, Del, Dyce i, Sta, Hal 1, Ox. *you shall* Thirby MS.

but] Om. Cap, Coll MS, Coll. ii, iii

—MALONE (*Supplement to Var. ed* 1778, 1780): It appears from the following passage in *The London Prodigal*, 1605, that a guarded gown was the best dress of a city-lady: "*Frances.* But, Tom, must I go as I do now, when I am married? *Cwet.* No, Frank, I'll have thee go like a citizen, in a guarded gown and a french hood"—IBID. (ed. 1790): Fynes Morrison, . . . describing the dress of various orders of people in London, says: "At publick meetings the aldermen of London weare skarlet gownes, and their wiues a close gowne of skarlet with gards of black veluet." *Itinerary*, fol. 1617, III, p. 179.

Sunday Citizens] Citizens out for their weekly Sunday airing.

256. *next*] See II, i, 9, note.

256, 257. *tayler . . . teacher*] THEOBALD (*Letter to Warburton*, Jan 13, 1729/30) I suppose the tailors, as well as the weavers, were notorious for their continual singing. . . . Cf. *Knight of the Burning Pestle*: "Never trust a tailor that does not sing."—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): I suppose that Percy means that singing is a mean quality, and so he excuses his lady—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): The Hon Daines Barrington observes that a gold-finch is still called a proud-tailor in some parts of England (particularly Warwickshire, Shakespeare's native county); which renders this passage intelligible. . . . The sense then will be this:—The next thing to singing oneself, is to teach birds to sing. . . . I hope that the poet means to inculcate that singing is a quality destructive to its possessor, and that after a person has ruined himself by it, he may be reduced to the necessity of instructing birds in an art which can render birds alone more valuable.—MALONE (*Second Appendix to Supplement to Var. ed.* 1778, 1783): The plain meaning is, that he who makes a common practice of singing reduces himself to the condition of either a tailor or a teacher of musick to birds. [Hotspur's contempt for music is equalled only by his contempt for the bourgeoisie.—ED.]

And then to horfe immediatlie.

262

Mor. With all my hart

Exeunt.

[*Scæna Secunda.*]

Enter the King, Prince of Wales, and others.

King. Lords giue vs leaue, the Prince of Wales and I,
Must haue some priuate conference, but be neare at hand,

2

262. *And then*] Printed at end of line 261. Cap, Mal, Steev., Varr, Sing, Knt. i, iii, Coll i, Huds, Wh. i, Dyce ii, iii, Hal ii, Rlf. Emended to read *and part*, and printed at end of line 261. Coll. MS., Coll. ii, iii. Emended to read *then start*, and printed at end of line 261. Ktly.

Scæna Secunda] Ff. Om. Qq. SCENE II. Rowe. SCENE IV Windsor Pope, Han. Scene, changes to the Presence-Chamber in Windsor. Theob. SCENE IV. Changes to the Presence-Chamber in Windsor. Warb, Johns., Var. '73. SCENE II. The Presence-Chamber in Windsor. Var. '78, '85, Ran SCENE II. Westminster Hall. The King's Privy Chamber. Hal. i. SCENE II. London. The Palace. Cam., Glo, Tud., Ard SCENE II. London. A Room in the Palace. Cap. et cet. the King] Qq, Huds., Cam., Glo., Wh. ii, Tud, Ard. King Henry Rowe, et cet.

Prince of Wales] the Prince Cap.

Prince Henry Huds, Dyce, Hal. i, Coll. iii

and others] and other Q4-6. Lords and others Rowe, +, Varr., Ran. and some Lords Cap. and Lords Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt., Coll, Huds., Del, Dyce, Sta, Hal, Wh. i, Ktly, Ox.

1] As two lines, ending *leaue* / I Ff, Rowe [T. J. (1721) follows Qq]

1. *leaue*, *leaue* Ff, et seq

Wales and I,] *Wales and I* Q4Q4, Pope, Theob., Han, Warb, Johns, Sing., Knt, Huds, Del., et seq. *Wales, and I*, Q4-8, Ff, Rowe, Cap., Var. '73, '78, Ran., Steev., Varr.

2.] As two lines, ending *conference* / *hand* Ff, Rowe [T. J. (1721) follows Qq].

2. *private*] Om. T. J. (1721), Steev., Var. '03, '13, Dyce ii (conj.), Hal. ii. *at hand*] Om. Pope, Theob,

Han., Warb, Acting Version 1763, Johns. Printed at beginning of line 3. Cap., Varr., Ran., Mal., Vaughan.

III, ii] GENTLEMAN (*Int.* to Bell's ed., 1773): The king, in this scene, should maintain an earnest dignity of expression, and an authoritative concern of countenance. The monarch and father should be well united. As the author wrote the part of the king in this conference with his son, no actor could find breath to speak, nor any audience patience to hear, his prolixity. As they are at present reduced [by the omission of lines 50-87, 107-11, &c, in Bell's ed., and on the stage], they work a good effect both in utterance and perusal.—MRS. GRIFFITH (*Morality of Sh.*, 1775): The whole scene is so beautiful, so spirited, and so affecting, that it would be a massacre of literature to sever its members asunder. . . . There is hardly a line of the king's that is not worth all that Sophocles makes Oedipus say to his son in the same circumstances.—DAVIES (*Dram. Misc.*, 1785): In this scene the poet has used not one harsh or

For we shall presently haue neede of you. *Exeunt Lords.*

I know not whether God will haue it so

For some displeasing seruice I haue done,

5

That in his secreet doome out of my blood,

Heele breed reuengement and a scourge for me :

But thou dost in thy passages of life,

8

4 *God*] *Heauen* Fi, Rowe.
so] so, Q₂, et seq.

6 *doome*] *doome*, Q₂, et seq.
blood,] *blood* Pope, et seq

7. *Heele breed*] *He breeds* Pope,
Theob, Han, Warb

8. *thy*] *the* Q₂-s.

obscure word, the language is clear, flowing, and majestic, well adapted to character. Though it is little more than a fine picture of still-life, not blended with pity or terror, the great ingredients of tragic passion, the great skill of the writer has rendered it abundantly interesting and affecting—COURTENAY (*Comm on Hist Plays*, 1840): There is no authority for [this scene], and it is certain that no such remonstrance could have taken place on the eve of the battle of Shrewsbury. There probably never was a prince who, at his age, had so honorably distinguished himself. The terms applied to his rival might with more reason have been applied to him; for he was but a boy, whereas Percy was six-and-thirty. [Courtenay is confusing history with drama. The Percy of the play is the prince's contemporary.—ED.]—LLOYD (*Essays on Sh*, 1858): The king lectures his son with the spirit of a parvenu culminant, and sets before him and commends to him the arts of subtle solemnity by which he himself rose from a noble's place to a throne, as if they were equally applicable to the position of heir apparent to a powerful monarch. . . . The son's design, not without filial similarity, is also to command respect by contrast to a foil, but, with more originality and daring than his father, he will be his own foil [cf. I, ii, 199–208]—AX (*Rel of Sh. to Hol.*, 1912, p. 3): This scene seems to be based upon an event which happened towards the end of Henry IV's reign, in 1412. It is, consequently, pre-dated. But we may as well say that it is founded on a similar scene in *The Famous Victories*, which seems to depend very closely on Holinshed. . . . Confronting here the dramatist with the chronicler, we see that in Holinshed (in *The Famous Victories*, also) the prince comes of his own free will, whereas in the play he is sent for; he arrives accompanied by friends, in the play he is alone. . . . In the play he is upbraided for his "lewd and mean attempts," whereas his aspiration to the crown is not alluded to.

1. *leau*,] SIMPSON (*Sh. Punctuation*, 1911, p. 69): As if to call attention to the pause, the Folio sometimes even breaks a line in half, giving one blank verse as two.

4–7] See Appendix: Sources: Daniel's *Civil Wars*—MOORMAN.

6. *doome*] SCHMIDT (1874): Decree, judgment.

blood] HUDSON (ed. 1880): The king is thinking of the wrong he has done to his own family, or blood, in the person of Richard [now perhaps to be avenged through his own blood in the person of the prince.—ED.]

Make me beleue that thou art onely markt
 For the hot vengeance, and the rod of heauen, 10
 To punish my mistreadings. Tell me elfe
 Could fuch inordinate and low desires,
 Such poore, fuch bare, fuch lewd, fuch mean attempts,
 Such barren pleafures, rude focietie
 As thou art matcht withall, and grafted to, 15
 Accompanie the greatneffe of thy blood,
 And hold their leuell with thy princely heart ?
Prin So pleafe your Maieftie, I would I could
 Quit all offences with as cleare excufe, 19

13. *bare*] *base* Rowe, +, Coll. 15. *to*] *too* Ff.
 (conj.), Walker (1860), Dyce ii, iii, 18. *would*] *wish* Pope, Theob.,
 Huds ii, Coll. iii. Han, Warb.
attempts] *attaints* Han, Warb., 19. *Quit*] *Quite* Q, Qs.
 Cap.

9, 10. markt . . . vengeance] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): Appointed for the instrument of vengeance [Perhaps, marked for vengeance.—ED]

11. punish my mistreadings] DAVIES (*Dram. Misc* 1785): The poet makes Henry keep his great offences to his sovereign constantly in mind; and his continual compunction and remorse lessen our hatred to the usurper [The king seems to imply that part of his punishment is the vengeance to be taken by heaven on his son —ED]

13. *bare*] SCHMIDT (1874): Lean, poor.—WALKER (*Crit. Exam. of Text*, 1860, i, 279) gives ten examples of the possible confusion of *bare* with *base* [cf. I, iii, 108].

lewd] STEEVENS (Var. ed 1773): Not *wanton*, but *licentious*. SCHMIDT (1874) gives seven examples, including this, of Shakespeare's use of *lewd* in the sense of vile, base, mean; and the context in this line supports him. He gives six examples of Shakespeare's use of the word in the sense of dissolute, lustful.

attempts] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): Shakespeare certainly wrote *attaints*, unlawful actions.—HEATH (*Reversal of Sh Text*, 1765, p 251): Mr. Warburton is mistaken. Attaints, convictions, are frequently the consequence of unlawful actions, but not the actions themselves We should recall the genuine reading, *attempts*.—CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): *Attempts* . . . is capable of no interpretation that will suit with this place: in which are two distinct charges against the prince, expressed plainly and briefly in the line that follows, by the words *barren pleasures* and *rude society*: to the latter the word *attaints*, and its epithets, will be found corresponding.—SCHMIDT (1874) gives twelve examples of Shakespeare's use of *attempt* in the sense of enterprise, undertaking; and two in the sense of pursuit, namely the line under consideration and *Julius Caesar*, I, iii, 135: "No, it is Casca; one incorporate To our attempts."—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Undertakings, enterprises; cf. *All's Well*, I, iii, 244: "I'll stay at home And pray God's blessing into thy attempt."—N. E. D. (1888), without reference to this passage, defines *attempts* as enterprises, and *attaints* as stains upon honour.

As well as I am doubtlesse I can purge
 My felfe of many I am chargd withall, 21
 Yet fuch extenuation let me beg,
 As in reproofe of many tales deuifde,
 Which oft the eare of greatnes needs muft heare
 By fmiling pickthanks, and bafe newesmongers, 25
 I may for fome things true, wherein my youth
 Hath faulty wandred, and irregular,
 Find pardon on my true fubmiffion
Kin. God pardon thee, yet let me wonder, Harry,
 At thy affections, which do hold a wing 30

20. *as I am doubtlesse*] Qq, Ff, Ktly (*Expos*), Huds. 11.
 Rowe, Pope, Han i, Sing. ii, Dyce, 24] Printed as parenthetical. Var.
 Hal i, Cam., Glo., Huds. ii, Wh. ii, '85, Ran., Mal, Steev, Varr., Sing.,
 Tud., Ox., Ard *as, I am doubtless*, Knt., Huds. i, Del., Dyce, Sta, Hal,
 Theob., et cet. Ktly.
 22. *beg*] bring Thirlby MS 29] As two lines, ending *thee/Harry*
 23 *in*] on Johns. (conj.). Ff, Rowe 1 [T. J (1721) follows Qq].
 24, 25.] Order of lines reversed. 29. *God*] *Heauen* Ff, +, Varr, Ran

20. *I am doubtlesse*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): I have no doubt.

22-28. *Yet . . . pardon*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): The construction is somewhat obscure: "Let me beg so much extenuation that upon confutation of many false charges I may be pardoned some that are true"—COWL (ed. 1914): Perhaps the meaning is. "Let me beg extenuation of my offences so far that, by way of reproof to the smiling pickthanks who have falsely accused me, I may find pardon for the follies and irregularities of which I have been actually guilty" [Cowl would seem to prefer Johnson's explanation to this suggestion of his own, for he prints it first, and himself defines reproof as disproof, as in I, ii, 180.—ED]

23. *in reproofe*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): I should read *on*, but concerning Shakespeare's particles there is no certainty.—COWL (ed. 1914): Change is needless, for *in* sometimes equals *on*, as in "*in* earth as it is in heaven."—MASON (*Comm. on the Last Ed.*, 1785): In disproof—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): In consideration of my being able to disprove

25. *By*] MASON (1785): *By* refers to *deus'd*, two lines above.

pickthanks] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): Officious parasites.—DOUCE (*Illust. of Sh.*, 1807, i, 433): "Cave ne falsam gratiam studes inire," Terence, is thus Englished by Udall in his *Floures for Latin spekyng*, 1533, fol. 137: "Beware that thou desyre not to pyke or to haue a thank of me undeserued."—SINGER (ed. 1856): The word is from Holinshed [see Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Holinshed.]

27. *irreuglar*] SCHMIDT (1874): Lawless. [Cf. I, i, 40.]

30. *affections*] COWL (ed. 1914): Inclinations, propensities; as in *Edward II*, I, iv: "thou corrupt'st my lord And art a bawd to his affections."—N. E. D. (1888): Feelings, passions, disposition. *Romans*, i, 26: "God gave them up to vile affections."

Quite from the flight of all thy auncestors,
 Thy place in counsell thou hast rudely lost 32
 Which by thy yonger brother is supplide,
 And art almost an allien to the harts
 Of all the Court and princes of my blood, 35
 The hope and expectation of thy time
 Is ruind, and the foule of euery man
 Prophetically do forethinke thy fall :
 Had I fo lauifh of my prefence beene,
 So common hackneid in the eyes of men, 40
 So stale and cheape to vulgar companie,

38 *do* Qq, Ff, Dyce (conj.), Wh. i 40, 41 *hackneid* ..and] *hackney'd*, in
doth Cam., Glo., Wh. ii. *does* Rowe, *the eyes of men/So stale, so Vaughan.*
 et cet. 40. *eyes*] *wayes* F₃F₄, Rowe 1 [T. J.
 39] Om. T. J. (1721) follows Qq].

32, 33.] MALONE (ed. 1790): Our author is guilty of an anachronism The prince's removal from the council in consequence of his striking the Lord Chief Justice Gascoigne was some years after the battle of Shrewsbury (1403). His brother, Thomas Duke of Clarence, was appointed President of the Council in his room, and he was not created a duke until 13 Henry IV (1411).—BOWLING (*The Wild Prince Hal*, 1926, p. 321). Henry's removal was due not to his wild acts but to his presumption in sending troops to France without the king's leave. . . . In 1408, the prince began to assume an aggressive part in affairs of government; but concerning the line of foreign policy in France, where the Burgundians and Armagnacs were engaged in civil war, he and the king held different views. The prince favored the Burgundian interest, the king the Armagnac. In 1411 the question of English help to one or the other faction arose. . . . The king ordered the Earl of Arundel to negotiate with the Burgundians, but not to conclude a treaty. At this point the prince intervened. As head of the Council he sent off, under the leadership of Arundel, Oldcastle, &c., an effective body of troops to aid the Burgundians. . . . Even the success which crowned the expedition did not justify the prince's action in the eyes of the king. It brought his ministry to an end.

36. *hope . . . time*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): What was expected of you at this period of your life.—COWL (ed. 1914): The hope and expectation entertained of thy youth; as in *Cymbeline*, I, i, 43: "Puts to him all the learnings that his time Could make him the receiver of"; and *Edward IV*, IV, iv: "Show thy time's learning in this dangerous time." "Hope and expectation" occurs frequently in North's *Plutarch*.

38. *do*] DYCE (ed. 1857): Shakespeare may have considered *every man* (line 37) a plural.—WHITE (ed. 1859): There are too many instances of this construction in our early literature for it to be the result of carelessness or accident.

39-59.] AX (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol.*, 1912, p. 38): The words of the king . . . contain rather a lesson in Machiavellism than moral precepts. . . . By the opposite party Henry IV is always represented as a great hypocrite, "a vile poli-

Opinion that did helpe me to the crowne, 42
 Had still kept loyall to poffession,
 And left me in reputelesse banishment,
 A fellow of no marke nor likelihoode 45
 By being feldome feene, I could not stirre
 But like a Comet I was wondred at,
 That men would tell their children this is he :
 Others would say, where, which is Bullingbrooke ?
 And then I stole all curtesie from heauen, 50

44 *banishment*.] *banishment* Q₅₋₈.
 45 *likelihoode*.] *likelihood*, Q₄₋₇.

46. *By*] *But* Warb, Johns

tician." . . . Here, even Henry himself confesses that he is one (lines 50-54) . . . But we will lay aside all modern feelings of ethics, and even admit that these rules of diplomacy were necessary at a time when cunning was perhaps virtue . . . But did the prince need these rules? He is an even greater diplomat than his father, as appears in I, ii, 186 ff.

42. *Opinion*] SCHMIDT (1874): Public opinion, reputation — COWL (ed. 1914): "Opinion" is constantly used in a depreciatory sense by Elizabethan writers who oppose it to Truth and Reason. Dekker, *London Triumphant* (Pearson, III, 254): "Opinion, that ne'er knew What was either good or true." See Jonson, *The Barriers*; and Guelpin, *Skeletheia* (1598), Satyre VI, where Reason is said to be the "soules bright genius," and Opinion, "Reason's slave and shadow."—"It's but the hisse of geese, the peeples noyse"

43. *loyall to possession*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): True to him that had then possession of the crown.

46-48.] COWL (*Sources*, 1929): These lines contain the same ideas—and in the same sequence—that are expressed in Persius's closely packed line (*Satira*, I, 28)—"At pulchrum est digito monstrari et dicier *huc est*." "This is he" is given by Shakespeare the same position of emphasis . . . and was not used by any of the translators of Persius.

50. *stole . . . heauen*] Warburton (*Letter to Birch*, 1738, Aug 27): An allusion to the famous story of Prometheus's theft: who stole fire from thence. And as with *this* he made a man, so with *that* Bolingbroke made a king. As the gods were supposed to be fond of appropriating *reason* to themselves, the getting fire from thence, which caused it, was called a theft. And as *power* is their prerogative, the getting courtesy from thence, by which power is procured, is called a theft. [This note is repeated, substantially, in Warburton's ed. of 1747, with the following sentence added]: The thought is exquisitely great and beautiful.—CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): Excess of courtesy (condescension) in man to his fellows cannot be better illustrated than by that which Heaven is pleased to shew towards him; which is so immense, that the quality may well be considered as peculiar to heaven; and what man shews of it to man, a partial derivation from thence, or a theft.—MALONE (ed. 1790): The poet had not a thought of Prometheus or the heathen gods, nor indeed was courtesy the characteristic of those deities. The meaning, I apprehend, is—I was so affable and

And drest my felfe in fuch humilitie
 That I did plucke allegiance from mens hearts, 52
 Loud shouts, and salutations from their mouths,
 Euen in the prefence of the crowned king.
 Thus did I keepe my perfon fresh and new, 55
 My prefence like a roabe pontificall,
 Nere feene but wondred at, and fo my state
 Seldome, but fumptuous shewd like a feaft,
 And wan by rarenesse fuch folemnitie.
 The skipping king, he ambled vp and downe, 60

51 *such*] *much* Theob. ii, iii, iv, Cam, Huds ii, Wh ii
 Warb, Johns *sumptuous*] *sumptuous*, Q₂, et
 53 *salutations*] *salutation* Rowe ii. seq.
 54 *in the*] *in* Q₂ *shewd*] *shewed* Q₂, et seq
 55 *did I*] *I did* Q₅₋₈, Ff, +, Knt, 59. *wan*] Qq, Coll i, ii, Wh, Cam.,
 Ktly. Ard. *wonne* Ff, et cet.
 57. *state*] *state*, Q₇Q₈, Ff, et seq. 60, 61, 62 *downe*, *jesters*, *kindled*,
 58 *Seldome*,] *Seldome* Ff, Rowe, ...*state*,] *downe*; *jesters* *kindled*...
 Pope, Han i, Ran, Dyce, Hal. i, *state*; Vaughan.

popular that I engrossed the devotion and reverence of all men to myself, and thus defrauded Heaven of its worshippers. . . . This interpretation is strengthened by the two subsequent lines—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): Massinger has adopted this expression in *The Great Duke of Florence*: "A prince in expectation, when he lived here Stole courtesy from heaven."—BOSWELL (Var. ed. 1821): Gifford, in a note on the passage from Massinger . . . says: "This is from Shakespeare, and the plain meaning of the phrase is that the affability and sweetness of Giovanni were of a heavenly kind, i.e. more perfect than was usually found among men . . . and therefore immediately derived or stolen from heaven, whence all good proceeds.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): *Stole*, took so that no one observed it to be assumed. Cf. *Richard II*, I, iv, 23-34, with the whole of this passage.

56. *roabe pontificall*] PECK (*Explan. Notes*, 1740): He alludes to the gorgeous vestments worn by the Jewish highpriest, which were never brought out . . . but once a year.—DAVIES (*Dram. Misc.*, 1785): A robe such as popes, patriarchs, and archbishops wear at high mass.—ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, p. 306): When the noun is unemphatic, the transposition of the adjective, to follow the noun, may be expected. . . . The existence of the robe is taken for granted, the essence of the expression is the transposed adjective. Cf. *As You Like It*, II, vii, 155: "With eyes severe, and beard of formal cut."

57. *state*] COWL (ed. 1914): Appearance in state.—N. E. D. (1919): Dignity of presence. Splendour, magnificence.

59. *wan*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): The earlier form of the preterite.—COWL (ed. 1914): A form of the preterite usual in North, Holland, and other Elizabethan writers.

solemnitie] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Dignity as became a feast. [Shake-

With fhallow iesters, and rash bavin wits,
 Soone kindled, and foone burnt, carded his state, 62

61. *bavin*] *braine* Dering MS. (conj.), Heath, Coll. MS., Wh, Coll.
baven Han. i. iii. 'scarded *his* Han., Warb., Johns.,

62. *carded his*] *discarded* Warb., Cap.

speare commonly uses this word as a synonym of ceremony In this passage SCHMIDT (1874) defines it as awful grandeur, dignity.—ED]

60–69] ELTON (ed. 1889): This account of Richard II is not the same as in the play bearing his name, where he . . . can speak only in the grand style Mised he is by flatterers, but not as Henry describes

60. skipping] SCHMIDT (1874): Thoughtless, flighty, wanton. "All wanton as a child, skipping and vain " *Love's Labour's Lost*, V, ii, 749

61. *rash bavin wits*] PECK (*Explan. Notes*, 1740): A bavin is a faggot. Such companions as Richard chose . . . are as common as sticks in a faggot, and their wit, though flashy, is as soon exhausted —WARBURTON (ed. 1747): Dry brushwood wits.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765). *Rash* is heady, thoughtless. *Bavin* is brushwood, which, fired, burns fiercely, but is soon out.—MALONE (*Second Appendix to Supplement*, 1783): *Rash*, I believe, is fierce, violent. So, in *Richard II*, II, 1, 33: "His rash, fierce blaze of riot cannot last," [applied to the same "skipping king" by Henry's father, John of Gaunt —ED]—COWL (ed. 1914): Lyly, *Mother Bombe*, IV, 1: "Bavins will have their flashes, and youth their fancies; the one as soon quenched as the other burnt."—J. Q. ADAMS: Possibly an echo of Lyly's use of the old proverb: "The bavin, though it burn bright, is but a blaze" (*Euphues*, ed. Bond, 1, 218, 32). Shakespeare shows familiarity with Lyly in this play.

62. *carded*] HEATH (*Revisal*, 1765, p. 252): We have no such English abbreviation as 'scarded [see Textual Notes], nor is it necessary here. The word *discarded*, at length, may be inserted without prejudice to the metre—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): The metaphor seems to be taken from mingling coarse wool with fine, and *carding* them together, whereby the value of the latter is diminished . . . A subsequent part of this speech [lines 86, 87] gives a sanction to this explanation. To *card* is used by other writers for to *mix*; so . . . Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*: "You card your beer, half small, half strong"; and Bacon's *Natural History*: "It is excellent drink . . . either drunk alone or carded with some other beer." The original hint for this note I received from Mr. Tollet. [Steevens's explanation is accepted by FARMER (Var. ed. 1778), SINGER (ed. 1856), and DYCE (ed. 1864)—ED.]—RITSON (*Remarks . . . on the Last Ed*, 1783): The king means that his predecessor set his consequence to hazard, played it away, as a man loses his fortune, at cards.—MALONE (*Second Appendix to Supplement*, 1783): Warburton is right [see Textual Notes], but his amendment unnecessary. Shakespeare, who uses *quite* for *requite*, *draw* for *withdraw*, may fairly be supposed to use *carded* for *discarded*. To *card* wool is not to mingle coarse with fine, but to blend together the fibres in such a manner that they can be spun into a thread; and the word *card* in this signification cannot form any sense in this passage.—IBID. (ed. 1790): I am unable to throw any light on this difficult passage.—IBID.

Mingled his royaltie with capring fooles,
 Had his great name prophaned with their scornes,
 And gaue his countenance againſt his name

65

63 *capring*] *carping* Q₂₋₈, Ff, +, Steev, Varr, Coll 11, iii, Cam, Glo,
 Cap., Varr., Ran, Sing, Knt, Coll. Dyce 11, iii, Hal 11, Huds 11, Ox, Ard.
 i, Huds i, Del, Dyce 1, Sta, Hal. 1, 65 *name*] *fame* Vaughan
 Ktly, Vaughan *capring* Mal,

(ed Steevens, 1793) To *card* is simply to work wool with a card to prepare it for spinning.—COLLIER (*Notes and Emend*, 1852). Warburton, with great sagacity, proposed to read *discarded*. And such is the emendation proposed in the MS.—SINGER (ed 1856): To *card* is to debase by mixing, and yet Mr Collier talks of Warburton's "great sagacity."—WHITE (ed 1859): Much fruitless exegetical labour has been expended upon this text, it being impossible to extort any semblance of meaning from the old copies. [Has White read Steevens, et al? —ED] The manner in which the corruption occurred is easily comprehensible to any person familiar with the accidents to which standing matter is liable in a printing office. *dis* was first separated from *carded*, so that the passage read "carded *dis* state," and then the *dis* was changed to *his* in the correction of a supposed literal error [No more "fruitless exegetical labour has been expended" upon this passage than the above —ED.]—N. E. D (1893): *Card*. To stir and mix with cards, to stir together, to mix. Topsell, 1607: "As for his diet, let it be warm mashies,—sodden wheat and hay,—carded with a pair of wool-cards."—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Mixed, and so debased, as is explained in the next line. The figure is not taken from the carding of wool, for this is a process by which wool is made finer, but from the mixing or blending of liquors.—COWL (ed. 1914) gives many examples of the use of *card*, to debase by mixing; and of *card*, to comb wool, hence to wear away, waste

63. *capring*] [See Textual Notes.]—WARTON (*Appendix*, vol. x, Var. ed. 1778) *Carping* fools, i.e., jesting, prating fools. This word had not yet acquired the sense which it bears in modern speech.—STEEVENS (Var ed 1778): *Cap'ring* I believe to be right because it asks no explanation—MALONE (ed 1790) and (substantially) BOSWELL (Var. ed. 1821): Had all the quartos read *capring* and the folio *carping*, the latter reading might derive some strength from the authority of that copy; but the change having been made arbitrarily, or by chance, in the quarto of 1599, it has no pretensions of that kind. It may further be observed that "capering fools" were proper companions for a "skipping king."—COLLIER (ed. 1842): *Carping* is perhaps right, as is indicated in the next line. . . *Capering* may be the true reading, in reference to Court revels and dances.—IBID. (ed. 1858): We adopt *capering* with hesitation.—WHITE (ed. 1859): *Scorns* [line 64] does not sustain the reading *carping*; for however fools might carp, they would not carp, or hold up to scorn, their royal patron. His name was profaned with the scorn that attached to theirs.

65.] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Made his presence injurious to his reputation.—MASON (*Comments on the Last Ed.*, 1785): I doubt the propriety of Dr. Johnson's explanation, and suppose its meaning to be that he favoured and en-

To laugh at gibing boyes, and stand the push
 Of every beardedleffe vaine comparatiue, 67
 Grew a companion to the common streetes,
 Enfeofft himselfe to popularitie,
 That being dayly swallowed by mens eyes, 70
 They furred with honie, and began to loath
 The taste of sweetneffe, whereof a little
 More then a little, is by much too much.
 So when he had occasion to be feene,
 He was but as the Cuckoe is in Iune, 75
 Heard, not regarded . Seene, but with such eies

66 at] with Han, Warb, Cap 72. sweetnesse] sweets Cap
 69 Enfeofft] Enforc't Qs-s. a] Om Pope, Han., Walker
 71 to loath] Printed at beginning of (1860).
 line 72 T. J., Pope, et seq.

couraged things that were contrary to his dignity and reputation To countenance, or give countenance to, are common expressions, and mean to encourage or patronize—MALONE (ed. 1790). The phrase "against his name" is parenthetical. "He gave his countenance, to the diminution of his name or character, to laugh &c." In plain English, he honoured gibing boys with his company, and dishonoured himself by joining in their mirth.

66, 67. stand the push of] SCHMIDT (1874). Expose oneself to, face—WRIGHT (ed. 1897). Submit to the attack of those who would break their jests upon him. Cf. *Trifolius and Cressida*, II, ii, 136. "What propugnation is in one man's valour, To stand the push and enmity of those This quarrel would excite?"

67.] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Of every boy whose vanity incited him to try his wit against the king's. When Lewis XIV was asked why, with so much wit, he never attempted raillery, he answered that he who practised raillery ought to bear it in his turn, and that to stand the butt of raillery was not suitable to the dignity of a king.

67 comparatiue] MALONE (ed. 1790): One who affects wit, a dealer in comparisons, a simile-monger. The "most comparative prince" has already occurred in the play [I, ii, 77]. N. E. D (1897) supports Malone, but suggests that in this passage the word *may* signify rival.

69 Enfeofft] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778). A law term, signifying to invest with possessions.—MALONE (ed. 1790): Gave himself up entirely. . . . A feofment was the ancient mode of conveyance by which all lands in England were granted in fee-simple.

popularitie] SCHMIDT (1874): Vulgarity—N. E. D. (1909): The populace; also Popular practices; the practice of trying to win popular favour.

75, 76. Cuckoe . . . regarded] HALLIWELL (ed. 1859) quotes Nott's note on a passage in Dekker's *Gull's Horn Book* (ed. Nott, 1812, pp 11, 12). The passage: "I sing, like the cuckoo in June, to be laughed at." The note: "The

As ficke and blunted with communitie, 77
 Affoord no extraordinary gaze.
 Such as is bent on fun-like maiestie,
 When it shines feldome in admiring eies, 80
 But rather drowzd, and hung their eie-lids down,
 Slept in his face, and rendred fuch aspect
 As cloudy men vfe to their aduerfaries,
 Being with his prefence gluttet, gorgde, and full. 84

78 *Affoord*] *Offer'd* Heath Cap, et seq
 gaze.] *gaze*, Qs, Ff, Rowe, Cap, 83. *vse*] *do* Cap (conj)
 et seq *gaze*, Pope, Theob., Han., *to*] *to doe* to Qs-s, F1. *to do* F2-4
 Warb, Johns 84 *gluttet*] *gultted* Qs.
 81 *But*] *They* Han. *gordge*] *gorgde* QsQ4-7 *gorg'd*
 82. *rendred*] *rendring* Qs *render'd* QsQs, Ff, et seq.

cuckoo, just previous to his departure hence, the first week in July, is said to acquire a harsh and discordant note"—HARTING (*Birds of Sh.*, 1871, p. 155). In June the cuckoo has been in song for a month, and is therefore less noticed than on its first arrival in April, when it is listened to as the harbinger of Spring.

77. *communitie*] SCHMIDT (1874): Commonness, frequency.

78. *Affoord*] HEATH (*Reversal*, 1765, p. 252): The construction of the passage . . . shews that the verb should be in the past. . . I conclude, therefore, that the poet might probably have written *Offer'd* . . . i.e., Did not pay the tribute of extraordinary gaze such as is usually paid to majesty when seldom seen—CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): [Heath] objects to *Afford* as not agreeing with the verbs that come after . . . but there will be few readers that will not rather put up with such a trifling inaccuracy than embrace a word which the ear does not relish and that is defective in ease.—WALKER (*Crit. Exam. of Text*, 1860, II, 239) cites this as an example of the use of the present form of verbs ending in *t* (and sometimes in *d*) for the past tense.

81. *drowzd*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): The subject is changed from the eyes to the spectators.

82. *aspect*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): With the accent on the last syllable, as always in Shakespeare. See I, i, 97.—COWL (ed. 1914). Used here in its active sense [looks, glances], as in *Comedy of Errors*, II, ii, 110: "Some other mistress hath thy sweet aspects."

83. *cloudy*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Morose, sullen. Cf. *Macbeth*, III, vi, 41: "The cloudy messenger turns me his back."—COWL (ed. 1914): Topsell, *Histories of Four-footed Beastes*, 1607 (p. 460): "To be cloudy . . . betokeneth either anger or sorrow."

84.] COWL (ed. 1914): Mr. Craig suggests that Shakespeare in this speech was perhaps indebted to a passage in North's *Plutarch*, *Pericles* (ed. 1595, p. 170): "Pericles now to prevent that the people should not be *gluttet* with seeing him too oft . . . neither came much abroad among them, but reserved himselfe . . . for matters of great importance."

And in that very line Harry standest thou, 85
 For thou hast lost thy princely privilege
 With vile participation. Not an eye
 But is a weary of thy common fight,
 Save mine, which hath desired to see thee more,
 Which now doth that I would not have it do, 90
 Make blind it selfe with foolish tenderesse.

Prin I shall hereafter my thrice gracious Lord,
 Be more my selfe. *King.* For all the world,
 As thou art to this houre was Richard then, 94

85. *standest*] *standest* Q₄. *stand'st* *tenderesse.*] *tenderness* (Weep-
 T. J., Rowe ii, Cap., Varr., Ran., ing.) Johns, Var '73
 Mal., Steev., Var. '03, '13, Coll, 93] Printed as two half-lines. Ff, et
 Sing. ii, Del., Dyce, Sta., Hal, Wh i, seq.
 Ktly., Ox., Huds. ii. 93 *selfe.*] *self, than I*— Seymour.
 90 *that*] *what* Pope, +, Varr., Ran. *self in this* Vaughan
do] *done* Q₄₋₈ *For*] *Harry, for Han*
 91. *blind it selfe*] *itself blind* Ktly. 94. *to*] *at* Pope, +, Cap.

85.] COURTENAY (*Comm on Hist. Plays*, 1840): The comparison of Prince Henry with Richard II is very beautiful, but inappropriate Henry at no time displayed any lack of energy, or suffered his love of pleasure to interfere with the active duties in which the greater part of his life was spent.

85. line] See I, iii, 168, note.

86, 87. *thou . . . participation*] SCHMIDT (1874): *Participation*, community, fellowship: "Their spirits are so married in conjunction with the participation of society that they flock together in consent, like so many wild geese." *II Henry IV*, V, i, 60.—N. E. D. (1909): *Participation*, the fact or condition of sharing with others, fellowship —COWL (ed. 1914). By associating with the vile you have lost the consideration due to a prince.

88. *a weary*] ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram*, 1870, pp. 34, 35): *A-*, as prefix of adjectives, represents the Anglo-Saxon intensive *of*. . . *A-weary* means of-weary, tired-out.

93.] SEYMOUR (*Remarks*, 1805): The prince would never have concluded with so weak a sentence: he was interrupted while he was proceeding—MORGAN (*Some Problems of Henry IV*, 1924): This line consists of two fragments—the end of the prince's very short speech and the beginning of the king's. It is not hard to believe that originally the prince's speech was longer, more nearly approximating in length his other two speeches in this scene. [Both these critics fail to appreciate the effectiveness of the restraint shown by the prince in the brevity of this speech. The last seven lines of the king's speech must have been very distasteful to his son: first, the unjust comparison of the prince with King Richard; then, the sentimental appeal of the king's tears. The prince makes a brief and dignified reply, hoping to check the rhetoric of his father. "Be more myself" is hardly a weak utterance; Shakespeare perhaps took the phrase, unconsciously, from the parable of the Prodigal Son: "Now when he came to himself, &c."—ED.]

When I from France fet foot at Rauenspurgh,
 And euen as I was than, is Percy now, 96
 Now by my scepter, and my foule to boote,
 He hath more worthie interest to the state
 Then thou the shadow of succession. 99

95. <i>foot</i>] <i>forth</i> F ₂₋₄ , Rowe. <i>at</i>] to Rowe 11. <i>Rauenspurgh</i>] Qq, F ₁₋₃ , Cam, Glo, Wh 11, Tud., Ox, Ard. Raven- spurg F ₄ , et cet	Rowe, Wh 1, Cam, Glo, Wr, Ox <i>state</i> , / <i>Then thou</i> , Q ₂₋₃ , Cap, Var '78, '85, Ran, Mal, Steev, Varr, Sing, Knt, Huds 1, Sta, Hal. 11, Ktly. <i>state</i> / <i>Then thou</i> , Q ₂ Q ₃ , F ₁ , Pope, +, Dyce, Hal 1, Huds 11, Coll 111, Wh 11, Tud, Ard. <i>state</i> , / <i>Than thou</i> Coll. 1, 11, Del.
96. <i>than</i>] <i>then</i> Q ₂ , et seq	
98. <i>to</i>] <i>in</i> Mason	
98, 99 <i>state</i> / <i>Then thou</i>] Q ₁ , F ₂₋₄ ,	

96] STOPFORD BROOKE (*Ten More Plays*, 1913) There is something of the irony of Shakespeare in the king pressing upon his son the imitation of that part of his character which was the chief cause of his quarrels with his nobles, and in afterwards advising him to be like Hotspur, whose character was the very opposite at all points of that of the king

98, 99] JOHNSON (ed 1765) This is obscure I believe the meaning is,—Hotspur hath a right to the kingdom more worthy than thou, who hast only the shadowy right of lineal succession, while he hath real and solid power.—MALONE (ed 1790): I believe the meaning is only,—He hath more popularity in the realm, more weight with the people, than thou the heir apparent. We should now write "in the state," but there is no corruption—WRIGHT (ed 1897). All the other quartos and the folios [but see Textual Notes] place a comma after *thou* Percy's claim is more worth than the shadowy title to the crown by inheritance which belongs to the prince—COWL (ed 1914). [If one adopts the punctuation of Q₁, Percy has a worthier claim to the crown than the prince has to the shadowy title to the crown which is his by inheritance [If one adopts the punctuation of F₁], Percy has, by his own worth, a better title to the sovereignty than thou, who art heir apparent. . . . *Thou, the shadow of succession*, thou, the shadow of the king to be . . . For *succession*, cf. *possession*, possessor, in line 43, ante.—IBID. (*Wm. Shakespeare*, n d, p 9). The passages cited [below] appear to establish the accuracy of the punctuation of Q₂ [and F₁] as against the punctuation of Q₁: Beaumont and Fletcher, *Philaster*, I, 1: "This [prince] would have been a *pattern of succession*." *Revenge for Honour*, IV, 1: "He is destin'd by nature and succession's privilege To wield the sceptre after you" Ford, *Perkin Warbeck*, V, 11: "I here present you, royal sir, a *shadow of Majesty*," where the allusion is to the pretender Warbeck, then a prisoner. [The difficulties of interpretation lie in the attempt made by editors to hold Shakespeare to a logical sentence-structure. The meaning of the passage seems clear. Hotspur's right to the throne (like King Henry's own) is *solid and substantial*, and arises from his great public service and his ability as a leader; Prince Henry's right is, in comparison, *shadowy*, and is based wholly on the artificial right of inheritance, which the king himself had cast aside when he took the crown from Richard.—ED.]

For of no right, nor colour like to right,
 He doth fill fields with harnesse in the realme, 101
 Turnes head against the lions armed iawes,
 And being no more in debt to yeares, then thou
 Leads ancient Lords, and reuerend Bishops on
 To bloudie battailes, and to bruifing armes 105
 What neuer dying honour hath he got
 Against renowned Dowglas? Whose high deeds,
 Whose hot incurfions, and great name in armes,
 Holds from al fouldiors chiefe maioritie
 And militarie title capitall. 110
 Through all the kingdoms that acknowledge Chrif

101 *harnesse ..realme,*] *harness, in the realm* Warb., Johns

103 *thou*] *Q₁Q₄₋₆, Sing ii. thou,*
Q₂Q₃Q₇Q₈, Ff, et cet

104 *Leads*] *Leadst* *Q₆.*
reuerend] *reuerent* *Q₄₋₈, F₁F₂,*

Ktly
 107. *renowned*] *renowned* *Q₄, et seq*

Douglas? *Whose*] *Dowglas?*
whose *Q₄₋₈, F₁F₂.* *Dowglas, whose*
F₁F₄, +, Del. *Douglas, whose* *Cap,*
Varr., Ran, Mal, Steev, Varr,
Sing, Knt, Coll., Hal ii. *Douglas!*

whose *Huds, Dyce, Sta., Hal i, Wh,*
Cam, Glo, Ktly., Tud, Ox., Ard

109 *souldrours*] *souldrours,* *Q₂*
souldier *Q₃*

110. *capitall*] *Q₁Q₆Q₈, Ff* *capitall*
Q₂Q₃, Dyce, Hal i, Wh, Cam, Glo,
Huds ii, Tud, Ard. *capitall, Q₄Q₇Q₈,*
et cet

111 *Christ*] *Christ, Q₄₋₈, Ff*
Christ! *Han., Var '73, Knt.* *Christ?*
Johns., Cap., Varr., Ran, Mal,
Steev, Varr, Sing. i, Hal ii *Christ.*
Dyce, Hal i, Cam, Glo., Huds ii,
Wh ii, Ard.

100 *colour*] SCHMIDT (1874). Specious pretence.

101. *harnesse*] SCHMIDT (1874): Armour

103.] See I, i, 86-90, note.—MALONE, in a note on *Richard II*, V, iii, pointed out the anachronism of ascribing dissolute habits to the prince, who was actually thirteen years old at the time of his father's accession, whereas Hotspur was of the age of the king—SINGER (ed. 1856) defends the dramatic propriety of Shakespeare's change, as rendering the noble emulation between the prince and Hotspur more probable—AX (*Rel. of Sh to Hol.*, 1912, p. 36) shows that Shakespeare must have known that Hotspur was older than the prince, if not from Holinshed's account of the reign of Henry IV, at least from his account of the reign of Richard II

104. *Lords, Bishops*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Among the rest, his father the Earl of Northumberland, his uncle the Earl of Worcester, and Richard Scroop, Archbishop of York; see lines 118, 119.

105. *armes*] SCHMIDT (1874): War, combat.

109. *maioritie*] SCHMIDT (1874): Superiority, pre-eminence.

110. *capitall*] SCHMIDT (1874): Chief, principal.

Thrice hath this Hotspur Mars in fwathling cloaths, 112
 This infant warrier in his enterprifes,
 Difcomfited great Dowglas, tane him once,
 Enlargd him, and made a friend of him, 115
 To fill the mouth of deepe defiance vp,
 And shake the peace and safety of our throne,
 And what fay you to this ? Percy, Northumberland,
 The Archbifhops grace of York, Dowglas, Mortimer,
 Capitulate againft vs, and are vp. 120
 But wherefore do I tel thefe newes to thee ?
 Why Harry do I tell thee of my foes,
 Which art my neareft and deareft enemy ? 123

112 *this*] the Qs-s, Ff, Rowe. (conj).
Hotspur Mars] Hotspur Mars, 115 *Enlargd*] *Enlargd* Q2, et seq
 Ff, Rowe. *Hotspur, Mars* Warb, 116. *deepe*] *the deepe* F2.
 Johns., Var. '73, Knt ii, iv, Coll., 117 *throne*] *throne*. Q4, et seq
 Huds., Del., Sta., Wh., Cam., Glo, 119. *The*] *Th'* T. J. (1721), Pope,
 Dyce ii, iii, Ktly., Ox, Ard. Theob, Han, Warb, Johns., Dyce
swathling] Q1-s, Cam., Glo., ii, iii, Huds ii
 Wh. ii, Tud., Ox., Ard *swarthing* *Mortimer*] *and Mortimer* Rowe,
 Hal. ii. *swathling* Q4-s, Ff, et cet Pope, Theob, Han., Warb, Johns,
 113. *warrier*] Q1, Var. '03, '13, Var., Cap., Dyce ii, iii, Huds ii.
 Knt. i, iii, Hal. ii, Wh. ii. *warrier*, 121. *these*] *this* F2F4, +
 Q2, et cet. 123 *nearest*] *near'st* Q5Q6, Ff, et
 114. *him once*] *his son* Theob. seq.

112-115] [See note on I, i, 70-73]—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Hotspur defeated the Scotch at Nesbit and Humbleton, but was defeated at Otterburn, though he slew the Douglas of that time.—AX (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol*, 1912, p. 36): According to Holinshed's *History of Scotland*, V, 405, Archembald, Earl of Douglas, succeeded his father in 1400. In 1402, by his order, two inroads into England were made. The leader of the first was Thomas Haliburton; of the second, Patrick Hepbourne. Haliburton was successful, Hepbourne was beaten at Nesbit. The third expedition ended with the complete overthrow of the Scotch at Homildon, where Douglas himself had command. Perhaps Shakespeare made Douglas himself the leader of all these skirmishes, and represented the first as a defeat.

112. *swathling*] [Perhaps a confusion of the older form *swathing* with the newer *swaddling*, which was generally in use in 1596. The N. E. D. does not record *swathling*.—ED.]

120. *Capitulate*] JOHNSON (*Dictionary*, 1755): To draw up anything in heads and articles.—MALONE (ed. 1790) [illustrating Johnson's definition]: The Percies, we are told by Walsingham, sent about letters containing three *articles*, or principal grievances, on which their rising was founded. To these perhaps our author alludes.—N. E. D. (1897), with reference to this passage: Draw up articles of agreement.

123. *dearest*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Most fatal, most mischievous.—HUDSON

Thou that art like enough through vaffall feare,
 Bafe inclination, and the start of spleene, 125
 To fight againft me vnder Percies pay,
 To dog his heeles, and curtfie at his frownes,
 To fhew how much thou art degenerate.

Prin Do not thinke fo, you fhall not find it fo,
 And God forgiue them that fo much haue fwaide 130
 Your maiefties good thoughts away from me
 I will redeeme all this on Percies head,
 And in the clofing of fome glorious day
 Be bold to tell you that I am your fonne,
 When I will weare a garment all of blood, 135
 And ftaine my fauours in a bloody maske,

124 *Thou that*] *That thou* Q₁₋₃.
Thou, that F₁. *Thou* F₂₋₄, Rowe
Thou who T. J.

128. *thou art degenerate*] *degenerate*
thou art Cap., Mal., Steev., Sing. ii,
 Hal. ii.

129. *shal*] *shalt* Var. '85.

130 *God*] *Heauen* Ff., +, Varr.,

Ran.

so much haue] *have so much*
 Var. '03, '13, Var., Sing. i, Huds. i,
 Hal. ii.

136 *staine*] *hide* Cap. (conj.)
faours] *favour* Han., Warb.,
 Huds. i (conj.), Wh., Dyce ii, iii,
 Ktly., Coll. iii, Tud

(ed. 1852): So, in *Hamlet*, I, ii, 182: "Would I had met my dearest foe in heaven"—N. E. D. (1897): *Dearest friend* may have suggested *dearest enemy*.

125. *start of spleene*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Impulse of caprice or ill-temper

132-151] ELTON (ed. 1889, p. 114): We, if the point were pressed, should think it a poor redemption of wasted time to slay a Percy, and should not think that the slayer could rifle the honours, as if they were the pockets, of his victim. Happily for poetry the heroic age thought otherwise.

136. *faours*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Features.—HEATH (*Revisal*, 1765, p. 253): It was a known custom of chivalry for the knight to appear in the field . . . dressed in the favours of some lady whom he acknowledged as mistress. These favours were either a glove, or some ornament to wear on his crest, or a scarf to be hung across his shoulders. . . . These are the favours that are meant in this passage.—CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): The words *mask* and *wash away* [lines 136, 137] declare against [Heath's] interpretation, and make the editor incline towards *features*.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): I am not sure that the plural of favour, in the sense of feature, is ever used. I believe favours here means some decoration. So, in this play [V, iv, 96]: "Then let my favours hide thy bloody face"; where he must have meant a scarf. [Steevens, however, in *Lear*, III, vii, 39, defines *favours* as features.—ED.]—MASON (*Comments on the Last Ed.*, 1785): The word *garment* in the preceding line confirms Mr. Steevens. [Boswell (Var. ed. 1821) and DYCE (ed. 1864) repeat, substantially, Capell's note.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897) agrees with Steevens that the plural, *favours*, is never used for features; but COWL (ed. 1914) cites *Lear*, III, vii, 39: "I am your host, With robbers' hands my hospitable *favours* You should

Which wafht away fhall fcoure my flame with it, 137
 And that fhall be the day when ere it lights,
 That this fame child of honour and renowne,
 This gallant Hotfpur, this all praifed knight, 140
 And your vnthought of Harry chance to meet,
 For euery honor fitting on his helme
 Would they were multitudes, and on my head
 My fhames redoubled. For the time will com
 That *I* fhall make this Northren youth exchange 145
 His glorious deedes for my indignities.
 Percy is but my faCTOR, good my Lord,
 To engrosse vp glorious deedes on my behalfe.
 And *I* will call him to fo ftrickt account,
 That he fhall render euery glory vp, 150
 Yea, euen the flefteft worfhip of his time,
 Or *I* will teare the reckoning from his heart.
 This in the name of God *I* promife heere,
 The which if he be pleafd *I* fhall performe : 154

141. *meet*,] Qq *meet* Ff, Rowe,
 Cap., Var '78, Mal, Hal. ii. *meet*
 Pope, et cet.

142. *sithing*] *fitting* Qs-s, F1.

143. *Would*] 'Would Warb., Johns.,
 Cap, Varr., Ran, Mal, Steev.,
 Varr., Sing., Knt., Coll., Huds, Del,
 Sta., Wh i, Hal ii, Ktly.

they] *there* Thirlby MS., Han.
on] *one* Qs.

144. *shames*] *shame* Qs-s. *shame's*
 F3

148. *vp*] *my* Qs-s

151. *his*] *the* Mason.

153 *God*] *Heauen* Ff, Rowe, Pope,
 Theob., Han., Warb., Johns.

154 *which*] *which*, Q2Q3, Ff, +,
 Cap., Coll., Wh. i, Ktly., Ox.

pleasd] *pleasd*, Q2-4, Q7Q8,
 Var. '73, Coll. i, ii, Wh. i.

if performe] *if I performe, and*
doe suruiue, F1, Rowe, Pope, Theob.,
 Warb., Johns., Coll MS., Wh i *if*
I promise, and doe suruiue, F2-4. *if I*
perform't, and do suruiue, Han., Ktly.
performe:] performe Q4-s. *per-*
forme Q7Q8. *perform*, Cap., et seq.

not ruffle thus." in reply to this objection —N. E. D. (1901) defines it in this passage as *features*, but gives no other example of its use in the plural in this sense. See also note by HARTMAN on V, iv, 96 —CAPELL's note remains unanswered, and, I think, conclusive —ED]

138. *lights*] N. E. D. (1909): Dawns.

147, 148. *factor, engrosse*] HUDSON (ed. 1880): As speculators or capitalists sometimes send out factors, or agents, to monopolize wool, grain, or other products.—N. E. D. (1897): *Engross*: To monopolize (with reference to this passage).

151. *worship . . . time*] ELTON (ed. 1889): Homage received in his life.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Honour which his contemporaries have paid him.—COWL (ed. 1914): Honours that his years have won for him. [Cf. Wright and Cowl

I do befeech your maiefty may falue 155
 The long grown wounds of my intemperance,
 If not, the end of life cancels all bands,
 And I will die a hundred thoufand deaths
 Ere breake the fmalleft parcell of this vow.

King. A hundred thoufand rebels die in this, 160
 Thou fhalt haue charge and foueraigne truſt herein
 How now good blunt thy lookes are full of ſpeed.

Enter Blunt.

Blunt. So hath the bufineſſe that I come to ſpeake of. 163

156 *long grown*] *long green* Thirlby
 MS. *lung'ring* Vaughan.
intemperance] *intemperature*

Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han., Warb.
 Wh. i.

157 *bands*] *Bonds* Rowe, +, Cap

158. a] *an* Qs-8, Johns., Var. '73
thousand] *thousands* Q4Q6

160. *King*] P. Henry Rowe ii.

162 *blunt*] *Blunt?* Q2, et seq

Enter Blunt] Printed before

line 162 Ff, et seq

Blunt] *Blunt*, hastily Cap.

163 *hath*] *is* Rowe ii, +, Cap.,

Varr., Ran., Coll. MS., Coll. ii, iii,
 Walker (1860), Dyce ii, iii, Huds. ii.

on line 36, *ante*, in both lines, *time* may be most simply explained as "time of life"—ED.]

154. if . . . *performe*] COLLIER (ed. 1858): The change from the quarto reading was considered necessary in consequence of the substitution of *heaven* for *God* in the preceding line—WHITE (ed. 1859). But no such change was necessary; for *he* might as well refer to heaven as to God. It does so in numerous instances in these plays and in contemporary literature; cf. *King John*, III, 1, 155. "For as we under heaven . . . so under him. . . ." The reading of the folio is fully sustained, if not made imperative, by the alternative clause of the sentence three lines below, where Prince Henry says: "If not, the end of life, &c." [Collier's explanation of the revision of the text is manifestly correct, even though *he* may sometimes refer to *heaven*. It is hard to see, with White, how the folio reading can be considered imperative. The quarto reading, with a comma substituted for the colon after *performe*, is entirely satisfactory, i.e., "which (promise), if it please God that I shall perform, I do beseech, &c. . . . If, however, it is not God's pleasure that I perform it, the end of my life will cancel, &c"—ED.]

157. *bands*] STEEVENS (ed. 1793): Bonds, for so the word was anciently spelt. So, in *The Comedy of Errors*, IV, ii, 49: "My master is arrested on a band."

162, 163.] CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p. 522): Shakespeare occasionally introduces peculiarly phrased replies, where the form of answer does not seem to cohere precisely with the form of question just put. . . . The reply here omits the *full* of included in the question, and accepts it as if it had been, "thy looks have speed in them"; thus consisting well with the hurry of the speaker.—MALONE (ed. 1790) explains the reply as "So also the business that I come to speak of *hath* speed, i.e., requires immediate attention and despatch.—COWL (ed. 1914): There is an anacoluthon, or *hath* is used for *is*.

Lord Mortimer of Scotland hath fent word,
 That Dowglas and the English Rebels met 165
 The eleuenth of this month at Shrewsbury,
 A mighty and a fearefull head they are,
 If promifes be kept on euery hand,
 As euer offred foule play in a state
King. The Earle of Westmerland fet forth to day, 170
 With him my fonne Lord Iohn of Lancaſter,
 For this aduertifement is fīue daies old.
 On Wedneſday next, Harry you ſhall fet forward,
 On thurſday we our ſelues will march. Our meeting
 Is Bridgenorth, and Harry, you ſhall march 175
 Through Gloceſterſhire, by which account

164. *word*] *ward* Q₆

165. *met*] *meet* Thirby MS.

173-175] Lines re-arranged, ending *forward* / *march* / *march* Ff, Rowe; ending *set* / *march* / *you* Cap., Mal, Steev., Var. '03, '13, Sing. i, Hal. ii; ending *forward* / *march* / *you* T J, Var. '78, Var., Knt., Coll., Huds., Del, Dyce, Sta., Hal. i, Wh i

173. *Harry you*] *you, Harry*, Huds. ii.

Harry] *son Harry* Cap.

you shall] *thou shalt* Q₁₋₈, Ff, +, Varr, Ran, Knt.

174 *selues*] *self* Thirby MS.

175-178. Lines re-arranged, ending *Glocestershire* / *valued* / *forces at* / *meet* Ktly.

175 *Is*] *Is at* Pope, Theob., Han., Warb., Johns.

176, 177] *Through Gloucestershire: by which, some twelve days hence*, Pope, Theob., Han., Warb., Johns.

164-180.] See Appendix Sources of the Plot Holinshed.

164. *Mortimer of Scotland*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): There was no such person as Lord Mortimer of Scotland, but there was a Lord March of Scotland, George Dunbar, who having quitted his own country in disgust, attached himself so warmly to the English . . . that Parliament petitioned the king to reward him. He fought on the side of Henry in this rebellion, and was the means of saving his life at the battle of Shrewsbury, as is related by Holinshed. This, no doubt, was the lord whom Shakespeare designed to represent in the act of sending friendly intelligence to the king. Our author had a recollection that there was in these wars a Scottish lord on the king's side who bore the same title with an English family on the rebel side (one being Earl of March in Scotland, the other Earl of March in England), but his memory deceived him as to the particular name common to both. He took it to be Mortimer instead of March.

172. *aduertisement*] SINGER (ed. 1826): Intelligence.

173-178] None of the attempts to re-arrange these lines has improved the metre. The irregularities may be due to the haste and excitement of the king, or, more probably, to a hasty curtailment by the poet of the not very interesting, though instructive, speech of the king.—ED.

176-178. *by . . . meet*] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): By this reckoning, as I and

Our businesse valued some twelue daies hence,
 Our general forces at Bridgenorth shall meet
 Our hands are full of businesse, lets away,
 Aduantage feedes him fat while men delay *Exeunt* 180

[*Scena Tertia.*]

Enter Falstaffe and Bardol.

Fal Bardoll, am I not falne away vilely since this last 1
 action ? do I not bate ? do I not dwindle ? Why, my
 skinne hangs about me like an old Ladies loofe gowne I
 am withered like an oulde apple Iohn Well, ile repent 4

177 *valued*] *valued*, F₄, et seq
 180. *him*] *them* F₂₋₄, Rowe, Pope,
 Theob., Han, Warb
men] *we* Rowe, Pope, Theob.,
 Han, Warb., Kellner (1925).

Scena Tertia] Ff Om. Qq SCENE
 III. Rowe. SCENE v. Tavern in
 Eastcheap. Pope, Han. Scene
 changed to the Boar's-Head Tavern
 in Eastcheap Theob. SCENE v.
 Changes to the Boar's-head Tavern in
 East-cheap Warb, Johns. SCENE
 III East-cheap A Room in the

Tavern. Cap SCENE III. Changes
 to the Boar's-head Tavern in East-
 cheap. Var. '73. SCENE III. The
 Boar's-Head tavern in East-cheap.
 Var. '78, '85, Ran., Cam. II, Ard
 SCENE III East-cheap A Room in
 the Boar's-head Tavern. Mal, Steev.,
 Varr, Sing, Knt., Coll., Huds, Del.,
 Dyce, Sta., Hal, Ktly, Ox SCENE
 III Eastcheap The Boar's-Head
 Tavern Cam I, Glo, Wh. II, Tud
 2 *bate*] *'bate* Han

others have calculated the business [Our business valued], our general forces shall meet at Bridgenorth some twelve days hence.—WRIGHT (ed 1897) explains "our business valued" as "reckoning the time our business will take us."—N. E. D. (1928): *Valued*: estimated, appraised.

180.] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): "Advantage" is made a person, and "him" put for "himself"

III, iii] For survivals, in this scene, of Shakespeare's earlier, hypothetical, play, see Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Morgan, section 20 For Falstaff in this scene, see Appendix: Characters: Falstaff—Maurice Morgann.

1, 2 *last action*] ELTON (ed. 1889). The business on Gadshill

2 *bate*] SCHMIDT (1874): Fall off, lose weight.

4. *apple Iohn*] SCHMIDT (1874): A sort of apple which keeps long, but becomes very withered. Cf. *II Henry IV*, II, iv, 1 ff "*First Drawer* What the devil hast thou brought there? applejohns? thou knowest Sir John cannot endure an applejohn. *Second Drawer*. Thou sayest true. The prince once set a dish of applejohns before him, and told him that there were five more Sir Johns, and putting off his hat, said, 'I will now take my leave of these six dry, round, old, withered knights.'"—COWL (ed. 1914): So called because it is ready for gathering on St. John's day.

and that suddainly, while I am in some liking, I shall be
out of heart shortly, and then I shall have no strength to 6
repent. And I have not forgotten what the inside of a
Church is made of, I am a Pepper corne, a brewers Horse,
the inside of a Church. Company, villainous company, 9

5 *that*] Om Rowe [T J. follows 9. *the Church*] Om Mal (conj)
Qq, Ff]. *Church*.] *Church* Rowe, +, Ran.,
7. *And*] An T J, Pope, et seq. Var. '03, et seq. *church* Cap, Var
8 *Horse*.] *Horse* (or) F₃, et seq. '78, '85, Mal, Steev

5 in . . . liking] MALONE (ed. 1790). While I have some flesh, some substance So, in the *Book of Job*, xxxix, 4: "their young ones are in good liking" —COWL (ed 1914): Fairly plump So Cotgrave "Grasselet . . . Fattish, fatty, somewhat fat, in pretty good liking."

6. out of heart] N. E. D (1901): Of land: in poor condition.—COWL (ed. 1914) cites Swift, *Battle of the Books*: "their horses large, but extremely out of case and heart", and, for the metaphorical sense, *dispirited*, North's *Plutarch*, *Crassus* "so overcome with sorrow, and out of heart."

8. Pepper . . . Horse] JOHNSON (ed. 1765). I suppose a brewer's horse was apt to be lean with hard work —STEEVENS (Var ed 1773): Brewer's horse, perhaps the cross-beam on which barrels are carried into cellars. The allusion may be to the taper form of this machine [No record of any such usage in N. E. D.]—TYRWHITT (Var ed. 1778) Falstaff does not mean to point out any similitude to his own condition, but rather some striking dissimilitude, . . . just as, in II, iv, he asserts the truth . . . on pain of being considered a Jew, a bunch of radish, a horse, &c —BOSWELL (Var ed. 1821): That Falstaff was unlike a brewer's horse may be collected from a conundrum in *The Devil's Cabinet Opened*: "What is the difference between a drunkard and a brewers horse? One carries his liquor on his back, the other in his belly."—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Falstaff compares himself with what he is most unlike, a pepper-corn for size, a brewer's horse for dullness of wit —COWL (ed 1914) See Dekker, *If this be not a Good Play* (Pearson, III, 307): "as noblemen use their great horses when they are past service sell 'em to brewers"; and Bullen's *Old Plays*, III, 303 (*Triall of Chevalry*, 1605): "I have been stumbling up and down all this night like a brewer's horse that has ne'er a good eye in his head."

9 the . . . Church] MALONE (*Suppl. to Var.* '78, 1780): These words are, I believe, repeated by the mistake of a compositor. Falstaff is here mentioning things to which he is very unlike. . . How can the inside of a church come under that description? Perhaps the allusion may be to the pious uses to which churches are appropriated: "thin as a brewer's horse, holy as the inside of a church." Or, Falstaff may be here only repeating his former words [lines 7, 8] without any connection with the words immediately preceding.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1785): As the inside of a church consists of a vacant choir, there is humour in Falstaff's comparing himself, who is "all filled up with guts and midriffe" to such an empty building. [This is, perhaps, the *ne plus ultra* of this type of interpretation which struggles to find a meaning in what is made obscure merely by faulty punctuation. Falstaff is obviously rumina-

hath been the spoile of me.

Bar Sir Iohn, you are so fretfull you cannot liue long. 11

Fal. Why, there is it ; come sing me a bawdie song,
make me merry. I was as vertuously giuen as a gentle-
man need to be, vertuous enough, fswore little, dic't not
aboue feuen times a weeke, went to a bawdy house not 15
aboue once in a quarter of an houre, paid money that I
borrowed three or foure times, liued wel, and in good
compasse, and nowe I liue out of all order, out of all com-
passe

Bar. Why, you are so fat, fir Iohn, that you must 20
needes be out of all compasse : out of all reafonable com-
passe, fir Iohn.

Fal. Do thou amend thy face, and ile amend my life : 23

12. *bawdie*] Om Quin, Kemble,
Rlf.

13. *make*] to make Rowe, +, Ma-
son, Ran.

14. *dic't not*] *dic'd*, not Cap, Varr.,
Ran, Mal, Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt.,
Hal. ii, Ktly.

15. *times*] *times*—Sta.

15, 16. *went. houre*] Om. Quin, Rlf.

15. *a bawdy*] *bawdy* Q7.

bawdy house] *bordello* Kemble.

16. *quarter*] *quarter*— Han, Var.
'78, et seq (except Wh. i)

17. *borrowed*] Qq, F4, Rowe, Coll 1,
11, Huds. i, Wh. 1. *borrowed*— Han.,
Dyce, Hal i, Sta., Huds. 11. *bor-
rowed*, F1-3, et cet.

three] *there* Q6

18, 19. *all compasse*] *compasse*
Q6-8, Ff, Rowe.

23. *my*] *thy* F1F2.

tively repeating his former words, turning over in his mind the vague and distant memories of church-going.—ED.]

15-17.] [The punctuation of this passage first suggested by Hanmer (see Textual Notes, line 16, *quarter*—and line 17, *borrowed*—), and applied further by Staunton (line 15, *times*—), though it has neither quarto nor folio authority, gives the speech such an authentically Falstaffian tone that it has been adopted, in whole or in part, by many editors. "Paid money that I borrowed," says Falstaff, proudly, and then adds, as though it were an unimportant modification of his statement, "three or four times."—ED.]—COWL (ed. 1914): So, Middleton's *A Mad World*, I, i: "Hang you, you have bewitched me among you! I was as well given till I fell to be wicked. . . . I went all in black; swore but a Sunday; never came home drunk but on fasting-nights, &c."

17, 18. in . . . *compasse*] COWL (ed. 1914): Within bounds—an orderly, well-regulated life. See . . . Rowley, *A Woman Never Vext*, I, i: "If you should see me in a scarlet gown within the compass of a gold chain, then I hope you'd say that I do keep myself in good compass." [Falstaff, by his choice of this phrase, obviously intends to give Bardolph an easy opening for a reply.—ED.]

23-26] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): This is a natural picture. Every man who feels in himself the pain of deformity,—however, like this merry knight, he

thou art our Admiral, thou bearest the lanterne in the
 poepe, but tis in the nofe of thee : thou art the knight of 25
 the burning lampe

Bar. Why, fir Iohn, my face does you no harme.

Fal. No ile be fworn, I make as good vfe of it as many
 a man doth of a deaths head, or a *memento mori*. I neuer
 fee thy face, but I thinke vpon hell fire, and Diues that 30
 liued in Purple . for there he is in his robes burning, burn-
 ing. If thou wert any waie giuen to vertue, I would 32

24. *in*] but not in T J. (1721). *not* 30-36 *and. darknesse*] Om. Bet-
in Theob. (conj.), Coll MS terton, Quin, Kidderminster MS.,
 25. *but*] Om. T. J. (1721). and other acting-versions
knight] *King Qs-s* 31. *burning, burning*] *burning*. F₃F₄,
 29 *doth*] *does* Var. '73. Rowe

may affect to make sport with it among those whom it is his interest to please,
 —is ready to revenge any hint of contempt, upon one whom he can use with
 freedom.

24-26. *thou . . . lampe*] MALONE (ed. 1790): This appears to be a very old
 joke See *A Dialogue both Pleasant and Pithfull* by Wm Bulleyne, 1564:
 "This friar needeth no candle, his nose is so red and bright."—STEEVENS (ed.
 1793): Dekker, in his *Wonderful Year*, 1603, has the same thought He is
 describing the host of a country inn: "The Hamburgers offered him I know not
 how many dollars for his companie in an East Indian voyage, to have stood
 a-nights in the Poope of their Admirall, only to save charge of candles"—
 HUDSON (ed. 1880): The admiral is properly the leading ship in a fleet or naval
 squadron; hence, transferred as a title to the head of the fleet.

24, 25. *in . . . but*] THEOBALD (*Letter to Warburton*, Dec 23, 1729): Does not
 every vessel carry the lanthorn in the poop? Why, then, this *distinctive*
 BUT? [cf. Textual Notes]

25, 26. *knight . . . lampe*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): Both Knight of the
 Burning Lamp and Knight of the Burning Pestle are names invented with a
 design to ridicule the titles of heroes in ancient romances.

29. *deaths head*] SCHMIDT (1874): A naked skull as the emblem of death.—
 COWL (ed. 1914): A ring with a death's head for a memento mori, so, Beau-
 mont and Fletcher, *The Chances*, I, vi: "They keep death's-heads in rings to
 cry memento;" . . . also Marston, *Dutch Courtesan*: "As for their death, how
 can it be bad, since their wickedness is always before their eyes, and a death's-
 head most commonly on their middle-finger."—HALLIWELL (ed. 1859): A
 death's-head ring was, oddly enough, usually worn by a bawd. "And, as if I
 were a bawd, no ring pleases me but a death's-head," *Northward Hoe*, 1607.

29-32. *I . . . burning*] WORDSWORTH (*Sh.'s . . . Use of Bible*, 1864, p. 297):
 The torment of bad men after death, as represented in the parable of Dives
 and Lazarus [*Luke*, xvi, 19-31] is twice alluded to [cf. *II Henry IV*, I, ii];
 and on both occasions the allusion is put into the mouth of Falstaff, who
 handles it, as might be expected, with . . . characteristic levity. [See, also,
 Appendix: Characters: Falstaff—Simpson (1899).]

fweare by thy face . my oath should be by this fire that
 Gods Angell. But thou art altogether giuen ouer and 34
 wert indeede but for the light in thy face, the fonne of vt-
 ter darkeneffe. When thou ranst vp Gadshill in the night
 to catch my horfe, if I did not thinke thou hadst beene an
ignis fatuus, or a ball of wildfire, theres no purchase in
 money. O thou art a perpetuall triumph, an euerlasting
 bonfire light, thou hast faued me a thoufand Markes in 40
 Linkes, and Torches, walking with thee in the night be-
 twixt tauerne and tauerne : but the facke that thou hast

33, 34. *that Gods Angell*] Q₁Q₂ Om
 Ff, +, Cap., Varr, Ran, Mal, Steev,
 Varr, Sing i, Knt, Hal ii. *that's*
God's Angel Q_{3-s}, Coll, et cet.

35. *sonne*] *Sunne* Q_{3-s}, Ff, Rowe
 [T. J. (1721) follows Q₁₋₄].

36. *ranst*] *runst* Q_{3-s}. *rannest*
 Dyce, Hal. i, Cam, Glo, Ox., Ard.

Gadshill] *Gads-Head* F₂

37. *thinke*] *thinke that* Q_{3-s}, F₁F₂,

Hal ii

hadst] *hast* Pope

39 *an*] *and* Q_{3-s}.

40. *bonfire light*] *bon-fire light* Q₂

bone-fire light Q₄ *Bone-fire-light*

Q_{3-s}, Ff. *Bonfire Light* Rowe, Pope,

Theob 1, iv, Han., Varr., Ran.

bonfire-light Theob. ii, iii, Mal, et seq.

bonfire-light Cap.

41 *thee*] *me* Thirlby MS

33, 34 by . . . Angell] WRIGHT (ed 1897): Probably a reference to *Hebrews*, 1, 7, and *Psalms*, civ, 4 —COWL (T. L. S, Mar 26, 1925). A parody of a speech in Chapman's *Blind Beggar of Alexandria*. . . Count Hermes swears by his pistol, "By this pistol, which is God's angel" The "mad-brain" count is alluding to his pistol as a destroying angel, or else to the flash of the pistol as an angel of light . . . This parody is of particular interest as it fixes an upward limit for the date of the composition of *I Henry IV*, viz., 1596, the year *The Blind Beggar* was produced. Dekker, after Shakespeare, parodied the count's oath in *Satromastix* (Pearson, 1, 193): "By this candle (which is none a God's angels)"; and again in *Northward Hoe*: "By this Iron (which is none a God's Angel)."

35, 36. *sonne* . . . *darkenese*] COWL (ed 1914): The *sunne* of Q_{3-s} and Ff suggests a possible play on "son" and "sun"

38. *ignis fatuus*] SCHMIDT (1874): Will o' the wisp

ball of wildfire] COWL (ed 1914): A firework resembling the modern cracker. [Also, and more in keeping with the situation here, a natural electrical phenomenon.—ED]—N. E. D. (1928): *Ignis fatuus*, will o' the wisp

39. *triumph*] STEEVENS (ed. 1793): A general term for any public exhibition, such as a royal marriage or great procession, attended by multitudes of torch-bearers.

41. *Linkes, and Torches*] STEEVENS (Var ed. 1778): Before the streets were lighted with lamps, "Candles and Lanthorns to let" was cried about London.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Extinguishers for putting out links and torches are still to be seen before some of the older houses of London.—SCHMIDT (1874): Link, a torch of tow and pitch.

drunke me, would haue bought me lights as good cheape, 43
 at the dearest Chandlers in Europe. I haue maintained
 that Sallamander of yours with fire any time this two and 45
 thirty yeares, God reward me for it.

Bar. Zbloud, I would my face were in your belly.

Fal. Godamercy, so should I be sure to be hartburnt
 How now dame Partlet the hen, haue you *Enter host.*
 enquired yet who pickt my pocket ? 50

Hostesse. Why fir Iohn, what do you thinke fir Iohn,
 doe you thinke I keepe theeues in my house, I haue
 fearedt, I haue enquired, so has my husband, man by
 man, boy by boy, seruant by seruant, the tight of a haire,
 was neuer lost in my house before. 55

Fal. Yee lie Hostesse, Bardoll was shau'd, and lost

43. *lights*] *light* F₂F₄, Rowe [T. J.
 follows Qq, F₁F₂].

good] Om. Quin.

44. *at*] *as* Q₂Q₃, F₁₋₃. of Q₇Q₈.

45. *yours*] *thine* Han.

46. *God*] *Heauen* Ff, +, Varr.,
 Ran., Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing.,
 Knt., Hal ii, Ktly.

47. *Zbloud*] Om. Ff, Rowe.

48. *Godamercy*] Om. Ff, Rowe.

sure to be] Om. Q₇Q₈.

49. Enter host.] Printed after line
 50, Q₂₋₃, after line 48, Ff, +, Var. '78,
 et seq.; after line 47, Cap. Enter
 Hostesse. F₁F₂F₄. Enter Hotspurre
 F₃.

50. *yet*] *out* Thirlby MS.

51, 52. *Iohn, doe*] *Iohn?* *doe* Q₂, et
 seq.

52. *house*,] Q₁Q₈. *house?* Q₂, et cet.

53. *has*] *has* Q₂₋₃, F₁F₂.

husband,] *Husband*. F₄, Rowe

[T. J. follows Qq, F₁₋₃].

54. *tight*] *tihe* Theob., Warb., et
 seq. *weight* Vaughan.

haire,] *haire* Q₂, et seq.

56. *Yee*] *You* Cap., Varr., Ran.,
 Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt., Coll,
 Huds. i, Del., Sta., Wh. i, Hal. ii,
 Ktly., Ox.

43. *good cheape*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Cheap is market, and good cheap
 is therefore *à bon marché*.

45. *Sallamander*] SCHMIDT (1874): An animal supposed to be able to live in
 fire.

47. *I . . . belly*] COWL (ed. 1914): "I would it were in your belly" was a
 proverbial retort to one who rails at or repeats something with tedious iteration.

49. *Partlet*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): The name of the hen in the old
 story-book of *Reynard the Fox*; and in Chaucer's *Tale of the Cock and the Fox*
 [*The Nonne Preestes Tale*], the favorite hen is called Dame Pertelote.—COWL
 (ed. 1914): Dame Partlet . . . in Shakespeare's time a generic term for a scold-
 ing woman; see *Winter's Tale*, II, iii, 74: "Thou dotard! Thou art woman-
 tired, unroosted By thy dame Partlet."—N. E. D. (1909): The name of a hen,
 applied, like *hen*, to a woman.

54. *tight*] [Probably a misprint for *tihe*, see Textual Notes; but possibly a
 typical Quickly-Malapropism.—ED.]

manie a haire, and ile be fworne my pocket was pickt go 57
to, you are a woman, go.

Ho. Who I. No, I defe thee : Gods light I was neuer
cald fo in mine owne houfe before. 60

Fal. Go to. I know you well inough.

Ho. No, fir Iohn, you do not know me, fir Iohn, I
knowe you fir Iohn, you owe me mony fir Iohn, and now
you picke a quarrell to beguile me of it, I bought you a
douzen of fhirts to your backe. 65

Falst Doulas, filthie Doulas. I haue giuen them away
to Bakers wiues, they haue made boulders of them.

Hoft. Now as I am a true woman, holland of viii s. an
ell, you owe mony here, befides fir Iohn, for your diet, and
bydrinkings, and money lent you xxiiii. pound. 70

Falst. He had his part of it, let him pay.

Hoft. He, alas he is poore, he hath nothing. 72

57. a haire] *haire* Qs
59. No,] Om. Qs-8, Ff, +, Cap,
Varr., Ran, Mal, Steev., Varr.,
Sing., Knt., Huds. 1, Hal ii, Ktly.

Gods light] Om. Ff, +, Cap.,
Varr., Ran, Mal, Steev., Varr.,
Sing., Knt., Hal. ii, Ktly.

67 they] and they Ff, et seq.

68. as] at Qs

viii s] eight shillings Ff, et seq

70 xxiiii pound] foure and twentie
pounds Ff, +, Cap, Varr, Ran
four and twenty pound Mal, et seq.

72 He,] He? Qs, et seq.

64, 65. I . . . backe] COWL (ed. 1914): Gentlemen appear to have borrowed linen from hostesses and bawds, and to have been as careless as Falstaff in the matter of payment or restitution. See *Northward Hoe*, IV (Pearson, iii, 58): "I lend gentlemen holland shirts, and they sweat them out at tennis; and no restitution"

66. Doulas] ELTON (ed. 1889): Coarse cloth, said to come from Dourlaus in Picardy.—COWL (ed. 1914): According to Strype, *Eccles Mem.*, a yard of dowlas cost ninepence in 1550.

67. boulders] COLLIER (ed. 1842): Sieves, used for bolting or sifting meal.—AINGER (*Lect. and Essays*, 1905, p. 148): This is indeed a *splendide mendax*, a miracle of exaggeration. It is like Douglas Jerrold's description of a gritty salad as "a gravel walk with a weed here and there."

68, 69. holland . . . ell] MALONE (Var. ed. 1821): Falstaff's shirts, according to this calculation, would come to about 22s apiece; and we learn from Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuses* that the shirt of the meanest man cost at least 5s. He thus concludes his invective upon this subject: "Insomuch as I have heard of shirts that have cost some 10s, some 20s . . . and, which is horrible to hear, some ten pound apiece."

70. bydrinkings] DALRYMPLE (Var. ed. 1821): Drinkings between meals.

Fal. How ? poore ? looke vpon his face. What call you rich ? let them coyne his nose, let them coyne his cheekes, ile not pay a denyer what will you make a yonker of mee ? shall I not take mine ease in mine Inne, but I shall haue my pocket pickt ? I haue lost a seale ring of my grandfathers worth fortie marke.

73. upon] in Cap Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han., Warb.,
74. them .them] him .him F₃F₄, Johns.

73, 74 face . . . rich] COWL (ed 1914). See Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Scornful Lady*, III, ii "A rich face, pawn it to the usurer"; . . . in *Henry V*, II, iii, 42, Bardolph says that his red nose was all the "riches" he got in Falstaff's service.

74, 75 coyne . . . cheekes] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): See *Comedy of Errors*, III, 1, 132-5 ["Her nose, all ore embellished with Rubies, Carbuncles, Sapphires, &c."]—COWL (ed. 1914): Let them convert into cash the rubies and carbuncles that incrust his nose and cheeks. . . . Randolph, in *Hey for Honesty*, IV, 1, by a curious blunder, refers to the rich rubies and incomparable carbuncles of Sir John Oldcastle's nose

75. **denyer**] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): The smallest possible piece of money Cf. *Richard III*, I, ii, 252: "My dukedom to a beggarly denier" There is no reason to suppose that it was ever an English coin Cotgrave defines Fr. *denier* as a penny, that is, a French penny, which was worth the tenth part of an English penny.

76. *yonker*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): A novice, a young inexperienced man.—SINGER (ed. 1826): So, in *The Merchant of Venice*, II, vi, 14: "How like a vonker and a prodigal"—N. E. D. (1028): Youngster, novice.

take . . . Inne] PERCY (Var. ed. 1773): An ancient proverb, not very different from the maxim, "Every man's house is his castle," for *inn* originally signified house or habitation. . . . In Heywood's *Works*, London, 1598, is a "Dialogue wherein are contrived the . . . proverbs in the English Tongue" In Chapter 6 is the following: "To let the world wagge, and take mine ease in mine Inne." And among the epigrams is (26) "Thou takest thine ease in thine inne so nye thee, That no man in his inne can take ease by thee"—COWL (ed. 1914): HARRISON, *Desc. of Eng.*, ed. 1587, iii, xvi, remarks that in English inns the host "does not challenge a lordlie authoritie over his guests . . . sith everie man may use his inne as his owne house in England."

77, 78 seal ring . . . grandfathers] COWL (ed. 1914): The seal-ring seems to have possessed a sentimental value as it was frequently an heirloom. Overbury, *Characters, An Elder Brother*: "His pedigree and his father's seal-ring are the stilts of his crazed disposition"; and C. Cotton, *The Scoffer Scoft*, ed. 1715, p. 192: "A man would think that he had lost The half of his estate almost. At least his Grandfather's seal-ring."

78. fortie markes] RITSON (*Remarks on . . . the Last Ed.*, 1783): This seems to have been the usual price for such a ring in Falstaff's time. In the Printed Rolls of Parliament, VI. 410. we meet "a signet of gold to the value of XL

Ho. O Iesu, I haue heard the Prince tell him I know not how oft, that that ring was copper.

80

Falst How ? the prince is a iacke, a sneakeup, Zbloud and hee were here, I would cudgell him like a dog if he would faye fo.

83

Enter the prince marching, and Falstafle meetes him playing vpon his trunchion like a fife.

79 O Iesu,] Om Ff, Rowe, Knt. O Varr., Ran.

80. *that that*] *that* Qs. *that the* Pope, +, Var. '78, '85 the Ran.

81 *sneakeup*] Q₁Q₂, Vaughan *sneak-cup* Q₃-7, Ff, et cet. *sneak-cap* Q₈. *snick-up* Coll (conj). [The Q₁Q₂ reading *sneakeup* is clearest in the Steevens-Folger copy of Q₂. In others it is easily misread *sneakcup*.—ED.]

Zbloud] Om. Ff, +, Cap., Varr., Ran, Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing, Knt, Hal ii, Ktly.

82. *and*] *and if* Ff, +, Cap, Varr, Ran., Mal, Steev, Var. '03, '13, Sing, Knt, Hal. ii, Ktly. *an* Var., Coll, Del, Huds, Dyce, Sta., Hal i, Cam, Glo, Wh. ii, Tud., Ox., Ard. *an if* Wh. i.

[] Om Qs [Jennens-Folger copy; other copies retain]

After 83.] SCENE VI. Pope, Han., Warb., Johns.

s.d the prince] Qq, Ff, Cap, Cam., Glo, Wh ii, Tud., Ox, Ard. Prince Henry Rowe, et cet

s d marching. *fife*] marching, and Peto, playing on his truncheon like a Fife Falstaff meets them Theob., Warb. marching, and Peto, Falstaff meets them playing on his Truncheon like a Fife Han and Peto, marching Falstaff meets and puts himself before them, playing.. Fife. Cap and Poinz marching, and Falstaff meets them, playing Fife Var '78, '85, Ran, Huds ii and Poinz, marching Falstaff meets the prince, playing. Fife Mal, Steev, Varr, Sing., Knt. i, ii, iv, Coll, Huds. i, Del, Dyce, Sta, Hal., Wh. i, Ktly., Ox. and Peto, marching. Falstaff meets the Prince, playing. Fife Knt. iii. and Peto, marching Falstaff meets them playing.. Fife Cam., Glo., Wh. ii, Tud., Ard.

s d vpon] on Qs, et seq.

marcs."—STAUNTON (ed. 1858): Cf. below, "bonds of fortie pound," and *Comedy of Errors*, IV, iii, 78, "a ring of mine worth forty ducats." The number forty was anciently used to mean a great many. . . In the Scriptures, it is recorded that the flood was forty days upon the earth; the Israelites forty years, and our Saviour forty days, in the wilderness; and Job mourned forty days. SCHMIDT (1874) gives twenty-one examples of Shakespeare's use of forty for an indefinite number.

81. *iacke*] SCHMIDT (1874): A term of contempt for saucy, paltry, or silly fellow.

sneakeup] [The original reading is probably *sneakeup*, though the second *e* may be a blurred *c*.—ED.] NARES (*Gloss.*, 1822): Sneak-cup. One who sneaks from his cup or shirks his drink.—COLLIER (ed 1842): Perhaps the same as *snick-up*, a term of contempt.—DYCE (*Remarks on Collier's Ed.*, 1844): "Snick-up" is merely an exclamation, equivalent to "be hanged"; "sneak-cup" is plainly one who sneaks his cup.—COLLIER (ed 1858): The Reverend Mr. Dyce, who makes so little allowance for the mistakes of others, is in error. . . . A sneak-cup is also one who sneaks a cup and drinks sily.—

- Falst.* How now lad, is the winde in that doore ifaith,
muft we all march ? 85
- Bar* Yea, two, and two, Newgate fafhion.
- Hofl.* My Lord, I pray you heare me.
- Pr.* What faift thou miftris quickly, how doth thy hus-
band ? I loue him well, he is an honeft man.
- Hofl.* Good my Lord heare me ? 90
- Falst.* Preethe let her alone, and lift to me.
- Prin.* What faift thou iacke.
- Falst.* The other night I fel a fleepe here, behind the
Arras, and had my pocket pickt, this houfe is turn'd baudy
houfe, they pick pockets. 95
- Prin.* What didft thou loofe iacke ?

84. *Falst.*] Om. Dyce, Hal. i, Wh.,
Cam.

ifaith] Om. Ff, Rowe, Pope,
Theob., Han, Warb, Johns.

86. *fafhion.*] *fafhion?* Var. '03, '13,
Var., Sing. i, Coll i, ii, Huds i, Del

88. *doth*] Q₁Q₄, Cam, Glo, Wh ii,

Tud., Ard *doeth* Q₂Q₃ *dow* Q₅Q₆
does Q₇Q₈, Ff, et cet.

90 *me?*] *me* Q₂, et seq

92. *iacke*] *Iacke?* Q₂, et seq

96. *loofe*] *lose* Q₂₋₅, Q₇Q₈, Ff, Rowe
ii, et seq.

DYCE (*Structures on Collier's New Ed.*, 1859): What Mr Collier means . . . he best knows himself. I only know that my explanation . . . is alone the true explanation—COWL (*Notes on Text*, 1927, p 17): Sneak-cup: A mean thief who sneaks drinking-cups from taverns . . . There are numerous allusions to the "sneaking" or stealing of cups, silver and gilt. See *Hickscorner* (Haz. *Dods.*, i, 178); Dekker, *Honest Whore* (Pearson, ii, 23); and Marston, *Dutch Courtezan*, I, i.—N. E. D. (1914), with reference to this passage: A misprint for *sneak-up* [Note that Hal is entering, apparently unobserved, at this moment—ED.]

S d., after 83.] THEOBALD (*Letter to Warburton*, Jan. 13, 1730): But what truncheon had Falstaff? Or, if he played on it, why should he say, "Is the wind in that door?" I read [see Textual Notes]. [Theobald would seem to assume that Falstaff, taking his ease in his inn, would not be provided with a truncheon, i.e., a small staff or cudgel (but cf. line 82, "I would cudgell him . . ."), and that Peto, coming in from outdoors, might be so provided. The objection seems hardly valid. The sudden change from Falstaff's pretended wrath at the prince—most violently expressed, as he sees the prince approaching—to his foolish strutting about in good-natured ridicule of the martial spirit now manifested by the prince, is wholly characteristic. For the substitution of Poin for Peto in this scene, see note on II, iv, 498, Peto.—ED.]

84. is . . . doore] COWL (ed. 1914): Is that the way the wind blows?

86. *Newgate fashon*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): As prisoners are conveyed to Newgate, fastened two and two together.

88, 89. *husband*] See I, ii, 38, 39, note by ACHESON.

Fal. Wilt thou beleue me Hall, three or foure bonds of
forty pound a peece, and a feale ring of my grandfathers. 97

Prin. A trifle, some eight penie matter.

Hofl. So I told him my Lord, and I said I heard your
grace say so & my lord he speakes most vilely of you, like
a foule mouthd man as he is, and said he would cudgel you 100

Prin. What he did not ?

Ho Theres neither faith, truth, nor womanhood in me
elfe. 105

Fal. Theres no more faith in thee then in a stued prune,
nor no more truth in thee then in a drawn fox, and for

97 *me Hall,*] *me, Hal?* Q₃, et seq. Rowe 1. *What?* Var. '85 *What!*
98. *forty*] *a forty Cap* (later corrected). Rowe 11, et cet.
106. *in a*] *a* Q₂₋₃, F₁F₂, Wh. i.
107. *nor*] Om. Pope, Theob., Han.,
Theob., Warb., Johns Warb., Johns
102 *as*] Om F₂ *drawn*] *trained* Theob (conj).
103. *What!* Q₁₋₃, F₁₋₃. *What*, F₄,

97, 98. three . . . peece] [One of Falstaff's most incredible lies. Certainly no one can believe that he expects the prince to accept the story that he possessed such a sum. His vagueness as to the number of bonds—three or four—of forty pounds apiece, adds to the splendor of the lie.—ED.]

99. eight penie] COWL (ed. 1914) cites several passages from contemporary literature to show that *eightpenny* was used for *trifling, paltry*


106. stued prune] STEEVENS (Var. ed 1778): Dr. Lodge, in *Wit's Misery*, 1596, describes a bawd thus: "This is she that laies wait at all the carriers for wenches new come up to London, and you shall know her dwelling by a dish of stewed prunes in the window." . . . In *Measure for Measure*, II, the male bawd excuses himself for having admitted Elbow's wife into his house by saying: "She came in great with child, longing for the stewed prunes which stood in a dish." Slender, in *The Merry Wives*, who wishes to recommend himself by a seeming propensity to love as well as to war, talks of having measured weapons with a fencing master for a dish of stewed prunes. In *If this be not a Good Play*, 1612, a bravo enters with money, and says: "This is the pension of the stewes, . . . stew-money, stewed-prune-cash." . . . In *The Knave of Hearts*, 1612, a wanton knave is said to take "burnt wine, stewed prunes, a punk, to solace him." In *The Knave of Spades*, 1611, is the description of a wench inveigling a young man into her house: "He to his liquor falls, While she unto her maid for cakes, Stewed prunes, and pippins calls." . . . In *The Noble Stranger*, 1640: "Drunk of cream and stewed prunes! Pox on't! Bawdy house fare!" . . . From *A Treatise on Lues Venerea*, by W. Clowes, 1596, it appears that prunes were directed to be boiled in broth for persons already infected; and that stewed prunes and roasted apples were commonly, though unsuccessfully, taken by way of prevention. So much for the infidelity of stewed prunes!—COWL (ed. 1914): "As faithless as a bawd."

107. drawn fox] THEOBALD (*Letter to Warburton*, Jan. 13, 1729/30): I own

womandood maid marion may be the deputies wife of the 108
ward to thee. Go you thing, go.

108 *womandood*] *womanhood* Q₂, et seq. 109 *thing*] *nothing* Ff, Rowe.

I am not sportsman enough [MS. torn] . . . the bushes after a fox; and then a fox, so served, I presume may be called a drawn fox; but what has this to do with truth? I have imagined . . . a TRAIN'D fox, i.e., one trained like a dog, which still at times will . . . fly into the tricks of his species Cf V, ii, 9-11 — WARBURTON (ed. 1747): A fox that hath been often hunted — JOHNSON (ed. 1765). The propriety of these similes I am not sure that I fully understand. A stewed prune has the appearance of a prune, but has no taste A drawn fox, that is, an exenterated fox, has the form of a fox without his powers. I think Dr Warburton's explication wrong . . . tho' to draw is a hunter's term for pursuit by track My interpretation makes *fox* suit better to *prune* These are very slender disquisitions, but such is the task of the commentator — HEATH (*Revisal*, 1765, p. 253): A fox drawn over the ground to leave a scent. . . . It is said to have no truth in it because it deceives the hounds — [STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1773) and CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779) follow HEATH] — STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): It was formerly believed that a fox when drawn out of his hole had the sagacity to counterfeit death . . . For this information I am indebted to Mr. Tollet. — SINGER (ed. 1826). A hunted fox, i.e., a fox drawn from his cover, whose cunning in doubling and deceiving the hounds makes the simile appropriate . . . *Drawing* is the term used in hunting, when they beat the bushes after a fox. See *Country Dictionary*, 1704. [Singer's interpretation has prevailed, although WRIGHT (ed. 1897) observes that *fox* also meant *broad-sword*. — ED.]

108. *maid marion*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765). A man dressed like a woman, who attends the dancers at a morris — PERCY (Var. ed. 1773): In the ancient songs of Robin Hood, frequent mention is made of Maid Marian, who appears to have been his concubine — TOLLET (Var. ed. 1773, Appendix): After the Reformation, Maid Marian, her morris dancers, and other attendants, were by some considered as a wild and lascivious rout. — DRAKE (*Sh. and his Times*, 1817): Maid Marian was usually represented by a delicate, smooth-faced youth, dressed in all the fashionable finery of the time; and his assumption of female garb gave, not without reason, great offence to the Puritanical dissenters, one of whom, exclaiming against the amusements of May-day, notices this among other abuses (Featherstone's *Dialogue against light, lewd, and lascivious Dancing*, 1582): "You do use  attire in woman's apparell whom you doe most commonly call may-marions, whereby you infringe that straight commandment which is given in *Deuteronomy*, xxii, 5, that men should not put on women's apparell for fear of enormities." . . . Effeminate and coxcombical men were compared to Maid Marian.

108, 109. *deputies . . . thee*] TOLLET (Var. ed. 1773, Appendix): If Maid Marian might be the deputy's wife, the hostess might be the alderman's wife, i.e., might precede her in lewdness. — ELTON (ed. 1889): The wife of the deputy would be eminently respectable. Even the light Maid Marian, means Falstaff, would be a model matron compared to the hostess. — COWL (ed. 1914):

Hof. Say what thing, what thing ? 110

Fal. What thing ? why a thing to thanke God on

Ho I am nothing to thanke God on, I would thou shouldst know it, I am an honest mans wife, and setting thy knighthood aside, thou art a knaue to call me fo

Fal Setting thy womanhood aside, thou art a beast to 115
fay otherwise.

Hof Say, what beast, thou knaue thou ?

Falst. What beast ? why an Otter.

Prin An Otter sir Iohn, why an Otter ?

Falst. Why ? shees neither fish nor flesh, a man knowes 120
not where to haue her.

Hof Thou art an vniust man in saying so, thou or anie man knowes where to haue me, thou knaue thou.

Prin. Thou faist true hostesse, and hee slaunders thee 125
most grossely.

Hof So hee doth you my Lord, and faide this other day you ought him a thousand pound

Prin. Sirrha, do I owe you a thousand pound ?

Falst. A thousand pound Hall ? a million, thy loue is 130
worth a million, thou owest me thy loue

Hofst. Nay my Lord, he cald you iacke, and faide hee woulde cudgel you.

Falst. Did I Bardol ?

Bar. Indeed sir Iohn you said so.

Fal. Yea, if he said my ring was copper. 135

Prin. I fay tis copper, darest thou be as good as thy word now ?

110. *thing?*] *think?* Del

Cap, et seq.

111 and 112. *God*] *heauen* Fi,

122 *an*] Om F₁F₂.

Rowe, Knt.

124. *sai*] *says* Theob. iv.

112. *nothing*] *no thing* Q₅₋₈, F₁,

127. *ought*] *ow'd* F₄, +.

You have as little claim to womanhood as Maid Marian has to the womanly refinement of a deputy's wife of the ward.

120. *fish . . . flesh*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): So the proverb: "Neither fish, nor flesh, nor good red herring."—COWL (ed. 1914): Izaak Walton, *The Compleat Angler*, I, ii, says that the question whether the otter be beast or fish "hath been debated among many great clerks, and they seem to differ about it; yet most agree that his tail is fish"

127. *ought*] ELTON (ed. 1889): "Owed." The form *ought*, rare in Shakespeare, is the regular old perfect, and not a Quickly idiom.

Falst. Why Hall? Thou knowest as thou art but man 138
I dare, but as thou art prince, I feare thee as I feare the
roaring of the Lyons whelp. 140

Prin And why not as the Lyon?

Fal. The king himselfe is to be feared as the Lion, doest
thou thinke ile feare thee as I feare thy father? nay and I
doo, I pray God my girdle breake.

Prin O, if it should, howe woulde thy guts fall about 145
thy knees? but firrha, theres no roome for faith, trueth,
nor honestie, in this bofome of thine. It is all fild vp with
guttles, and midriffe. Charge an honest woman with pick-
ing thy pocket, why thou horeson impudent imbofst rascall, 149

- 138 *Why*] *Why*, Q₂Q₃, F₂F₄, et seq. Knt, Coll., Huds., Sing ii, Del, et seq.
Hall] *Hal*, Rowe, et seq.
man] *a man* Q₂-s, Ff, Rowe, 144. I *pray God*] *let* Ff, +, Varr, Pope, Theob., Han, Warb., Johns., Knt
Knt, Del 147. *all*] *Om* Var. '03, Hal, Ktly.
139 *prince*] *a Prince* Ff, Rowe, 148 *midriffe*] *Midriffes* Q₇Q₈
Pope, Theob., Han, Warb., Johns., 149 *pocket*] *pocket?* Q₂-s, Ff.
Knt., Huds. i, Del. *pocket*] Rowe, et seq.
143. *and*] *if* Ff, Rowe, Pope, *horeson*] *whorson* Rowe ii, et
Theob., Han., Warb., Johns. *an if* seq
Varr., Ran. *an* Cap, Mal, Steev, *imbofst*] *emboss'd* Han. ii,
Steev, et seq.

142. *king . . . Lion*] COWL (ed. 1914): See *Proverbs*, xix, 2: "The king's wrath is as the roaring of the lion," and *ibid.*, xx, 2: "The fear of a king is as the roaring of a lion."

144. *pray . . . breake*] MALONE (ed. 1790): It was the custom to wear the purse hanging from the girdle.—STEEVENS (ed. 1793): Alluding to the old adage—"ungirt, unblest."—HUDSON (ed. 1880): In the language of the Old Testament, the girdle is emblematic of authority. So, in *Job*, xii, 18, and *Isaiah*, xi, 5. So that Falstaff seems to mean, "May I cease to be revered, if I be guilty of such a misplacement of reverence."—COWL (ed. 1914): "Many conceive," writes Sir Thomas Browne in *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, v, xxi, "there is somewhat amiss, and that, as we usually say, they are unblest, until they put on their girdles." "A girdle," he continues, "symbolises truth, resolution, and readiness to action."

145-148 *guts . . . midriffe*] BUCKNILL (*Medical Knowledge of Sh.*, 1860): One would almost think that Shakespeare was acquainted with the anatomy of obesity, and had seen the midriff pressed upward by the fat-laden organs of the abdomen, and encroaching upon that cavity where the heart beats, in which old opinion located the nobler attributes of man.

149. *imbofst*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Swollen, puffy. [The significance of the phrase *imbofst rascal* was debated in a series of articles in *Notes and Queries*, 1868-1873 (see Index, 4th ser.); the main point at issue being that, in general,

if there were anie thing in thy pocket but tauerne reckon- 150
ings, memorandums of baudie houfes, and one poore peni-
worth of fugar-candie to make thee long winded, if thy
pocket were inricht with any other iniuries but thefe , I
am a villain, and yet you will ftand to it, you will not
pocket vp wrong, art thou not afhamed ? 155

Fal Doeft thou heare Hall, thou knoweft in the ftate of
innocencie Adam fell, & what fhould poore iacke Falftalfe
do in the daies of villanie ? thou feeft I haue more flefh
then another man, & therefore more frailty. You confeffe
then you pickt my pocket 160

Prin It appeares fo by the ftorie

Fal. Hofteffe, I forgiue thee, go make ready breakfast,
loue thy husband, looke to thy feruaunts, cherifh thy
gheffe, thou fhalt find me tractable to any honeft reafon, 164

153 iniuries] ingredients Ran	162-169] As verfe, eleven lines,
(conj) treasures, treasuries, inden-	ending thee / husband / guests / reason /
tures, or inventories Vaughan.	ftill / gone / lad / answered / beef / thee /
these,] thefe, Q ₂ , et seq.	again Ff, Rowe [T. J. (1721), prints
155 wrong] wrongs F ₃ F ₄ , +.	162-164, <i>Hostesse</i> . reason, as profe].
157. fhould] would F ₂₋₄ , Rowe.	163. feruants] feruant Ran
159. more] Om F ₃ F ₄	cherifh] and cherifh Ff, +,
160. pocket] Pocket? Ff, Pope, et	Varr., Ran
seq. pocket! Rowe.	164 gheffe] ghefts Q ₂₋₄ Q ₅ . Ghes-
	tes Q ₅ Q ₆ Guests Ff, et seq.

the word *embossed* means swollen or puffy, and that *imbossed*, efpecially when used with *rascal*, a young deer, is a hunting term meaning either foaming at the mouth with exhaustion, or driven into a corner or extremity.—N. E. D. (1901) defines the word, in this paffage, as bulging, convex, tumid, swollen]—MADDEN (*Diary of Master William Silence*, 1897, p. 55, note): An “embossed rascal” is a sporting phrase of contempt, playfully applied by Prince Harry to Falstaff, whom it was very gracious fooling to liken to a rascal, or lean deer “When the hart is foamy at the mouth, we fay that he is embost” (*Noble Arte of Venerie*) . Applied to Falstaff, it was probably intended to fuggelt a play on the word. [Perhaps a play on both words, *embossed* and *rascal*.—Ed.]

153. iniuries] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778). As the pocketing of injuries was a common phrase, I fuppofe the prince calls the contents of Falstaff’s pockets—injuries.

155. pocket vp wrong] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Some part of this merry dialogue feems to have been loft. I fuppofe Falstaff, in preffing the robbery upon his hofteff, had declared his refolution not to pocket up wrongs, or injuries, to which the prince alludes.

162. I forgiue] HUDSON (ed. 1880): A characteristic ftroke of humorous impudence; Falstaff making believe he is the one finned againft, and not the finner.

thou seest I am pacified still, nay preethe be gone. 165

Exit Hostesse

Now Hal, to the newes at court for the robbery lad, how
is that answered ?

Prin. O my sweet beoffe, I must still bee good angel to
thee, the mony is paid backe againe

Fal. O I do not like that paying backe, tis a double 170
labor.

Prin. I am good friends with my father and may do
any thing

Fal. Rob me the exchequer the first thing thou doest,
and doe it with vnwasht hands too. 175

Bar. Do my Lord

Prin. I haue procured thee Iacke a charge of foot. 177

164, 165 <i>thou gone</i>] Om. Quin	<i>pr'ythee</i> Pope, +, Cap, Varr, Ran.
165 <i>pacified still</i> ,] <i>pacify'd</i> — <i>Still</i> ?	Hostesse] Hostess, weeping.
Han., Var. '78, '85, Mal, Steev,	Han
Varr., Sing., Knt, Coll, Huds, Del,	166 <i>court</i>] <i>court</i> Theob, Warb,
Dyce, Hal., Wh. i, Ktly, Rlf <i>pac-</i>	Cap, et seq. <i>court</i> ? Johns
<i>fied</i> ! <i>Still</i> Ox.	168 <i>beoffe</i>] <i>beeffe</i> Qs-s. <i>Beefe</i> Ff,
<i>preethe</i>] <i>I preethe</i> Qs-s, Ff	<i>I</i> et seq.

165. *pacified still*] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): There is great expression in that *still*, and great humour, purporting—that he and the hostess had had a number of quarrels, and that she had *always* found him the same man he was now, easily pacified. The Oxford editor [Hanmer] points the place otherwise, and in such a way as gives it a new meaning, but with no advantage, rather the contrary.—[ELTON (ed. 1889) and COWL (ed. 1914) follow CAPELL—WRIGHT (ed. 1897) suggests “*pacified nevertheless*.”]

175. *with vnwasht hands*] UPTON (*Crit. Observ*, 1746): The proverb of doing things with unwashed hands, i.e., impudently, without regard to decency or religion, came from the practice of expiatory washings amongst primitive races.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1773): The first thing in the morning, without even staying to wash your hands.—IBID. (Var. ed. 1778): Perhaps, however, Falstaff alludes to the ancient adage “*Illotis manibus tractare sacra*.” I find the same expression in *Acolastus*, 1529: “Why be these holy things to be meddled with unwashed hands?”—MASON (*Comments . . . Observations*, 1798): When a man is unwilling to engage in a business proposed to him . . . it is a common expression to say, I wash my hands of it. . . . This explanation derives some confirmation from Falstaff’s preceding speech.—HERFORD (ed. 1900): At once, without a moment’s delay, even to wash. But there is probably also a *sly* suggestion of the sense: “don’t wash your hands of it afterwards.”—COWL (ed. 1914): The meaning may be: Do not be afraid of soiling your hands, take plenty, or with greedy hands.”

177. *charge of foot*] See II, iv, 515.

Fal. I would it had been of horfe. Where shall I finde
one that can steale well. O for a fine thiefe of the age of 179
xxii. or thereabouts : I am hainoufly vnprouided. Well,
God be thanked for these rebels, they offende none but the
vertuous , I laude them, I praise them.

Prin Bardoll. *Bar.* My Lord

Prin. Go beare this letter to Lord Iohn of Lancafter,
To my brother Iohn, this to my lord of Westmerland. 185
Go Peto to horfe, to horfe, for thou and I
Haue thirty miles to ride yet ere dinner time, 187

179 *well*] *well?* Q₂, et seq
the age of] Om Ff,+, Cap,
Varr, Ran.

180 *xxii.*] *two and twentie* Ff, et
seq

thereabouts] *thereabout* Q₂-8,
Ff,+, Knt ii, iv, Sing ii, Ktly

183 *Prin Bardoll*] Prince Bardoll.
Q₆.

184-191] As prose. T J (1721),
Pope, Theob., Han, Warb., Johns.,
Sing, Wh.

184-190] As prose Douce.

184-189.] As prose Walker (1860),
Cam., Glo, Wr., Tud, Ard.

185. *To my*] *My* Cap, Varr, Ran.,

Steev, Varr, Sing i, Huds, Dyce ii,
iii, Hal ii.

After 185.] Exit Bardolph Dyce,
Hal. i, Wh, Cam, Glo, Huds ii,
Coll iii, Rlf, Tud, Ard

186. *Go*] Om Cap

Peto] *Poins* Dering MS,

Johns (conj.), Varr, Ran, Mal,
Steev., Varr, Sing, Knt. i, ii, iv,
Coll, Huds, Del., Dyce, Sta, Hal,
Wh i, Ktly, Ox

to horse, to horse] *to horse,*

Q₅-8, Ff, +.

187. *to ride yet ere*] *yet to ride ere*

Q₅-8 *to ride ere* Cap, Varr, Ran,
Sta (conj.), Dyce ii, iii, Huds ii.

184-193] [See Textual Notes] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): All the old [editions]
break the prince's last speech exactly as it is in this copy [i e, in Capell's ed.];
so that it wanted nothing of good verse but the purging now given it.—DOUCE
(*Illust. of Sh.*, 1807, i, 435): [Lines 184-190 are] undoubtedly prose, and should
be so printed, like the preceding speeches of the prince. No correct ear will
ever receive them as blank verse, notwithstanding the efforts that have been
made, or shall be made, to convert them into metre.—BOSWELL (Var. ed. 1821):
I am inclined to agree with Mr. Douce. [I am inclined to agree with Mr.
Capell, though I do not feel the necessity of "purging" the passage. The chief
argument for printing the whole of this passage as verse is that it is so printed
in the very accurate Q₁. The verse is slightly irregular; but the young prince
is excited.—ED.]

186. *Peto*] JOHNSON (ed 1765): I cannot but think that Peto is again put
for Poins [cf. note on II, iv, 498]. I suppose the copy had only a P—. We
have Peto, afterwards, not riding with the prince, but lieutenant to Falstaff.—
MALONE (ed. 1790): In further support of Dr. Johnson's emendation it may
be observed that *Poins* suits the metre of the line, which would be spoiled by
Peto. [*Po*., which might be misread *Peto*, is the form used for Poins's speech-
headings in the fragment of Q₆, now in the Folger Shakespeare Library.—
ED.]

Iacke, meete me to morrow in the temple haule
 At two of clocke in the afternoone,
 There shalt thou know thy charge, and there receiue 190
 Money and order for their furniture,
 The land is burning, Percy stands on high,
 And either we or they must lower lie.

Fal. Rare words, braue world hostesse, my breakfast
 Oh I could wish this tauerne were my drum. (come, 195

After 187] Exit Pointz. Dyce, Hal.
 i, Wh i, Huds ii Exit Peto Cam,
 Glo, Wh. ii, Rlf, Tud, Ard

188 *Iacke .morrow*] *Meet me to-*
morrow, Jack Huds. ii

Iacke,] As separate line Cap,
 Varr, Ran, Steev., Varr, Hal. ii
 in] i' Hal, Ktly, Huds ii.
haule] *hall* Q₂, et seq.

189. of] a Q₂₋₃, Ff, Rowe, Pope,
 Han i. o' Theob., Warb., et seq.
 in] i' Ktly.

afternoone,] *afternoon precisely,*
 Ktly.

193 *we or they*] Q₁₋₃, Cam., Glo,
 Tud, Ox, Ard *they or we* Q₄₋₅,
 Ff, et cet.

After 193.] Exeunt Prince, Peto,
 and Bardolph. Cap, Han ii, Var '73,
 Knt iii. Exeunt Prince, Poins, and
 Bardolph Var. '78, '85, Ran, Mal,
 Steev, Varr., Sing, Knt i, ii, iv,
 Coll i, ii, Huds i, Del, Sta, Hal. ii,
 Ktly Exit Dyce, Hal. i, Cam., Glo,
 Huds ii, Wh. ii, Rlf, Tud, Ard
 Exit Prince. Wh i Exeunt Prince
 and Poins Coll iii

194] Two lines, ending *world / come*
 Ff.

words,] *words?* F₂
 After 195.] Exeunt. Q₂₋₃, Rowe,
 Pope, Theob., Han i, Warb., Johns
 Exeunt Omnes. Ff. Exit Other
 texts, as implied in stage-directions
 after 193 quoted above.

191 *furniture*] SCHMIDT (1874): Equipment.

194] [Falstaff admires the spirit of the young prince, and the brave world
 that has such spirited young creatures in it, but—away with sentiment—
 "Hostess, my breakfast, come!"—ED.]

195. *drum*] SEYMOUR (*Remarks*, 1805): The inn where the recruiting officer
 is quartered is called the Drum-head; perhaps, emphatically, the Drum.
 [This explanation is simple, and seems plausible; but unfortunately the
 N. E. D gives no evidence that *Drum* was ever used for *Drumhead*. Falstaff
 may refer to the drum, in its literal sense, as he pounds on the table for his
 breakfast; or he may refer to the Drum, or Drummer, of whose relation to his
 captain, T. Digges (*Stratoticos*, ed. 1579; quoted by COWL, ed. 1914) writes:
 [The captain] ought not to doe anye thing with his Souldiours, but to have his
 Ensign and his Drumm with him (p 94). Falstaff, comments Cowl, could wish
 to have the tavern ever with him.—ED.]

[*Actus Quartus. Scæna Prima.*]

Per Wel said my noble Scot, if speaking truth 1
 In this fine age were not thought flattery,
 Such attribution should the Douglas haue,
 As not a fouldior of this seafons stampe,
 Should go fo generall currant through the world 5

Actus . Prima] Ff. Om Qq Act
 IV SCENE I Rowe Act IV. SCENE
 I. At Shrewsbury Pope, Han Act
 IV. Scene changes to Shrewsbury.
 Theob Act IV. SCENE I. Changes
 to Shrewsbury Warb, Johns Act
 IV SCENE I The rebel Camp before
 Shrewsbury. Cap. Act IV SCENE I.
 The Camp near Shrewsbury Varr,
 Ran Act IV SCENE I The Rebel
 Camp near Shrewsbury. Mal , et seq
 Before 1] Enter Hotspur, Wor-

cester, and Douglas. Q₂, et seq [Ff
read Harrie Hotspuire, Cap *reads*
 Douglas, and Others]

1 (et passim). *Per*] Hot. Q₂, et
 seq

2. *thought*] Q₁₋₄, Q₅ (4 copies, see
 Appendix The Text), Ff, et seq.
though Q₅ (4 copies, see Appendix.
 The Text) *through* Q₆₋₈

5 *world*] *world*· Q₂Q₃Q₆₋₈ *world*,
 Q₄. *world*. Ff, et seq.

IV & V] An account of the battle of Shrewsbury, judiciously compiled by Hugh Owen and J. B. Blakeway from many early accounts, but based chiefly on Walsingham, is printed by them in their *History of Shrewsbury*, 1825.

IV, i] ELTON (ed. 1889): This scene we find full of turbid expressions for very simple ideas, and to such turbidity Shakespeare is liable from the beginning almost to the end. Partly, no doubt, we feel this because we are not Shakespeare's contemporaries, and his language is to some extent a dead language. But this is only another way of saying that he was an arch-experimenter in language, that he was often taken with the mood of straining and vivisectioning it; and that that part of his language which we call dead consists largely of his failures. . . . We enjoy the fruits of his labours, and our perception of his very faults is a good deal due to our education by his successes

1. Wel said] CLARKE (*Sh Key*, 1879, p. 4): Shakespeare often begins a scene with an abrupt commencement; with a conversation already begun and in course of progress as the speakers enter. It serves to give an effect of greater naturalness and ease to the dialogue.

2. *fine*] SCHMIDT (1874): Refined.—N. E. D. (1901): Cunning, crafty, artful; or, used ironically, "egregious."

3. *attribution*] SCHMIDT (1874): Praise.—N. E. D. (1888), with reference to this passage: Anything ascribed in one's estimation, e.g. name, credit, character.

the Douglas] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): This expression is frequent in Holinshed, and is always applied to the head of the Douglas family.

4, 5.] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): The same figure [i.e., of a newly minted coin being put into general circulation] occurs in *Richard III*, I, iii, 256: "Your fire-new stamp of honour is scarce current."

By God, I cannot flatter, I do defie
 The tongues of ffoothers, but a brauer place 7
 In my harts loue hath no man then your felfe,
 Nay taske me to my word, approue me Lord.

Doug. Thou art the King of honor, 10
 No man fo potent breaths vpon the ground,
 But I will beard him. *Enter one with letters.*

Per. Do fo, and tis wel What letters haft thou there ?
 I can but thanke you.

Mef. These letters come from your father 15

Per. Letters from him, why comes he not himfelfe ?

6. *God*] *heauen* Ff, +, Cap., Varr, Ran, Mal., Steev., Varr, Sing., Knt, Dyce i, Ktly., Hal.

I do] *do* Ox.

do] Q₁, Cam., Glo., Tud., Ard. Om. Q₂, et cet.

7. *tongues*] *tongue* Q₇Q₈.

9. *my*] *the* Var. '03, '13, Var, Sing. i, Hal. ii.

me] *me*, Q₂Q₃Q₇Q₈, F₄, et seq.

10.] *I doubt it not; thou art the king of honour.* Seymour. *Thou art the king of honour and speak'st truth.* Vaughan.

12 Enter.. letters] Enter a Messenger. Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han, Warb. After *wel*, line 13: Enter a Messenger Johns., Varr.,

Ran. After *wel*, line 13: Enter Raby. Kemble. After *wel*, line 13: Enter a messenger, with letters Mal., et seq.

13, 14] Lines re-arranged, ending *wel* / *you* Cap., et seq

13 so] Om Pope, Theob, Han., Warb.

haft thou] *haue you* Q₆₋₈ *haft* F₁.

14.] Om. Theob. iv.

15. *These letters*] *These* Pope, Theob., Han, Warb. *These letters, my good lord, Cap*

come] Om. Steev. (conj.).

father.] *father*,—Mal

16, 17.] As four lines, ending *him* / *himfelfe* / *Lord* / *sicke* Ff, Rowe [T. J. (1721) follows Qq].

6. *defie*] MASON (*Comments . . . Observations*, 1798): Disdain.—SEYMOUR (*Remarks*, 1805): Abjure, cf. I, iii, 228.—SCHMIDT (1874): Despise—COWL (ed. 1914): Contemn. *Cathol. Anglicum*: "To defye despiciere." Cf. III, iii, 59.

7. *soothers*] SCHMIDT (1874): Flatterers.

9. *taske . . . word*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Challenge me to be as good as my word.—N. E. D. (1919), with reference to this passage: *Task to*: To impose a task on.

approue] COLLIER (ed. 1842): Prove, try.

12.] STAUNTON (ed. 1858): This hemistich is always allied to the preceding line; but it may refer to something supposed to have been said by Douglas before the beginning of the scene,—some threat of confronting the king, which has called forth Hotspur's "Well said," in line 1.

beard him] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): Oppose him face to face in a hostile or daring manner. . . . This phrase appears to have been adopted from Romance. In ancient language to *head* a man was to cut off his head, to *beard* him was to cut off his beard.

- Mef.* He cannot come my lord, he is grievous sicke. 17
Per. Zounds, how has he the leifure to be sicke
 In such a iustling time, who leads his power ?
Vnder whose government come they along ? 20
Mef. His letters beares his mind, not I my mind.
Wor. I preethe tel me, doth he keepe his bed ?
Mef. He did my Lord, foure daies ere I fet forth, 23

17 *he is*] *he's* Pope, +, Cap, Varr, see Appendix The Text Individual
 Ran, Mal, Steev, Varr, Sing 1, Copies of the first five Quartos
 Knt, Coll, Del, Huds, Sta, Wh. 1, beares] Q₁₋₆, Ff, Ktly, Tud
 Dyce 11, 111, Hal 11, Ox. beare Q₇Q₈, Rowe, et cet.

18. *Zounds*] Om Ff, Rowe not I my mind] not I his mind.
Heav'ns Pope, + Q₃₋₈, Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob., Knt.
how] *How?* Ff *How!* Rowe. 11 not I, his man T. J (1721) not
has] *haz* Q₃₋₈, F₁F₂. I. Hot *His mind!* Han., Warb,
the] Om Q₇Q₈ Johns., Var. '73, '78, '85, Kemble.
sicke] *sicke now* Ff, Rowe. not I, my lord. (Hotspur opens them
 19. *time*] *time?* Q₂, et seq. and reads] Cap. not I Ran. not I,
power] *Pow'rs* Johns *powers* my Lord. Mal, et seq.

Var '73, Ktly. 22 *Wor*] Om. Han. [see note on
 21. *letters*] Four copies of Q₈ read line 21].
litters; four other copies read *letters*,

17-44.] [See Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Holinshed] COURTENAY
 (*Comm. on Hist. Plays*, 1840). The absence of the elder Percy is according to
 history. There was some ground for doubt about his motives—Ax (*Rel. of*
Sh. to Hol., 1912, p. 41). The news [of Northumberland's illness], reported by
 the poet a short time before the battle, seems to have been known to the rebels
 long before they encamped near Shrewsbury, for Holinshed mentions it after
 Worcester's flight from the court, together with the first measures taken by the
 conspirators

19. *iustling*] N. E. D. (1901): *Justle*, usual form in 17th century, and main
 form in 18th, has now yielded largely to *jostle*

21. not . . . mind] WARBURTON (ed. 1747) interprets his reading [see Textual
 Notes] Hotspur asks. "Who leads his power?" The messenger answers:
 "His letters bear his mind; not I." The other replies "His mind!" as much
 as to say, I didn't enquire about his mind, I want to know where his powers
 are—CAPPELL (*Notes*, 1779) interprets his reading [see Textual Notes]. The eye
 of the first compositor [Q₁] was caught by the [first] *mind* in this line, and he
 gave it to us again at the end of the line: the compositor next but one after him
 [Q₂] went a step further, giving us a repetition of *his* also, as well as of *mind*;
 and both their mistakes are handed down faithfully to us in all other copies,
 old and new. In some of these [Hanmer's and Warburton's], these mistakes
 are made the groundwork of what are called emendations.—MALONE (ed.
 1790): The correction made by Mr. Capell is certainly right. In two of the
 other speeches spoken by the messenger, he uses the same language [*my lord*,
 lines 17, 23], nor is it likely that he would address Hotspur without this mark
 of respect [Capell has inserted it in line 15, as well]. In his first speech the
 messenger is interrupted by the impetuosity of the person he addresses.

And at the time of my departure thence,
He was much fearde by his Phifitions. 25

Wor. I would the state of time had first been whole,
Eare he by sicknesse had bin visited,
His health was neuer better worth then now.

Per. Sicke now, droupe now, this sicknes doth infect
The very life bloud of our enterprife, 30
Tis catching hither euen to our campe,
He writes me here that inward sicknesse,
And that his friends by deputation
Could not so foone be drawn, nor did he thinke it meet
To lay so dangerous and deare a trust 35
On any foule remou'd but on his own,
Yet doth he giue vs bold aduertisement,
That with our small coniunction we should on,
To see how fortune is disposed to vs, 39

24. *thence*] hence Q₇Q₈. holds him, Cap. sickness—Rowe, et
25. *Phisitions*] *Phisition* Q₄s, Ff, cet
Rowe, Pope, Han., Warb., Sing. ii, After 32] Line missing Mal.
Ktly. (conj.), Wh. ii
26. *time*] times Q₈ 34. *Could not*] Printed at end of
27. *Eare*] *Ere* Q₂, et seq. line 33. Cap, et seq.
30. *The*] *This* Rowe i. did he thinke it] thought he Pope,
32. *that*] *that an* Ktly. Theob, Han, Warb., Johns.
inward] he is let by Thirlby MS. 36. *any*] a F₂F₄
sicknesse,] Q₄, Ff. sickness 38. *conjunction*] conjunctions T. J.
(1710).

25. *fearde*] ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, p. 133): The preposition [in this case, *for*] is omitted after some verbs which can easily be regarded as transitive "That do conspire (for) my death," *Richard III*, III, iv, 62, "And his physicians fear (for) him mightily," *Richard III*, I, i, 137.

26. *state of time*] N. E. D. (1919): Juncture, or posture, of affairs
32. *sicknesse*] MALONE (ed. 1790): A line has probably been lost [after 32] —STEEVENS (ed. 1793): I suspect no omission. Hotspur is abruptly enumerating the principal topics of the letter before him.—CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p. 763): Who does not feel that this is Hotspur's characteristic way of breaking off a phrase, and leaving its completion to be understood by the listener?—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Hotspur is only quoting the material portions of the letter, just as Kent (*Lear*, II, ii, 160) in reading a letter from Cordelia gives fragments of it.—WALKER (*Sh. Vers.*, 1854, p. 20): Words such as sickness, brightness, &c., are often pronounced as if a vowel were inserted before the suffix.

33. *by deputation*] COWL (ed. 1914): By means of a deputy.

35. *deare*] Cf. I, i, 33.

36. *any . . . remou'd*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): On any less near to himself; on any whose interest is remote.

37. *aduertisement*] SCHMIDT (1874): Instruction.

For as he writes there is no quailing now,
 Because the king is certainly poſſeft 41
 Of al our purpoſes, what ſay you to it ?
Wor. Your fathers ſickneſſe is a maine to vs.
Per. A perillous gaſh, a very limbe lopt off,
 And yet in faith it is not, his preſent want 45
 Seemes more then we ſhal find it were it good
 To ſet the exact wealth of al our ſtates
 Al at one caſt ? to ſet ſo rich a maine
 On the nice hazard of one doubtfull houre ?
 It were not good for therein ſhould we read 50

40 *For as he writes*] *For, as he writes*, Q₂, et seq

45 *it is*] Qq, F₁F₂, Knt 11, 1v, Dyce 1, Hal 1, Cam, Glo., Ard. *it's* Cap., Dyce 11, 111 *'tis* F₂F₄, et cet

not, his] Q₁, F₄. *not his* Q₂₋₃, F₁₋₈. *not.*—*His* Var. '73 *not; his* Rowe, et cet

46. *were it good*] Printed at beginning of line 47 Ff, Rowe 1

were it] *Wer't* T. J. (1721)

47. *exact*] Om. T. J.

48 *maine*] *mine* F₂F₄, Rowe.

49 *houre?*] *houre*, Q₂₋₆, Ff, Rowe, Pope. [T. J. (1710) follows Q₁Q₂]

50 *read*] *risque* Johns. (conj.).

rend Var '73 (conj.). *tread* Mal.

(conj., later withdrawn), Sta (conj.).

dare Mitford (1844). *reach* Ktly.,

Vaughan, Wh i

38. *coniunction*] ELTON (ed. 1889): Joint force.

41. *possest*] SINGER (ed 1826): Informed.

43. *maine*] COWL (ed. 1914): Maim signified in law, "where . . . any member is hurt or taken away, whereby the party so hurt is made . . . the less able to defend himself." (Minshew.)

45. *his present want*] SCHMIDT (1874): Our present want of him.

47 *set*] SCHMIDT (1874): Stake.

exact] SCHMIDT (1874): Precise. Accent on first syllable, here and in *Troilus*, IV, v, 232: "I have with exact view perused thee, Hector."

states] COWL (ed 1914): Estates, as in *The Taming of the Shrew*, I, ii, 88.

48. *maine*] JOHNSON (ed 1765): A hand at dice.—SCHMIDT (1874): A stake at gaming.

49. *nice hazard*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Risk delicately balanced.

50. *read*] See Textual Notes —STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): I believe the old reading is the true one. So, in *II Henry VI*, V, ii, 78: "We then should see the bottom of all our fortunes."—MALONE (ed. 1790): I now think there is no need of alteration. To "read a list" is a harsh phrase, but not more so than many others. At the same time that the *bottom* of their fortunes should be displayed, its *circumference* [*list*] or boundary would be exposed to view. *Sight* becomes necessary to *reading*; to *read* is here used, in Shakespeare's licentious language, for to *see*. The passage quoted from *Henry VI* strongly confirms this interpretation. To it may be added this in *Romeo and Juliet*: "Is there no pity sitting in the clouds That sees into the bottom of my grief?"

The very bottome and the foule of hope,
 The very lift, the very vtmost bound
 Of all our fortunes

53a

Doug. Faith, and fo we should,

b

Where now remains a fweet reuerfion,

We may boldly fpend vpon the hope of what tis to come in, 55

A comfort of retirement liues in this.

51. *and*] of Cartwright (1866)
soule] *sound* Sta (conj). *goal*
 Kinnear (1883)

53b-55] Lines ending *remains* /
spend / *in* Walker (1860), Coll. III.
 Lines ending *now* / *boldly* / *in* Ktly.
 (conj).

After 54] Line missing. Cam.
 (conj)

55.] Printed as two lines, ending
hope / *in* Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob,
 Han., Warb., Johns., Cap, Coll i, II,
 Sing II, Sta., Dyce II, III, Wh. I, Huds.

ii Lines ending *what* / *in* Varr,
 Ran, Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing I,
 Knt, Huds I, Del, Dyce I, Hal,
 Cam, Glo., Wh II, Tud, Ox, Ard.

55 *We*] *Now we* T J (1721) *We*
now Pope, Theob, Han., Warb,
 Johns, Ritson, Coll. MS. *And we*
 Cap, Huds II

may] *may thus* Wh I.
what us] Q₁₋₇ *what's* Q₈,
 Ktly. *what is* Ff, et cet.

in] *in* Q₂, Ff, et seq. *in*
 Q₃₋₅

—KNIGHT (ed 1839). By receiving the word *read* in its literal and secondary sense, the commentators have been much perplexed . . . This is most marvellous ignorance of our primitive English, in which *discover* is a meaning of the word that is well understood.—WRIGHT (ed 1897). *Read* is probably correct, and may have been suggested to Hotspur by the letter he held in his hand . . . *Read* implies more than *see*, i.e., to see so plainly as to read all the consequences.

51. *soule of hope*] WRIGHT (ed 1897): That on which hope depends for its existence. It is to be feared that an equivocation was intended [*soul* and *sole*], as in *list* in the following line.

52. *list*] JOHNSON (ed 1765): Selvage; figuratively, the utmost line of circumference, the utmost extent.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): The word seems to have been chosen because its other meaning, "catalogue," fits with "read"

53. *and*] ABBOTT (Sh. Gram, 1870, p. 72). *And* is often found in an emphatic sense after statements implied by ejaculations.

54. *Where*] MALONE (ed. 1790): Used for *whereas*.

reuerfion] SCHMIDT (1874): Right, or hope, of future possession.—ELTON (ed. 1889). Refuge to revert, or betake us, to —N. E. D. (1914), with reference to this passage: the right of succeeding to possession of something, or *simply*: a thing which one hopes to obtain.

56. *comfort of retirement*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): A support to which we may have recourse.—COWL (ed. 1914). A retreat to which we may retire for succour and support.—N. E. D. (1897): Comfort: Succour, support. [*Comfort* is used here in this, older, sense of support; cf. "aid and comfort to the enemy," and "the comfort of the Holy Spirit."—ED.]

liues] SCHMIDT (1874): Exists. Freely used of things, so that Walker in his *Crit. Exam.* (1860) was often tempted to change it to *lies*. Cf. I, II, 181, and V, II, 20.

Per. A randeuous, a home to flie vnto 57
If that the Diuel and mischance looke big
Vpon the maidenhead of our affaires.

Wor. But yet *I* would your father had bin heere : 60
The quality and haire of our attempt
Brookes no deuifion, it will be thought
By fome that know not why he is away,
That wifedome, loialty, and meere diflike
Of our proceedings kept the Earle from hence, 65
And thinke how fuch an apprehenfion
May turne the tide of fearefull faction,
And breed a kind of question in our caufe:
For wel you know we of the offring fide 69

57. *randeuous*] *randeous* Q₂Q₄. Var (conj), Knt. *dare* Sta, (conj)
Randeous F₁. *Randevous* F₂F₃ *Ren-* *hair* Pope, et cet
dezvous F₄, et seq. 62 *Brookes*] *Brook* Hal i

59. *maidenhead*] *maidenhood* Huds. *it*] *If* F₂.
11. 69. *offring*] Qq, F₁F₂, Wh *offend-*
61 *haire*] Q₁₋₃ *heare* Q₄ *heire* *ing* T. J. (1721), Pope, Theob, Han.,
Q₅₋₈, F₁F₂. *hair* F₃F₄, Rowe. *air* Warb., Johns, Cap. *offering* F₃F₄,
Rowe, et cet.

58.] COWL (ed. 1914). A proverbial expression. See Heywood, *Wise Woman*, IV (Pearson, v, 337): "He goe, although the Deuill and mischance looke bigge"

61. *haire*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765). The complexion or character. The metaphor appears harsh to us, but was perhaps familiar in our author's time. We still say something is "against the hair," i.e., against the natural tendency—BOSWELL (Var. ed. 1821). Perhaps, against the air, outward appearance.—COLLIER (ed. 1842): Worcester perhaps means there should be no *splitting* of their power.—SINGER (*Text of Sh. Vindicated*, 1853): Does Mr Collier think of splitting a hair?—COLLIER (ed. 1858): I offered it [not as explanation] but merely as conjecture.—DYCE (*Structures on Collier*, 1859) Whether as explanation or conjecture it is such a one as Mr. Collier ought never to have offered, after the notes of Johnson, Steevens, and Malone. [The latter editors had supported Johnson with citation of passages, e.g., *The Family of Love*: "They say I am of the right hair"; *Sir Thomas More*. "A fellow of your hair is very fit To be a secretary's follower."—Ed.]—N. E. D. (1901) defines the word, in this passage, as meaning *sort, kind, nature*; from the phrase "of one hair," i.e. of one colour or external quality.—COWL (ed. 1914): Grain, texture; hence, character. . . . The metaphor is from the colour or texture of hair.

66. *apprehension*] SCHMIDT (1874): Conception, imagination.

67. *fearefull faction*] SCHMIDT (1874): Timid conspiracy.

69. *offring*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Of this reading the sense is obscure, and therefore the change has been made [see Textual Notes]; but since neither offering nor offending are words likely to be mistaken, I cannot but suspect

Must keepe aloofe from strict arbitrement,
 And stop al fight-holes euery loope from whence 71
 The eie of reason may prie in vpon vs,
 This abfence of your fathers drawes a curtain
 That fhewes the ignorant a kind of feare
 Before not dreamt of. 75a

Per. You straine too far. b
 I rather of his abfence make this vfe,

73. fathers] *Father* Qs-s, Ff, +, Theob., Han., Warb, Johns
 Knt, Sing II, Ktly., Wh II. *You straine*] *Come, you strain*
 75. dreamt of] *dreamt vpon* Pope, Cap.

that offering is right, especially as it is read in the first copy [*i.e.*, second; Dr Johnson did not know Q], of 1599, which is more correctly printed than any single edition, that I have seen, of a play written by Shakespeare. *The offering side* may signify, that party which, acting in opposition to the law, strengthens itself only by offers, encreases its numbers only by promises. The king can raise an army, and continue it by threats of punishment, but those whom no man is under any obligation to obey can gather forces only by offers of advantage; and it is truly remarked that they, whose influence arises from offers, must keep danger out of sight. *The offering side* may mean simply the assailable, in opposition to the defendant; and it is likewise true of him that offers war, or invasion, that his cause ought to be kept clear from all objections.—MASON (*Comments on the Last Ed.*, 1785). Dr. Johnson's last explanation appears to be right. His first is far-fetched and unnatural.—DAVIES (*Dram Misc*, 1785). We who . . . offer . . . to the people a king with a juster title to the crown.—COWL (ed. 1914). A difficult passage, which is perhaps illustrated by, if it is not a reminiscence of, the following account of the Northern Confederacy in J. Stow's *Chronicles of England*, 1580 (p. 563): "Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, Richard Scrope Archbishop of Yorke, Thomas Mowbray Earle Marshall, Thomas Bardolph, and other, conspiring against King Henry . . . set articles vpon the dores of Monasteries and Churches . . . written agaynste the king, bycause he had put downe king Richard, offering themselves for these articles to live and die." The meaning is then. "We who have offered our lives and fortunes as pledges of our faith and truth. [This, too, is a little "far-fetched and unnatural." Dr. Johnson's second explanation seems correct; the common expression "to offer battle" sufficiently explains the origin of the adjective here. Cf. III, ii, 167-169.—ED.]

70. arbitrement] SCHMIDT (1874): Judicial inquiry.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Trial of our cause by argument.

71. loope] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Cf. *Lear*, III, iv, 31: "Your looped and wind-dowed raggedness."

73. drawes] MALONE (*Suppl. to Var. ed.* 1778, 1780): Draws it open. So, in a stage-direction in *II Henry VI*, Q 1600: "Then the curtaines being drawne, duke Humphrey is discovered in his bed."

74. a kind of feare] COWL (ed. 1914): As it were, some apprehension on our part; . . . cf. line 68, ante, a kind of question.

It lends a lustre and more great opinion, 77
 A larger dare to our great enterprife
 Then if the Earle were here, for men must thinke
 If we without his helpe can make a head 80
 To push against a kingdome, with his helpe
 We shal oreturue it topsie turuy down,
 Yet all goes well, yet all our ioints are whole.
Doug. As hart can thinke, there is not such a word
 Spoke of in Scotland as this tearme of feare. 85
Enter fir Ri: Vernon
Per. My coofen Vernon, welcom by my foule.
Ver. Pray God my newes be worth a welcome lord,
 The Earle of Westmerland feuen thousand strong 88

77 *and*] a Cap. ing thinke / Scotland / feare Ff, Rowe
 78. *dare*] glare Pope, Han 85. *Spoke of*] *Spoken* Lettsom,
 our] *your* Q₂₋₈, Ff, Rowe [T. J. Huds 11
 (1721) reads *our*], Pope, Knt 11, iv as] at Q₅, F₁₋₃
 81. *a*] Q₁₋₄, Cam, Glo., Wh. 11, tearme] Q₁₋₄ deame Q₅Q₆.
 Tud., Ard. the Q₅₋₈, Ff, et cet. dreame Q₇Q₈, Ff, Rowe, Sta. term
 82. *shal oreturue*] *shall or'eturue* Pope, et cet.
 Q₉Q₁₀. *shall, or turue* Q₁₋₈ *shall* After 85.] SCENE II. Pope, Han ,
o're-turue Ff, et seq Warb., Johns.
 shal] *should* Coll MS s.d. R₁] Rih. Q₅. Rich. Q₆₋₈.
 84, 85 | Printed as three lines, end- Richard Ff, et seq.

75.] MORGAN (*Some Problems of Henry IV*, 1924) finds indication of curtailment here, in the fact that the two fragments which compose the line do not make a complete verse.

You . . . far] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): You exaggerate the interpretation which may be put on his absence. Worcester looked at the position of affairs as a cautious statesman, Hotspur as a warrior.

77. *opinion*] SCHMIDT (1874): Reputation. Cf V, iv, 48.

78. *dare*] SCHMIDT (1874): Daring, boldness.

80. *make a head*] Cf. I, iii, 284, and III, i, 62.

83. *Yet*] SCHMIDT (1874): As yet.

85. *tearme*] STAUNTON (ed. 1858): We prefer *dream*, because Douglas appears to be scornfully referring to an expression in the previous speech of Worcester: "a kind of fear Before not dreamed of." [Staunton has not persuaded subsequent editors. The Textual Notes show how *tearme* became *dreame*.—ED.]

86-97.] AX (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol.*, 1912, p. 41): Vernon, who gives intelligence of the approach of the king's army, is named in Holinshed, *Chron.*, III, 24. . . For the approach of the king's forces in several detachments we could not find any authority in the Chronicle.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Sir Richard Vernon was Baron of Shipbrook, co. Chester. Readers of *Rob Roy* will remember that he was claimed as an ancestor by Diana Vernon.

Is marching hetherwards, with him prince Iohn.

Per. No harme, what more ?

90a

Ver. And further I haue learnd,

b

The King himfelfe in perfon is fet forth,

Or hetherwards intended speedily

With strong and mighty preparation

Hot. He fhall be welcome too . where is his fonne ?

The nimble footed madcap prince of Wales,

95

And his Cumrades that daft the world afide

And bid it paffe ?

Ver. All furnisht al in Armes

All plumde like Eſtridges that with the wind

98

Baited like Eagles hauing lately bathd,

89 *hetherwards*] *hitherward* Qs. *hither* Pope, Theob., Han., Warb., Johns.

hum] Om. Qs.-s, Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han., Warb., Johns.

Iohn] *John of Lancaster* Pope, Theob., Han., Warb., Johns

90. *further*] *farther* Coll

91 *is*] *hath* Qs.-s, Ff, +, Knt.

92. *Or*] *And* Ktly.

intended] *intendeth* Coll. MS, Huds. 11.

94. Printed as two lines, ending *too* / *sonne* Ff, Rowe. [T. J. (1721) follows Qq]

95 *madcap*] *madcap*, Qs.-s, Ff, Rowe.

96. *Cumrades*] *Cumrades*, Qs, et seq *daft*] *daffe* Han., Hal. i, Wh. i, Dyce ii, iii.

97. *furnisht*] *furnisht*, Qs.-s, Ff, F₂F₄, et seq. *furnish?* Qs.-s.

Armes] *Armes?* Qs.-s.

98 *plumde*] *plumpe* Qs.-s. *plum'd* Ff, et seq.

Eſtridges] *Eſtridges*, Qs, et seq. *thai*] *and* Han., Cap.

with] *wing* Rowe, Johns. (conj.),

Mal, Steev., Varr., Douce, Coll. MS, Coll. 11, iii, Dyce, Sta., Wh, Hal 11, Kinnear (1883), Ox [Many other emendations have been suggested; among them are: *whisk'd* Tyrwhitt (1766). *meet* Vaughan, *witch* Bulloch *whir*, *cuttle*, *wait*, *vie* with (N & Q., 1869, 1894, 1895, 1910). *vie* Cowl (ed. 1930).]

the wind] *their wings* Steev (conj in Var. '78). *the wind*; Rowe, Mal., Steev., Varr., Coll. MS, Coll. 11, iii, Dyce, Sta., Hal., Wh *the wind are fann'd* Ktly.

After 98.] *Run on, in gallant trim they now advance*: Mal. (conj.)

99. *Baited*] *Baiting* Han. i *Baiting*, Han. 11 *Bated* Heath, Var '78, '85, Ran., Mal, Steev., Varr., Douce, Dyce, Coll. 11, iii, Sta., Hal., Wh 1, Cam. i. *Bating*, Cap *Bated*, Sing, Coll. i, Tud. *Bated*,—Knt., Del. *Bated*; Huds i. *Beated* Ktly. (conj.). *Bate it*; Huds 11. *Bating* Kinnear (1883). *Beautied* Vaughan.

Eagles] *Eagles*, Qs.-s, Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob., Warb., Johns., Var. '73.

92. *intended*] N. E. D. (1901), with reference to this passage: *Intend*, start on a journey, set out.

95. *nimble footed*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1773): Shakespeare rarely bestows his epithets at random. Stowe says of the prince, "he was passing swift in running, insomuch as he with two other of his lords, without hounds, bow or other engine, would take a wild duck, or doe, in a large park." [Cf. II, iv, note on 128, 129.—ED.]

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96 Cumrades] WRIGHT (ed 1897): The accent is on the last syllable, as in *Hamlet*, I, iii, 65 "Of each new-hatch'd, unfledg'd comrade"

daft] DYCE (ed 1864): *Daft* is a present tense, merely a corrupt spelling of *daff*. Formerly, to words ending in *f* it was not unusual to add a *t* so, in Chapman's *Homer* (*Il* B, xxiv, 332), we find "pufts of wind"—SCHMIDT (1874): *Daft* Put aside, turn away

98, 99] The most discussed passage in the play, see Textual Notes.—POPE (ed 1723) *Bated* Flutter'd the wings —JOHNSON (ed. 1765) To "bait with the wind" appears to me an improper expression To "bait" is, in the style of falconry, to beat the wing, from the French *battre*, that is, to flutter in preparation for flight Besides, what is the meaning of Estridges that baited with the wind like Eagles, for the relative "that" must refer to the estridges Sir Thomas Hanmer has escaped some of the difficulty, but yet has left impropriety sufficient to make his reading questionable. I read, "Estridges that wing the wind, Bated like Eagles, &c" This gives a strong image They were not only plumed like estridges, but their plumes fluttered like those of an estridge on the wing, mounting against the wind. A more lively representation of young men ardent for enterprise perhaps no writer has ever given —GRAY (Var ed 1773) They were all dressed like the prince himself, the ostrich-feather being the cognizance of the Prince of Wales —STEEVENS (Var. ed 1778) I believe estridges never mount at all, but only run before the wind, opening their wings to receive its assistance. They are generally hunted on horseback, and the art of the hunter is to turn them from the gale by the help of which they are too swift for the swiftest horse. Writers on falconry often mention the *bathing* of hawks and eagles as highly necessary for their health and spirits. I should have suspected a line to have been omitted, had not all the copies concurred in the same reading . . . If any alteration were necessary, I would propose to read "that with their wings Bated like eagles." But the present words may stand. All birds after bathing spread out their wings to catch the wind, and flutter violently with them in order to dry themselves. This, in the falconer's language, is called "bating," and by Shakespeare "bating with the wind."—MALONE (ed. 1790) This is one of the passages in which there can be no doubt there is some corruption, either by the omission of an entire line or by one word being printed instead of another . . . From the context it appears to me evident that two distinct comparisons were here intended, that two objects were mentioned, to *each* of which the prince's troops were compared, and that our author could never mean to compare estridges to eagles, a construction which the word "with" forces us to. In each of the subsequent lines a distinct image is given. . . I have adopted the slight alteration proposed by Dr. Johnson—"wing" for "with"—which gives an easy sense. The spirit and ardour of the troops are marked by their being compared to eagles, but the estridges seem to be introduced . . . solely on account of the soldiers' plumes, and the manner in which those birds are said to move sufficiently explains the meaning of the words "that wing the wind." If this emendation be not just, and "with" be the true reading, a line must have been lost [see Textual Notes for line proposed by Malone.—ED.] in which the particular movement of the estridge was described. The concurrence of copies

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militates but little against the probability of such an omission, for in general wherever there is a corruption in one copy, it is continued in every subsequent one. Omission is one of the most frequent errors of the press . . . There is still another objection to the old reading: why should *bated* be in the past tense? On the whole I think it probable that a line was omitted by the first compositor. It is observable that in this passage as it stands in the old copy, there is no verb, nothing predicated, about the troops. In the lost line it was probably said that they were advancing. "*Bated*" is perhaps used for "*baiting*," the passive for the active participle, a license which our author often takes. . . . To "*bate*," as appears from Minsheu's Dictionary, 1617, was originally applied to birds of prey when they swoop upon their quarry —DOUCE (*Illust. of Sh.*, 1807, I, 435). Although the ostrich was occasionally denominated "*estridge*" by our older writers, it is by no means certain that this bird is meant in the present instance. It may seem a very obvious comparison between the feathers of a crested helmet and those of the ostrich; and had the expression "*plumed like estridges*" stood alone, no doubt could have arisen. It is what follows that occasions the difficulty. If the ostrich had been alluded to, the conjectural substitution of "*wing*" for "*with*" would have been absolutely requisite; but the line that follows cannot be made to apply to the ostrich. It is related altogether to falconry, a sport to which Shakespeare is perpetually referring . . . It has been quite overlooked that "*estridge*" signifies "*goshawk*." In this sense the word is used in *Antony and Cleopatra*, III, xii. "*And in that mood (of fury) the dove will peck the estridge.*" . . . It would be absurd to talk of a dove pecking an ostrich, the allusion is to the practice of flying falcons at pigeons. "*So doves do peck the faulcons piercing talons*" (*III Henry VI*). Thus Golding, trans. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (fol. 9). "*With fluttering feather siele doves so from the goshawk flie.*" The manor of Radeclive in Nottinghamshire is held by the service of "*mewing a goshawk*," "*mutandi unum estricum.*" . . . Falconers are often called *ostregers* or *ost-tringers* in old books of falconry, and elsewhere. *Estridge* for *ostrich* is a corrupt spelling that crept into the language at the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and it appears that after that period the two words were very often confounded. . . . —IBID. (p. 437): There is certainly a line lost, as Mr. Malone has justly and ingeniously conjectured; but the place should rather seem to be after the word "*bath'd*" than before. The sense . . . "*plumed like falcons, which, with their feathers being ruffled with the wind, like eagles that have lately bathed, make a violent fluttering noise.*" The words in italics are mine, being here conjecturally offered as something like the sense of the omitted line. —BOSWELL (Var. ed. 1821): It is not uncommon in elliptical language to leave the verb to be understood. —SINGER (ed. 1826): The meaning is obviously this:—"The prince and his companions were all furnished, all in arms, all plumed: like estridges (ostriches) that *bated* (*beat or fluttered*) the wind with their wings; like eagles having lately bathed." Johnson's reading is exceptionable, if not unwarrantable, because "*to wing the wind*" and "*to bate*" are the same; and the difficulties of an elliptical construction are not avoided by it. Malone's notion that a line has been omitted has not my concurrence. Nor do I think with Douce that by "*estridges*," falcons are meant. The ostrich

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plumage would be more likely to occur to our poet, from the circumstance of its being the cognizance of the Prince of Wales—KNIGHT (ed. 1839) accepts Douce's explanation, and paraphrases: "Plumed like falcons that with the wind swooped upon their quarry, like eagles having lately bathed." Their plumes, their caparisons, are as smooth as the unruffled feathers of a hawk, as brilliant as the eagles that have just dipped their feathers into the crystal waters of a mountain tarn.—MITFORD (*Conj. Emend*; *Gent. Mag*, new series, xxii, 1844) It is not true that ostriches are compared to eagles, there is, as is not unusual in Shakespeare, a double comparison. The comrades of the prince are compared first to ostriches, then to eagles. We do not know that the passage ought to be altered; but it might be, in the simplest manner. "Al plumed like estridges; and with the wind Bating, like eagles that have lately bathed." Or the stop might be after "bating," if that action should be supposed to be suitable to the ostrich . . . The ostrich bates the wind when it runs, and the eagle after it has bathed; but to place the semi-colon in the first line, after "estridges," is by far the preferable reading, and the similitude to the ostrich is then confined to the plumes.—DYCE (ed. 1857) I adopt the reading of Rowe not only because it affords a clear and good meaning, but because it is far from improbable that "wing" might have been mistaken for "with," in which word, in the handwriting of the poet's time, the head of the *h* is often carried below the line. . . . There is a double comparison, first with ostriches, then with eagles. . . . The absurdity of Douce's remarks is past belief.—CAMBRIDGE EDITORS (ed. 1864): We leave this obscure passage as it stands in the old copies. Possibly a line has dropped out after "wind." The phrase "wing the wind" seems to apply to ostriches (for such is unquestionably the meaning of "estridges") less than to any other bird.—HALLIWELL (ed. 1859): "With," i.e., "go with."—HARTING (*Burds of Sh.*, 1871, p. 286): We have adopted the reading "like estridges that with the wind Bated, like eagles having lately bathed" for three reasons: 1. Considering the rudimentary nature of the ostrich's wing, Shakespeare could never have been so incorrect as to describe them as winging the wind; 2. the word "bated" if intended to refer to eagles and not to ostriches would have been more correctly "bating"; 3. the expression "bate with the wind" is well understood in the language of falconry, with which Shakespeare was familiar.—CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p. 4): Shakespeare is so exuberant in fancy, so overflowing with thought and idea, that he occasionally floods a passage with imagery, sometimes even to the obscuring of its direct drift. In this passage, so richly full of illustration are the sentences—even giving a simile within a simile—that the author's scope has been missed by some of the commentators. . . . The clause "that with . . . bath'd" is the speaker's comment upon the effect produced on his sight by the appearance he is imaging to his hearers. He describes the prince and his companions as "all plumed like estridges," and then incidentally gives the impression which these youthful warriors produced by the fluttering of their plumed crests. . . . If the construction of the passage caused by Rowe's substituted word [and punctuation] be adopted, we have the awkward effect of the warriors having "bated": if, however, we accept the construction afforded by the original word, we have the poetical effect of their plumes, and those of the

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estrildges to whom theirs are compared, having bated with the wind —ELTON (ed. 1889) *Bated* is preterite, much perplexity has arisen from thinking it participle. It means "fluttered," and is a term specially applied to falcons who flutter their wings to dry them when preparing to fly. *Estrildges* . . . can, and probably here does, mean "falcons" or "goshawks." The Cambridge editors seem to deny this, but the passage from *Antony and Cleopatra* [see Douce's note, above] seems conclusive

[A controversy between Dyce, the Cambridge editors, and others concerning the appropriateness of the word "wing" (for "with," line 98) as applied to ostriches is too trivial to deserve much attention —DYCE (ed. 1857) quoted Claudian ("who, as a native of Alexandria, might not have had to trust to his fancy for a picture which has the air of being taken from life"), *In Eutrop* ii, 310, as using "volat" in describing the "flight" of an ostrich. The Cambridge editors refuse to equate "volat" with "wing the wind" —BAYNES (*Sh. Studies*, 1894) rebukes them for their pedantry. —MADDEN (*Diary of Mr. Wm. Silence*, 1897, p. 156) interprets "estrildge" as "goshawk" —N. E. D. (1901), however, records no use of "estrildge" as "goshawk"; though it gives "ostreger" as keeper of goshawks, and "ostour" as goshawk. —ED.]

WRIGHT (ed. 1897). It is probable that the passage is correct as it stands. Prince Henry and his comrades, with plumes in their helmets waving to and fro, are compared to ostriches whose feathers fluttered with the wind, the technical word "bated" being borrowed from the language of falconry . . . Shakespeare would hardly have compared the prince and his friends first to goshawks and then to eagles! —HERFORD (ed. 1899) Like ostriches with their plumes fluttering in the wind, like eagles after bathing. Their plumes are first illustrated by the comparison with the ostrich, then the specific trait of "fluttering in the wind" is illustrated by the further comparison to eagles after bathing. —COWL (ed. 1914). An allusion to their casques plumed with ostrich feathers . . . I think, with Steevens and Malone, that it is probable that a line, in which the motion of estrildges was described, has been lost after line 98, and I suspect that Shakespeare wrote "Bating" in line 99, and that the alteration to "Bated" was made by the compositor in order to supply a verb to the subject "that" in line 98 —IBID. (*Notes on Henry IV*, 1927, p. 3). Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, xi, 33, 34, where the Red Cross Knight rises from the Well of Life with youthful vigour restored. "At last . . . he upstarte brave Out of the well, wherein he drenched lay: As Eagle, fresh out of the ocean wave, Where he had left his plumes all hoary gray, And deckt himself with feathers youthly gay, Like Eyas hauke up mounts unto the skies, His newly-budded pineons to assay, And marvailes at himself still as he flies. So new this new-borne knight to battell new did rise." The authenticity of the reading "Bated" is doubly assured, (1) by reference to the simile of the knight and the eagle in *The Faerie Queene*, which appears to have suggested the simile in the text: "Bated like eagles having lately bathed;" and (2) by a verbal echo of the text in *The Historie of the triall of Chevalry* (1605), iii: "when long travell makes them dull and faint, *Baying them fresh . . . Like Eagles* they shall cut the flaxen ayre." The image of the prince and his comrades "Bated like eagles having lately bathed," is introduced by Vernon with all a soldier's bluntness and economy of speech.

Glittering in golden coates like images, 100
 As ful of fpirit as the month of May,
 And gorgeous as the funne at Midfomer .
 Wanton as youthful goates, wild as young buls, 103

100 *coates*] *Coates*, Ff Cap, Var and 101 Cap
 '78, et seq 103 *bul*s,] *bul*s Q₂-s *Bulls*. Ff,
 103] Printed between lines 100 et seq

The allusion to the popular belief that the eagle periodically renews its plumage by bathing in the ocean would be recognized by contemporary play-goers, who would recall the stanza of *The Faerie Queene* in which the fable is embellished with a wealth of imagery that contrasts with the matter-of-fact language of the corresponding passage in the play—COFFMAN (*Sh and Nashe, Mod Lang. Notes*, 1927, p. 318) suggests the following passage from Thomas Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveller*, 1594, as the possible source of the estridge-eagle simile, and of the Pegasus allusion in line 109 "The trappings of the horse were bolstered out . . . in full proportion and shape of an Estrich On the breast of the horse were the fore-parts of this greedie bird aduanced. . . His wings, which he neuer vseth but running, being spread full saile, made his lustie steed as proud vnder him as he had bin some other Pegasus, and so quiveringly . . . were these his broad winges bounde to him that, as he paced vp and downe the tilt-yard, . . . they seemed wantonly to fan in his face, and make a flickering sound, such as Eagles doe, swiftly pursuing their praye in the ayre" [None of the suggested emendations is wholly satisfactory. The passage as it stands in Q₁, though difficult to parse and ambiguous in some details, gives a picture of the eager, quivering, excitement of the prince and his comrades. We shall never know whether Shakespeare meant to compare the young men first with ostriches, and then with eagles, or whether the men are compared with ostriches, and the ostriches with eagles, but the difference is slight. We know from the following lines that they are "glittering" and "full of spirit," which is exactly the picture we get from the lines under discussion. The lack of punctuation in these lines may well be the result of Vernon's breathless enthusiasm: one image tumbles over the other as he pours forth his amazing story. The passage from Nashe, quoted by Coffman, above, is far more significant, I think, than most "parallel passages."—ED.]

100. golden coates] COWL (ed. 1914): Sutcliffe (*The Practice . . . and Laws of Arms*, 1593) deprecates "wayne expense, . . . golden coates, and other vanities." . . . Cf. Drayton, *Poly-Olbon*, xxii, 237: "Prince Edward all in gold, as he great Jove had been."

images] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1773): This alludes to the manner of dressing up images in the Romish churches on holy-days; where they are bedeckt in gilt robes.

101. month of May] KREYSSIG (*Varlesungen*, 1874): It has been asked, not without justice, whether Shakespeare wished to compare Falstaff with an ostrich and an eagle, and Bardolph with the month of May. . . . Is it not quite possible, however, that he was thinking of the "Lords and Gentlemen" of the *Chronicle*?

I saw young Harry with his beaver on,
 His cushes on his thighs gallantly armde, 105
 Rife from the ground like feathered Mercury,
 And vaulted with such ease into his feat,
 As if an Angel drop down from the clouds,
 To turne and wind a fiery Pegafus, 109

104 on] up Han, Warb. (conj), seq.
 Cap 107. vaulted with such] vault with
 105 cushes] cushes T J (1721). such an Cap, Seymour. vault it with
 cuisses Pope, et seq such Mal (conj.), Huds 11
 106. feathered] feather'd Rowe, et 108 drop] dropt Q₂, et seq.

104-123] CORSON (*Int to Study of Sh*, 1889, p. 75): A passage like this may be regarded as the climax of the freedom of movement and the bounding vigor which Shakespeare's blank verse reached in its recitative form—that form in which the normal pentameter measure of the verse determines more or less the orbit of the thought.—PATER (*Appreciations*, 1889, p. 199) The grandiose aspects of war, its magnificent apparellings, Shakespeare records monumentally enough: "I saw young Harry, &c." Only, with Shakespeare, the afterthought is immediate: "They come like sacrifices in their trim" [line 113]. . . . Perhaps it is not too fanciful to note in this play a peculiar recoil from the instruments of warfare; cf I, i, 5-10.

104. beaver on] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): We should read *beaver up*. . . . The beaver is only the visiere of the helmet, which, let down, covers the face. When the soldier was not upon action, he wore it up.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): There is no need of this note, for a beaver may be a helmet, or the prince, trying his armour, might wear the beaver down.—MALONE (ed. 1790): Shakespeare did, however, confound them [beaver and visiere], for in *Hamlet*, Horatio says he saw the old king's face, for he wore his beaver up. . . . Dr Warburton seems not to have observed that Vernon only says he saw Harry, not that he saw his face.—DOUCE (*Sh Illust*, 1807, i, 438): The beaver of a helmet is frequently used by writers, improperly enough, to express the helmet itself. It is in reality the lower part of it, adapted to the purpose of giving the wearer an opportunity of taking breath when oppressed by heat, or, without taking off his helmet, taking his repast. . . . The visiere was another part of the front of the helmet, placed above the beaver to protect the upper part of the face. . . . It was perhaps never let down except in actual combat, while the beaver would be thrown up or kept down at the wearer's discretion.

105. cushes] POPE (ed. 1723): Cuisses; *Fr.*, armour for the thighs.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): The reason why his cushes are so particularly mentioned, I conceive to be that his horsemanship is here praised, and the cushes are that part of the armour which most hinders a horse-man's activity.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): "Cushes" perhaps represents the pronunciation of the word, although "cuisses" would be nearer to "quishes," the form in which it appears in Hall's *Chronicle*.

106-110.] MADDEN (*Diary of Mr. Wm. Silence*, 1897, p. 292): It could not be otherwise than that Shakespeare's favorite character, in whom we have seen reflected the image of his creator, should be devoted to the horse. . . . His "world-witching horsemanship" differs as widely from the impetuosity of

And witch the world with noble horfemanship.

Hoi. No more, no more, worfe then the fun in March, 111
This praise doth nourish agues, let them come,
They come like sacrifices in their trim,
And to the fire-eyd maide of smoky war,
Al hot and bleeding will we offer them, 115

110. *witch*] *wicht* F₃F₄ separate line Ff, Rowe [T. J. (1721)
111. *No more, no more,*] Printed as follows Qq]

Hotspur as from the sentimentality of Richard II, who, notwithstanding his attention to roan Barbary, was conscious of "wanting the manage of unruly jades "

106 feathered] COWL (ed. 1914) An allusion to the winged sandals of Mercury.

107 vaulted] WRIGHT (ed. 1897) The difficulty in construction here, which is like that in II, iv, 233, caused Malone to propose "vault it" and other editors to resort to other expedients for making the grammar conform to modern usage But, however faulty, it is not without example See [note on II, iv, 233]

111, 112 sun . . . agues] COWL (ed. 1914): So, in Overbury, *Characters, A Canting Rogue* "The March sunne breeds agues" . . . See J. Donne, *Baithanatos*, Pref. (ed. 1648, p. 22). "And it may have as much vigour as the sunne in March; it may stirre and dissolve humors, though not expell them, for that must bee a worke of stronger power." Also T. Sydenham, *Methodus Curandi Febres*, under *de febr. intermitt.* . . . Ray, *Proverbs* "An Ague is nothing else but a strong fermentation of the blood . . . easily excited at this time [springtime] by the return of the sun."

113 sacrifices . . . trim] COWL (ed. 1914): In their gay attire resembling oxen garnished for sacrifice. . . . *In trim*, in attire, cf. Fletcher, *Humorous Lieutenant*, II, 11. "How shows she in her trim now? Oh, most divinely sweet."

114-117.] COWL (*Sources*, 1928, p. 43) (a) Ammianus Marcellinus, *Gest. Rer. Hist.*, xxvii, 3 (ed. 1591). "Scordisci . . . hostiis captivorum Bellonae litantes & Marti, humanumq. sanguinem in ossibus capitum humanis bibentes avidius" (b) Lucan, *Pharsalia*, I, 444: "Et quibus inmitis placatur sanguine diro Teutates horrensque feris altaribus Esus (Mars)." (c) Lactantius, *Inst. Div. Lib.*, I, 21 (ed. 1594). "Galli Esu atque Teutaten humano cruore placabant." (d) Albricus, *De Deorum Imaginibus: De Marte* (ed. 1578). "Erat enim eius figura . . . in curru sedens, armatus lorica." (e) Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi, 4: "Mars . . . sedens in templo Bruti."

114. fire-eyd . . . war] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Bellona.—ROOT (*Class. Myth. in Sh.*, 1903, p. 86): Probably Minerva. Chapman calls her "War's triumphant maid," in *Iliad* 7, and the epithet "fire-eyed" corresponds to Homer's epithet "glaukopis."—COWL (ed. 1914): Bellona. Heywood, *Londons Sinus Salutis* (Pearson, iv, 313): "Antiquity called her Duellona, that is, the Goddess of Warre, to whom their priests sacrificed their owne blood." The epithet "fire-eyed" is appropriate to the goddess of "smoky war."

The mailed Mars shal on his altars fit
 Vp to the eares in bloud. I am on fire 117
 To heare this rich reprizal is fo nigh,
 And yet not ours Come let me tast my horfe,
 Who is to beare me like a thunderbolt, 120
 Against the bofome of the Prince of Wales,
 Harry to Harry shal hot horfe to horfe,
 Meete and neare part til one drop down a coarfe,
 Oh that Glendower were come. 124a
Ver. There is more newes, b
 I learnd in Worcester as I rode along,

116. *altars*] *altar* Q₄, et seq. Rowe 11, Pope, Han., Seymour.
 119. *tast*] *take* Q₃₋₈, Ff, +, Cap., *Harry shall* (not Theob., Warb.
 Varr., Ran., Mal., Steev, Varr, Sing. *Harry shall, hot* Johns., et cet
 1, Knt, Sta., Wh, Hal 11. *horse,*] *horse*) Theob., Warb.
 121. *of Wales*] *Wales* Q₈. 123. *neare*] *ne're* Q₂₋₈, Ff. *ne'er*
 122. *Harry to*] *Harry and* Lettsom, Rowe, et seq
 Huds 11. *coarse,*] *coarse*: Q₂₋₈. *Coarse?*
Harry shal hot] *Harry, shall* Ff, Rowe 1, Knt 11, iv *coarse* T. J.,
hot Q₂ *Harry, shall not* Q₃₋₈, Ff, Rowe 11, et cet.
 Rowe 1, Knt 11, iv. *Harry shall, and*

116. *mailed*] SCHMIDT (1874): Clad in armour.

118. *reprizal*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Something taken in retaliation for robbery—SCHMIDT (1874) and N. E. D. (1914): Prize.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Not necessarily something taken in retaliation. The *re-* rather indicates emphasis than repetition, as in "replenish," *Genesis*, 1, 28: "Replenish the earth."

119. *tast*] SINGER (ed. 1856): From the French *taster*, to try.

122, 123. *Harry . . . Meete*] THEOBALD (*Letter to Warburton*, Jan. 13, 1729/1730): The old books concur in reading "not horse to horse" [but see Textual Notes], which I conceive is the righter: i.e., my horse shall bear me like a thunderbolt against the prince's bosom, but when we meet, our single prowess shall dispute the difference, and we'll depend neither on the strength, or address, of our steeds.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): This reading [see Textual Notes] I have restored from the first edition [i.e., the second; Johnson did not know Q₁]. The second edition in 1622 [i.e., the third in 1604 and the sixth in 1622] read *not horse*, which has been followed by all the critics except Hanmer, who, justly remarking the impertinence of the negative, reads [see Textual Notes]. But the unexampled expression of "meeting to" for "meeting with" is yet left. The ancient reading is surely right. [This note of Johnson's is important chiefly as indicating with which of the quarto editions he was familiar. The best text, Q₁, he never saw; nor did he know Q₈, from which F₁ was printed.—ED.]—CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): "Harry to Harry shall," supply "be opposed"; and in the line after this, supply—"Meet too they shall, and, &c." The anomalous construction sprung from the rime, the constraint that is caused by it.—UFTON (*Crit. Observ.*, 1746): Shakespeare uses *not* for *not only*.

125, 126.] AX (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol.*, 1912, p. 41): Although neither Glendower

He can draw his power this fourteene daies.

Doug. Thats the worst tidings that I heare of it 127

Wor. I by my faith, that beares a frosty found

Hot. What may the kings whole battel reach vnto ?

Ver. To thirty thousand. 130a

Hot. Forty let it be, b

My father and Glendower being both away,

The powers of vs may ferue so great a day,

Come let vs take a muster speedily,

Doomes day is neare, die all, diemerely. 134

126. *can*] *cannot* Qs, et seq. [Four seq.
copies of Qs read *can*, four read *can-*
not See Appendix: The Text: In- 132 *powers*] *Power* F4, Rowe,
dividual Copies of the first five Ran., Mason.
Quartos.] 133 *take a*] Om. Qs *make a*

thus] *these* Knt ii, iv.

127. *of it*] *of yet* Qs, et seq.

Var '03, '13, Var, Sing. i, Hal ii

128 I] I, Qs, F4 Ay, Rowe, et seq

134 *diemerely*] *die merrily* Qs, et

nor Mortimer is named in the *Chronicle* among those who accompanied the Percies at Shrewsbury, yet Holinshed does not expressly say that they were not there, nor does he mention any letters of excuse from them . . . We are, on the contrary, inclined to believe that if Glendower himself took no part in the battle, he, or at least a part of his troops, was not far from the place, for we read (III, 25) "The Welshmen also which before had lain lurking in the woods, mountains, and marshes, hearing of this battle toward, came to the aid of the Percies, and refreshed the wearied people with new succours," which is a striking deviation from Shakespeare's version. . . . It is further to be remarked that after Act III, sc. i, we entirely lose sight of both Mortimer and Glendower.

129. *battel*] SCHMIDT (1874): Army prepared for battle.

130 *thirty thousand*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): This is the number given by Wynthorn in his *Cronykel of Scotland*, B. ix, c. 24, 2485, but there is no account by any contemporary writer. Hall says that "on bothe partes wer aboue fourty thousand men assembled."

133. *take a muster*] KNIGHT (ed. 1839): He desires to take an account, a muster-roll, of his own forces. He would not wish to *make* a muster [see Textual Notes], i.e., assemble his troops, for they were with him.

134.] Ax (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol.*, 1912, p. 42): Hotspur seems to have a foreboding of the catastrophe. . . . These words contrast a little too much with his former confident speeches. [On the contrary, they are perfectly in character. Shakespeare has used Hotspur, throughout this scene, as a mouth-piece for warnings of disaster. The warnings are the more impressive as coming from the irrepressible optimist. Note, especially, Hotspur's first, instinctive, comment on the news of the defection of Northumberland (lines 29, 30): "this sickness doth infect *the very life-blood* of our enterprise"; and line 44: "a perilous gash, a very limb lopped off." Could words of apprehension be

Doug. Talke not of dying, I am out of feare
Of death or deaths hand for this one halfe yeare Exeunt 136

[*Scæna Secunda.*]

Enter Falstaffe, Bardoll.

Falst. Bardol get thee before to Couentry, fill me a bot-
tle of Sacke, our fouldiors shall march through. Weele to 2

136 Exeunt] Exeunt Omnes. Ff. Coventry Warb, Johns SCENE II.
Scæna Secunda] Ff. Om. Qq. Changes to a Publick Road near
SCENE II. Rowe SCENE III Pope. Coventry Var. '73. SCENE II A
Scene changes to a publick road, near a publick Road near Coventry. Cap.,
Coventry Theob. SCENE III The Var '78, et seq
Road to Coventry. Han. SCENE III Bardoll] and Bardoll Q₂-s and
Changes to a Publick Road near Bardolph Ff, et seq.

stronger? True, he tries to find comfort, and he answers the fears of others with a reckless enthusiasm and boldness; but he shows, from the beginning of the scene, that he realizes the desperate situation he is in, and the Doom's-day note at the end not only serves a general dramatic purpose, but is, as well, in character —ED].

IV, 11] For a discussion of Falstaff in this scene, see Appendix: Characters: Falstaff—Maurice Morgann.

1. *Couentry*] AX (*Rel of Sh to Hol*, 1912, p. 43): The town of Coventry may have been chosen by Shakespeare for this scene, firstly, because it is on the road from London to Shrewsbury, secondly, because it is near his native town; . . . and, thirdly, because it occurs in the *Chronicle* at about this date . . . as the meeting place for "the laymen's parliament" (Hol, III, 30).—ARTHUR GRAY (*Chap. in Early Life of Sh.*, 1926, p. 47). There is evidence that when Shakespeare wrote *Henry IV* he was unfamiliar with the London-Stratford road. . . . If a straight line be drawn from London to Shrewsbury, it passes exactly through Stratford, and the direct line is continued thence through Bridgenorth. This is the route which Shakespeare, who does not take his authority from Holinshed, makes the king to follow, while the prince makes a detour south (cf. III, ii, 175). . . . Falstaff makes a wide detour through northern Warwickshire, and is at some pains to tell us what places lay about his march from London (lines 43, 44). . . . If only Shakespeare had willed that Falstaff's ragged prodigals should take the Stratford road, what a chance for local scenes and characters.—CROFTS (*Falstaff's March*, *T.L.S.*, Jan. 8, 1931). The route from Buckingham to Bridgenorth in Ogilby's *Briannia* (1675) follows pretty accurately Mr. Gray's "straight line." But there seems to have been something unsatisfactory about this road in the 16th and early 17th century. It is not given in any of the Elizabethan roadbooks catalogued by Sir Herbert Forman, nor in MS. Itinerary printed by Miss G. Thompson (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1918); and it seems clear from *The Carriers' Cosmography*

Sutton cophill to night.

Bar Will you giue me money captaine ?

Fal. Lay out, lay out.

5

Bar. This bottell makes an angel.

Fal. And if it do, take it for thy labour, and if it make
twenty take them all, ile anfwere the coynage, bid my 8

3. *cophill*] Qq, Ff, Rowe, Pope, Hal. 11. *cold-field* Johns *Co'fil'*
Theob., Warb., Knt., Huds. 1, Sing Cam, et cet
11, Dyce 1, Sta., Hal. 1, Wh 1, Ktly 7. *And if*] *And* Q₆₋₈ *An if* Han,
Colfield Han, Cap, Varr., Ran, Mal., Steev, et seq *An* Cap, Var. '78,
Steev., Varr, Sing 1, Coll, Del., '85, Ran
8 *the*] *thy* F₁, Var '85

(1637) that the long-distance carriers avoided it . . . The chief carriers for Shrewsbury were to be found, in company with the carriers for Chester, at Bosom's Inn, on Thursdays . . . We may be sure that these men travelled together along the Chester road as far as Meriden, six miles beyond Coventry, and that there the Shrewsbury gang turned to the left. . . . This is the regular route to Shrewsbury, according to Ogilby, and in spite of Mr Gray's "straight line" it was, and still is, the shortest way We need not question, therefore, why Falstaff should choose it. . . . The other Shrewsbury carrier was to be found at the Maidenhead, with the carriers for Bridgenorth and Worcester. . . . This gang evidently took the route through High Wycombe, Moreton-in-the-Marsh, Broadway, and Pershore. The distance was a little greater, and the traveller had to face "high wild hills, and rough uneven ways" near Broadway. It is therefore quite appropriate that the prince, who is to march that way, should be given a day's start (cf. III, ii, 173, 174) . . . Shakespeare may have known the Stratford road too well to march an army along it—B. WALKER (*Falstaff's March*, *T.L.S.*, Jan 22, 1931). Wm. Smith, *The Particular Description of England*, 1588 "Bromichan . . . standeth in the northwest corner of Warwickshire . . . in the way from Shrewsbury to London." [Further possible replies to Mr. Gray are 1. that all divisions of the army would not march by the same route; for the countryside had to be combed for recruits, the various captains—among them Sir John Falstaff—using the king's press in the various counties; and 2. that Shakespeare virtually never avails himself of "the chance for local scenes and characters."—ED]

3. Sutton cophill] KNIGHT (*Wm Sh, a Biog*, 1842, p. 164): There is no doubt that Sutton Coldfield, as it is now spelt, was meant by cop-hill; but the old printers improperly introduced the hyphen. [They did so only when the word *cophill* breaks at the end of a line (as it does in Q₁), there is none, for example, in Q₂, where the word is in the middle of the line. Q₆, followed by Ff, introduces the hyphen between *Sutton* and *cophill*.—ED]

5. lay out] CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p. 346): "Spend freely:" an idiomatic expression.—COWL (ed. 1914): see Huloet, *Dict.*, 1572: "Layer out of money, or Steward."

6. makes an angel] WARNER (*Letter to Garrick*, 1768): An angel is a gold coin, with the figure of an angel stamped upon it, valued at ten shillings.—COWL (ed. 1914): "Makes an angel that I shall have laid out,"

Liuetenant Peto meet me at townes end.

Bar. I will captaine, farewell. *Exit* 10

Fal. If I be not afhamed of my foldiours, I am a fouct
gurnet, I haue mifused the kinges preffe damnablie. I
haue got in exchange of 150. foldiours 300. and odde
poundes. I preffe me none but good houfholders, Yeo- 14

9 at] Q₁₋₄, Q₈₋₈, Cam, Tud, Ard. seq.
a Q₈ at the Ff, et cet. 300] three hundred Ff, et seq.
11 not] Om Q₈₋₈ 14 presse] pressed Coll. MS.,
13. 150] a hundred and fiftie Ff, et Dyce II, III, Huds. II, Coll III

9. Liuetenant Peto] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): This passage proves that Peto did not go with the prince [See III, III, 186, note.—ED.]

at . . . end] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): So, "at door," II, IV, 265, cf. *Winter's Tale*, IV, IV, 693: "Pray he be at palace"

11, 12 souct gurnet] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Pickled anchovy. Much of Falstaff's humour consists in comparing himself to somewhat little.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1773): An appellation of contempt frequently employed in our early comedies. So, in Dekker's *Honest Whore*: "Punk! You souc'd gurnet!"—MALONE (ed. 1790): It should seem from Taylor's *A Bard*, 1635, that it was used in the same metaphorical sense in which we now use "gudgeon" [i.e., a credulous person]: "She hath baits for all kynde of frye: a great lord is her Greenland whale, a country gentleman her cod's-head, a rich citizen's son her sows'd gurnet."—WRIGHT (ed. 1897) The instances of its use as a term of contempt are later than this passage, and possibly derive from it.—N. E. D. (1901): Gurnet: gurnard. . . . Used as a term of opprobrium.

12. misused . . . presse] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1803): Thus, in *The Voyage to Cadiz* [1597] (Hakluyt, I, 607): "About the 28 of said month, a certain Lieutenant was degraded for the taking of money by the way of corruption of certaine prest souldiers in the countrey, and for placing of others in their roomes, more unfit for service and of less sufficiency and abilitie."—AX (*Rel. of Sh to Hol.*, 1912, p. 43): Holinshed (II, 778) says that in 1387 "the lord admiral understanding that the Duke of Gloucester would see the muster of his men, used all diligence and spared no costs to have the most choicest and pickdest fellows that might be gotten, not following the evil example of some in times past, which received tag and rag to fill up their numbers, whom they hired for small wages and reserved the residue to their purses."—LINDABURY (*Study of Patriotism in Eliz. Drama*, 1931, p. 148): Falstaff's skill in using his office to line his pockets was no uncommon gift among Elizabethan recruiting officers. It provoked a severe rebuke in *The Cobbler's Prophecy* (lines 1432-41), and in *Histrionastix*, V, 87. . . . The hero of *The Fair Maid of the Exchange* purchased the release of one recruit and won his gratitude forever. And Simon Eyre had the sympathy of the audience when he tried to save his young apprentice (Dekker's *Shoemakers' Holiday*, I, i, 132). [But Falstaff's method is characteristically elaborate. He takes bribes for exempting the well-to-do; but he also fills his ranks with ragamuffins, who doubtless take less than the legal pay.—ED.]

mans fonnes, inquire me out contracted batchelers, such
 as had been askt twice on the banes, such a commodity of 16
 warme flaues, as had as lieue heare the Diuell as a drumme,
 such as feare the report of a Caliuier, worfe then a strucke
 foule, or a hurt wild ducke : I preft mee none but such 19

- 15 *inquire*] *inquired* Coll MS, Han, Warb., Johns
 Dyce II, III, Huds II, Coll III. *strucke*] *strooke* Q₂₋₄ *strook-*
 16 *banes*] *banns* Theob IV, Johns., Q₅₋₈ *struck-* Ff, +
 et seq. (except Cap) 19 *foule*] *foole* Q₄₋₈, Ff, Rowe 1.
 17 *lieue*] Q₁₋₄, Ff, +, Cam, Glo, *fowl* Rowe II, Pope, Theob., Johns,
 Wh. II, Tud, Ard. *leue* Q₅Q₆ *hefe* Var '73, et seq *deer* Han, Warb,
 Q₇Q₈ *hef* Cap, et cet. Cap *sorel* Johns (conj).
 18. *Caliuier*] *culverin* Pope, Theob, *ducke*] *fowl* Han, Cap.

14 *presse . . . houshoulders*] STEEVENS (ed. 1793): This practice is complained of in Barnabie Riche's *Souldier's Wishe*, 1604 "We should take up honest householders, men that are of wealth and ability to live at home, such as your captains might chop and change and make merchandise of."

good] COWL (ed. 1914): Substantial, as in *Merchant of Venice*, I, III, 12: "Antonio is a good man."

15. *contracted*] SCHMIDT (1874): Betrothed.

16. *askt . . . banes*] HUDSON (ed. 1880): The law required that parties intending marriage should have the banns asked three times before the ceremony could take place.

commodity] WRIGHT (ed. 1897). Stock, cf I, II, 79.

17. *warme*] COWL (ed. 1914): Bailey's *Dictionary (Canting Words)*: "Warm, well-lined, or flush in the pocket."

18. *Caliuier* MEYRICK (*Crit. Inquiry into Antient Armour*, 1824, III, 42): As the musket was found unwieldy, a lighter piece was introduced (in the reign of Elizabeth), called a caliver. . . Edmund Yorke, an officer of Queen Elizabeth, says: "We had our peculiar *calibre* of harquebuse to our regiment. . . Before the battle of Mounghunter the princes caused several harquebuses to be made all of one *calibre*, which was called Harquebuse de Calibre de M. le Prince; so, I think, some man not understanding French brought hither the name of the height of the bullet for the Piece."—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): The accent was evidently on the second syllable: *caleueer* (Cotgrave), *calueuer* (Shelton, *Don Quixote*, II, 432, ed. 1620).

18, 19. *strucke . . . ducke*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): The repetition of the same image ["struck fowl . . . hurt duck"] disposed Hanmer . . . to read, in opposition to all the copies, "struck Deer," which is indeed a proper expression, but not likely to have been corrupted. Shakespeare wrote, perhaps, "struck forel," which being negligently read by a man not skilled in hunter's language, was easily changed to "struck fowl." "Sorel" is used in *Love's Labour's Lost* for a young deer.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): One of the quartos [five of them; see Textual Notes], and the folio[s], reads *fool*. This may mean a fool who has been hurt by the recoil of an overloaded gun. But *fowl* seems to have been the word designed by the poet, who might have thought that an opposition between

toftes and butter with hearts in their bellies no bigger then
 pinnes heades, and they haue bought out their seruices, 21
 and now my whole charge confists of Ancients Corporals,
 Lieutenants, gentlemen of companies . flaues as ragged as
 Lazarus in the painted cloth, where the gluttons dogs licked
 his fores, and such as indeed were neuer fouldiours, but 25
 difcarded, vniuft feruingmen, yonger fonnes to yonger

21. *bought*] *brought* Q₃.

25. *sores*,] *sores* Q₂, et seq.

24-25 *where. sores*] Om. Quin MS,
 Kidderminster MS

26 *to*] *of* Ran

fowl, domestic birds, and *wild-fowl*, was sufficient on this occasion Cf. *Much Ado About Nothing*, II, 1, 179: "Alas, poor hurt fowl, now will he creep into sedges"—CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): Is it probable that any good writer would bring in this comparison of fowl . . . and wild ducks? Or that he would use "struck" when speaking of fowl, which is appropriated, in a manner, to deer?—WRIGHT (ed. 1897). Apart from the question whether guns were used in the chase of deer, there is no reason to suspect the reading *fowl*—COWL (ed. 1914): "Strike" is a technical term of the chase more applicable to a deer or sorel, killed with a cross-bow, than to a fowl shot with a caliver.

20 *tostes and butter*] MALONE (ed. 1790): Moryson's *Itinerary*, 1617: "Londoners, and all within sound of Bow-bell, are called cocknies and eaters of butter'd tostes"—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Cockneys, self-indulgent fellows—COWL (ed. 1914): Milksops, soft, pampered cits.

21. *bought . . . seruices*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Paid money to be released from serving in the army.

22. *Ancients*] SCHMIDT (1874): The next in command under a lieutenant.—COWL (ed. 1914): Ancient-bearers, i.e., standard bearers, ensigns.

23. *gentlemen of companies*] COWL (ed. 1914): Private soldiers who received a little better pay than ordinary privates, and were exempt from sentinel duty. . . . Sir John Turner (*Pallas Armata*, 1683, p. 218) says that they were not of officers' rank, though by some allowed to be so.

24. *Lazarus . . . cloth*] NARES (*Gloss.*, 1822): Painted cloth was cloth or canvas on which paintings in oil were depicted.—HALLIWELL (ed. 1859): Gayton's *Notes on Don Quixote*, 1654 "The Acts of Dives and of Lazarus . . . Are seen in puppet plaies, or painted cloth."—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): We have had Dives already, in III, iii, 30-32.—COWL (ed. 1914): Cloth painted in oil served as a cheap substitute for arras hangings. The subjects depicted were usually scriptural, classical, or allegorical. D. Lupton, *London and the Country Carbonadoed*, 1632, writes in a chapter on Ale-houses. "In these houses you shall see the History of Judeth, Susanna, Daniel in the Lyons Den, or Dives and Lazarus, painted vpon the wall [See also Appendix: Characters: Falstaff—Simpson (1899).]

gluttons] FRIPP (*Sh. Stud.*, 1930, p. 144): Elizabethan writers almost invariably speak of Dives as "Glutton." Nash introduces him under the head of Gluttony in his representation of the Seven Deadly Sins, "a fat churl with a belly as big as the Round Church in Cambridge."

brothers, reuolted tapsters, and Osters, tradefalne, the
 cankers of a calme world, and a long peace, ten times 28
 more dishonourable ragged then an olde fazd ancient,

27. *tapsters, and Osters, tradefalne,*
tapsters, and Osters tradefalne, Q₂Q₃
tapsters and Osters tradefalne, Q₄-6,
 Cam. 1, Glo., Wh 11, Tud, Ox.
Tapsters and Osters, trade-falne,
Q₁Q₈, Ff, Rowe tapsters, and Osters
trade-fallen, Pope, Theob., Han 1.
tapsters, and Osters tradefallen; Warb,
 et cet

28 *a long*] *long Q₅-8, Ff, Rowe,*
 Pope, Han, Ktly

ten] *Om Q₈-8*
 29. *dishonourable*] *dishonourable,*
 F₃F₄, Rowe [T. J follows Qq]. *dis-*

honourably Pope, +, Cap., Varr.,
 Ran

olde fazd] *old fazde Q₃Q₄. old*
faczde Q₅ old fac'd Q₆-8, Var '78,
 '85, Mal, Steev, Varr., Sing, Knt 1,
 111, Coll, Del, Dyce 1, Sta, Hal.,
 Wh, Cam, Glo, Ktly, Huds 11
old-fac'd Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob,
 Han, Cap, Knt. 11, 1v, Huds 1,
 Dyce 11, 111. *old-feast Warb, Johns.*
old, fac'd Var '73 old craz'd Cap
(conj) old pieced Coll MS. old
feaz'd Tud

an olde fazd ancient,] old, cast,
ancients: Heath

26. *vnjust*] STAUNTON (ed 1858): Dishonest

26, 27] STEEVENS (Var. ed 1778) Perhaps Oliver Cromwell was indebted to this speech for the sarcasm which he threw on the soldiers commanded by Hampden "Your troops are most of them decayed servingmen and tapsters . . . Their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality."

27. *reuolted*] COWL (ed 1914): Who have run away from their indentures; faithless.

tradefalne] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Out of employment.

28. *cankers*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): So, in *Pierce Pennilesse*, 1595: "All the canker-worms that breed on the rust of peace."

28, 29. *ten . . . ancient*] COWL (ed. 1914): Falstaff's whole charge consists of (1) soldiers—ancients, corporals, lieutenants, gentlemen of companies, and (2) such as were never soldiers—unjust servingmen, &c. The former were ragged as Lazarus, the latter were ten times more ragged, though less honourably ragged, than any old weather-beaten ancient. [The punctuation of line 25, in Q₂ et seq., namely a semi-colon after *sores*, supports Cowl's analysis of Falstaff's army. But in Q₁, where only a comma appears after *sores*, Falstaff seems to say that even the ancients, corporals, &c. were "neuer souldiours" (line 25).—ED.]

29. *olde fazd ancient*] THEOBALD (ed 1733): Shakespeare uses the word ancient so promiscuously, to signify an Ensign, or Standard-Bearer, and also the Colours, or Standard, borne, that I cannot be at a certainty for his allusion here. If the text be genuine, I think the meaning must be: "as dishonourably ragged as one that hath been an ensign all his days." . . . Mr. Warburton, who understands it in the second construction [*i.e.*, colours], has suspected the text, and given the following ingenious emendation: "How is an old-fac'd Ensign dishonourably ragged? On the contrary, nothing is esteemed more honourable than a ragged pair of colours. . . . 'Ten times more ragged than an old FEAST Ancient,' *i.e.*, the colours used by the city companies in their feasts and

and such haue I to fill vp the roomes of them as haue 30
 bought out their seruices, that you woulde thinke that I
 had a hundred and fiftie tottered prodigals, latelie come
 from fwine keeping, from eating draffe and husks. A mad
 fellowe met mee on the way, and tolde mee I had vnloaded
 all the Gibbets, and preft the dead bodies. No eye hath 35
 feene such skarcrowes. Ile not march through Couentry
 with them, thats flat : nay, and the villains march wide
 betwixt the legs as if they had giues on, for indeede I had 38

30. *as*] *that* Ff, et seq. *ter'd* F₁F₄, et cet
 31. *that I*] I Pope, +, Cap, Varr., 36 *through*] *thorow* Q₇Q₈.
 Ran. 38. *betwixt*] *betweene* Q₆-8
 32. *tottered*] Qq, F₁F₂, Ktly. *tat-* *giues*] *gyues* Q₃, et seq

processions . . . Nothing could be more witty and satirical than this comparison. For as Falstaff's raggamuffins were reduced to their tatter'd condition thro' their riotous excesses, so this old Feast-Ancient became torn and shatter'd, not in manly exercise of arms, but amidst the revels of drunken Bacchanals.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Dr Warburton's emendation is very acute and judicious, but I know not whether the licentiousness of our author's diction may not allow us to suppose that he meant to represent his soldiers as more ragged, though less honourably ragged, than an old ancient. [Johnson's own interpretation is so "acute and judicious" as to have received general acceptance.—HEATH (*Revisal*, 1765, p. 253) shows that Warburton's note is anything but judicious; for the colours of city companies are not called ancients, nor are they displayed at feasts —ED.]—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1773): An old standard mended with a different colour. "Olde fazd" should not be written as one word, as "old" and "faced" are two distinct epithets. To face a gown is to trim it. . . . In our author's time, the facings of a gown were always of a colour different from the stuff itself. So, in this play [V, i, 74] —COWL (ed. 1914): [Steevens's] explanation is open to the objection that old ensigns are never patched. . . . Again, to *face* never means to patch, but to trim or edge a garment with another colour.—CHANDLER (Tudor ed. 1911): *Feaz'd*, or frayed.—N. E. D. (1901): Face, cf. feaze, unravel.

32. *tottered*] COWL (ed. 1914): Tattered. Lyly, *Endimion*, V, i: "Whose garment was so tottered that it was easier to number everie thread."—N. E. D. (1926): Variant of *tattered*.

32, 33. *prodigals . . . husks*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): See the parable in *Luke*, xv.—CARTER (*Sh., Puritan and Recusant*, 1897, p. 196): Many of the Biblical passages quoted by Shakespeare are found only in the Genevan version. . . . The word *huskes* is not found in Coverdale, Matthew's, Cranmer's, the Bishops', nor the Great Bible; but in the Genevan, the passage runs: "And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks the swine ate."—ANDERS (*Sh.'s Books*, 1904, p. 199): The Bishops' and the Great Bible read *coddles* for *husks*.

33. *draffe*] SCHMIDT (1874): Refuse.

mad] SCHMIDT (1874): Gay, frolicsome.

the most of them out of prifon, theres not a fhert and a
 halfe in all my companie, and the halfe fhert is two nap- 40
 kins tackt together, and throwne ouer the shoulers like a
 Heralds coate without sleeues, and the fhert to faye the
 trueth stolne from my host at S Albones, or the red-nose 43

39 *prison*,] *prison*; Q₅₋₈ *Prison*
 Ff, et seq.

not] Qq, Ff, Coll. 1, 11, Huds. 1,
 Del, Ard not but Ktly. but Rowe,
 +, Coll MS, et cet.

41 *tack*] *tack* F₄

43 *my*] *mine* Q₆₋₈

at] of Q₅₋₈, Ff, +, Varr, Ran
 Albones] Albanes Q₇ Albanes
 Q₈, F₃F₄, et seq

red-nose] *red-nos'd* Pope, +,
 Coll MS, Coll. 11, 111

38. *giues*] POPE (ed. 1723): Gyves, shackles.

39. *not*] COLLIER (ed. 1858): Consistently, with our usual course in such matters, we adhere to the early printed text, because Falstaff may have meant to say that there's not so much as a shirt and a half in all his company —COWL (ed. 1914). Rowe is followed by many modern editors in substituting *but* for *not*, in the teeth of all the Qq and Ff. This unhappy change sacrifices one of Falstaff's happiest sallies of humour to the spirit of literalism. Falstaff employs precisely the same device in II, iv, 115 ["There lives not three good men unhang'd . . . and one of them is fat"] and V, iii, 36 ["there's not three of my 150 left alive, and they are for the town's end"]. The description of the ragged recruits is in Falstaff's richest vein of whimsical invention and daring improvisation, and the climax is reached when the shirt and a half, which the scarecrows did not possess among them, is described circumstantially.

42. *Heralds coate*] COWL (ed. 1914): A tabard, or sleeveless coat.

43, 44. *host . . . Dauntry*] KNIGHT (*Wm. Sh., a Biog*, 1842, p. 164): In Falstaff's march from London to Shrewsbury, the poet glances, lovingly as it were, at well-known scenes. The red-nosed inn-keeper at Daventry had assuredly filled a glass of sack for him. The distance from Coventry to Sutton Coldfield was accurately known by him. . . . He could hardly resist the temptation of showing the prince in Warwickshire [cf. line 48] —WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Shakespeare must frequently have passed through St. Alban's and Daventry on his journey to and from Stratford, and the red-nosed inn-keeper was probably described from life.—COWL (ed. 1914): The *Daintry* of Q₆₋₈ represents the actual pronunciation of Daventry.

44, 45.] COWL (ed. 1914): The light-fingered Autolycus in *Winter's Tale*, IV, iii, 5-7, confesses that a "white sheet bleaching on the hedge . . . doth set his pugging tooth on edge."

46. *blowne*] CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p. 533): Both "out of breath" and "swollen."

quilt] HUNTER (*New Illustr. of Sh.*, 1845): Cf. Warton's *Observations on the Faerie Queene*, 1, 266: "The quilted jack . . . was the proper weed of horsemen." "Quilt" is an extraordinary word for Shakespeare to use here, probably suggested by the word "jack."—COWL (ed. 1914): Perhaps the allusion is to the blown appearance given to the wearer of a quilted or wadded coat. Cf. . . . Aelian's *Tacticks* (trans. Bingham, 1616, p. 15): Many of our soul-

Inkeeper of Dauintry, but thats all one, theile find linnen
inough on euerie hedge.

45

Enter the Prince, Lord of Westmerland

Prin How now blowne iacke ? how now quilt ?

Fal What Hal, how now mad wag ? what a diuel doft
thou in Warwickshire ? My good Lo of Westmerland, I
cry you mercy, *I* thought your honour had alreadie bin at
fhrewesburie

50

West Faith fir Iohn tis more then time that *I* were
there, and you too, but my powers are there already, the
king I can tel you looks for vs all, we must away all night.

Falst. Tut neuer feare mee, I am as vigilant as a Cat to
steale Creame.

55

Prin. I thinke to steale Creame indeed, for thy theft
hath alreadie made thee butter, but tell me iacke, whose
fellowes are thefe that come after ?

Falst Mine Hall, mine.

59

44. *Dauintry*] *Daintry* Q₆₋₈, Rowe,
Pope, Theob 1, 11, 111, Han., Warb,
Johns, Cap, Varr, Ran., Mal,
Steev, Varr., Sing, Hal 11. *Dayn-*
try F₃F₄ *Da'intry* Theob iv. *Da-*
ventry F₂, Knt, et cet

After 45 the Prince] Qq, Ff, Cap.,
Cam., Wh 11, Ard Prince Henry
Rowe, et cet.

Lord of] and the Lord of Q₂₋₈,
Ff. and Lord Cap. and Rowe, et
cet.

48. *Lo*] *L.* Q₂₋₈. *Lord* Ff, et seq

53. *can tel*] *can* Q₆ [Four copies of

Q₅ read *can*, four, *can tell*. See Ap-
pendix: The Text · Individual Copies
of the first five Quartos]

all night] *all tonight* Ff, +, Ma-
son, Ran, Knt, Sing 11, Ktly., Coll.
111, Wh 11. *all, tonight* Wh 1, Dyce 11,
111, Huds 11

54. *feare mee,*] *feare tell me*, Q₆Q₈
feare: tell me, Q₇Q₈.

58. *after?*] *after you?* Ktly

59. *Mine Hall,*] *Mine, Hal*, Q₂₋₄,
Q₇Q₈, Ff, Pope, et seq *Mine* Hal,
Q₆Q₈, Rowe.

diers . . . made themselues coates and cases . . . of quilts, or leather, thereby
to avoid the daunger of flieing weapons."—N. E. D. (1914): Humorously ap-
plied to a fat person. [No other example cited.—ED.]

48-50.] [Is not Falstaff here characteristically anticipating the question
which he expects to have Westmoreland address to him? There may well be
in his voice an assumed tone of surprise at the noble lord's delay in reaching
the front —ED.]

53. *away*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): Travel.—N. E. D. (1888): Elliptical
use of *away*, with the verb suppressed, simulating an imperative or an infinitive.

night] COWL (ed. 1914): The Folio may be right [cf. Textual Notes]. Per-
haps the printer of Q₁ inadvertently caught the *all* from the preceding clause,
and dropped the *to*.

54. *feare mee*] SCHMIDT (1874): Fear for me.

Prince. I did neuer fee fuch pitifull rafcals

Falst. Tut, tut, good inongh to toffe, foode for powder, 61
foode for powder, theile fill a pit as well as better ; tufh
man, mortall men, mortal men.

West. I but fir Iohn, me thinks they are exceeding 65
poore and bare, too beggerly.

Falst. Faith for their pouerty I know not where they
had that, and for their barenesse I am fure they neuer
learnd that of me.

Prin No ile be fworne, vnleffe you call three fingers
in the ribs bare, but firrha make hafte, Percy is already in 70
the field. *Exit.*

Fal. What is the king incampt ?

West. He is fir Iohn, I feare we fhall ftay too long.

Fal Wel, to the latter end of a fray, and the beginning
of a feaft fits a dul fighter and a kene gueft *Exeunt.* 75

61. *inongh*] *inough* Q₂, et seq

62. *as better*] *as a better* Q₂

64. *I*] *I*, Q₂₋₈, Ff Ay, Rowe, et
seq.

67. *barenesse*] *barrennesse* F₄

70. *in the*] *on the* Q₃, et seq.

71. *Exit*] Qq, Cap, Dyce ii, iii,
Huds ii. Om Ff, et cet

After 73.] *Exit.* Cap, Dyce ii, iii,

Huds. ii. *Exeunt* P. Henry and
West Coll ii.

74, 75.] Printed as verse, lines end-
ing *Wel / feast / guest* Pope, et seq

74. *to*] Om Q₃, Pope, +

latter] *later* Q₄

and the] *and* Pope, +.

75. *Exeunt*] *Exit* Cap., Coll ii,

Dyce ii, iii, Huds ii

61-63.] LINDABURY (*Study of Patriotism in Eliz Dr.*, 1931, p 153): Dead
men's pay brought officers an income

61. *tosse*] JOHNSON (ed 1765): Toss upon a pike.

foode for powder] SIR WALTER RALEIGH (1917, *T L S*, May 3): The
Germans are fond of using the word cannon-fodder to describe infantry sol-
diers. How many of them know that they are quoting Shakespeare? The
word was used by Schlegel and Tieck to translate "food for powder" . . .
Falstaff's speech is witty, surprising, profound, ironical, pathetic, full of that
metaphysical sense to which the comic and the tragic are one and the same.
The Germans' use of Falstaff's language, in every case that I have seen, is seri-
ous, brutal, boastful, instinct with contempt for the sentiments of average
humanity. The difference is an epitome of our differences with a people who
do not understand Shakespeare.

69. *fingers*] COWL (ed 1914): The finger is a measure of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. Eden,
Arte Nav., i, xviii, 19: "Foure graines of barley make a finger; foure fingers a
hande; foure handes a foote."

74, 75.] CAMDEN (*Remains*, 1605; ed. 1870, p. 320) cites, as a proverb of the
former times: "Better coming to the latter end of a feast than the beginning of
a fray."

[*Scæna Tertia.*]*Enter Hotspur, Worcester, Douglas, Vernon*

- Hot.* Weele fight with him to night. 1a
Wor. It may not be. b
Doug. You giue him then aduantage.
Ver. Not a whit.
Hot. Why fay you fo, lookes he not for supply ?
Ver. So do we. 4a
Hot. His is certaine, ours is doubtful. b
Wor. Good coofen be aduifd, stir not to night. 5
Ver. Do not my Lord.
Doug. You do not counfel wel,
 You speake it out of feare, and cold hart. 7
Ver. Do me no slander Douglas, by my life,
 And I dare well maintaine it with my life, 9

Scæna Tertia] Ff. Om. Qq.
 SCENE III Rowe SCENE IV At
 Shrewsbury. Pope, Han. Scene
 changes to Shrewsbury. Theob
 SCENE IV. Changes to Shrewsbury.
 Warb., Johns. SCENE III. Hot-
 spur's Camp near Shrewsbury Cap.
 SCENE III. Changes to Shrewsbury.
 Var. '73 SCENE III. Shrewsbury.
 Var. '78, '85, Ran. SCENE III. The
 Rebel Camp near Shrewsbury. Mal,
 et seq.

Doug.] Douglas, and Q₂, et seq.

1 *night*] *night*, Q₅Q₆.
 4. *His*] *He* Theob., Warb., Johns.
 7. *You speake*] *Then speake* Q₆
Thou speakest Q₇Q₈.
and] *and from* Pope, Theob.,
 Han., Warb., Johns., Cap. *and a*
 Coll. MS, Coll. ii, iii.
 8. *Do me no*] *Do not* Q₈-s
 9] Printed in parentheses. Cap.,
 Varr., Ran., Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing.,
 Knt., Dyce, Sta., Wh. 1, Hal. ii,
 Ktly.

74.] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779). [This line] has been garbled improperly in four late editions [see Textual Notes]; for the sense is "Well, this coming to, &c."

75. Exeunt.] COLLIER (ed. 1858): In all editions the prince, Westmoreland, and Falstaff go out together. This is clearly wrong; for Falstaff would never have quoted his proverb in the presence of the others. They go out in haste; he makes his observation, and follows immediately. [See Textual Notes on 71, 73, and 75; and observe that Collier seems to be ignorant of the fact that he has been anticipated.—ED.]

1-29.] AX (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol.*, 1912, p. 44): In Holinshed no such discussion among the rebels can be discovered. They, in reality, had not time for weighing all sorts of plans, for "the king was in sight of his enemies before they were in doubt of any such thing" (Hol., III, 24). . . . Holinshed knew nothing of reinforcements, which on both sides, according to the drama, were not yet present when the battle took place.

3. supply] SCHMIDT (1874): Additional forces.

If well respected honor bid me on,
 I hould as little counsell with weake feare, 11
 As you my Lord, or any Scot that this day liues,
 Let it be feene to morrow in the battell which of vs feares
Doug. Yea or to night. *Ver.* Content.
Hot. To night say I 15
Ver. Come, come, it may not be.
 I wonder much being men of fuch great leading as you are,
 That you forefee not what impediments
 Drag backe our expedition, certaine horfe
 Of my coosen Vernons are not yet come vp, 20
 Your Vncle Worcesters horses came but to day,

10. *well respected*] *well-respected* Ff, *much/are* T. J., Pope, et seq., with the
 et seq *bid*] *bids* Cap following exceptions. lines ending *be /*
 12 *my Lord*] Om. Cap., Ran *leading* (cf. Textual Note on line 17)
that] Om. Vaughan. Steev., Var. '03, '13, Sing 1, Hal ii,
this day] Om. Pope, Theob., Vaughan, lines ending *be/are* Var.,
 Han., Warb., Johns., Mason, Steev., Knt.; three lines, ending *be/much/are*
 Var. '03, '13, Sing 1, Coll. MS., Coll. Coll. 1, Coll. MS., Coll. 11, Wh 1
 ii, Dyce ii, 111, Hal. ii, Huds. ii 17. *men*] *mē* F₁ *me* F₂
 13.] Printed as two lines, ending *as you are*] Om. Ritson, Steev.,
Battell / feares Ff, et seq. Var. '03, '13, Sing 1, Hal.
it] Om. Q₂₋₄, Vaughan. 18. *That*] Om. Vaughan.
feares] *feares*. Q₁ (Trin. Coll., 19. *horse*] *Horses* Q₂Q₃
 Camb., copy), Q₂, et seq. 20 *Of*] Printed at end of line 19
 14. *Doug*] Om. Q₃Q₄. Cap.
 16, 17.] Printed as two lines, ending 21. *horses*] *Horse* Q₃, et seq.

10. *well respected*] SCHMIDT (1874): Ruled by reasonable considerations.—ELTON (ed. 1889): Like our "well-considered."—COWL (ed. 1914): Perhaps, simply: "which I hold in dear respect." [The context seems to support Schmidt and Elton. Vernon is no reckless enthusiast like Hotspur; but he holds no counsel with fear if honour really calls him.—Ed.]

12. *this day*] MASON (*Comm. on the Last Ed.*, 1785): These words weaken the sense and destroy the metre.—STAUNTON (ed. 1858): It is not improbable that the line originally stood: "As you, or any Scot that this day lives," and was altered by the poet to "As you, my lord, or any Scot that lives"; but the compositor, while adding the words "my lord," neglected to omit "this day."

14, 16.] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): There is great beauty in this spirited rejoinder of Vernon's ["Content."], and in its instant retraction that follows; the latter is the dictate of conviction and wisdom, which had suffered a kind of momentary stifling in the heat of his contention with Douglas.

17. *leading*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Conduct, experience in martial business.

19. *expedition*] SCHMIDT (1874): Warlike enterprise. [But may not *expedition*, here, have its suggestion of *haste*, i.e., "drag back our expedition" in the sense of "keep us from hasty action"? Vernon is counselling delay.—Ed.]

And now their pride and mettall is a sleepe, 22
 Their courage with hard labour tame and dull,
 That not a horfe is halfe the halfe of himselfe.

Hot. So are the horfes of the enemye 25
 In generall iourney bated and brought low,
 The better part of ours are full of rest.

Wor. The number of the King exceedeth our,
 For Gods sake coofen stay till all come in.

The trumpet sounds a parley. Enter fir Walter Blunt.

Blunt I come with gracious offers from the king, 30
 If you vouchsafe me hearing, and respect.

Hot. Welcome fir Walter Blunt : and would to God
 You were of our determination,
 Some of vs loue you well, and euen those some
 Enuy your great deferuings and good name, 35
 Because you are not of our qualitie,
 But stand against vs like an enemye.

Blunt. And God defend but still I should stand fo,
 So long as out of limit and true rule 39

- 24 *halfe the halfe*] *half, half* Pope, sound Theob ii-iv, Warb., Johns.,
 Han. *half half* Theob., Warb., Varr., Ran., Mal., Steev.
 Johns. Enter] SCENE v. Enter Pope,
 of himselfe] *of him himselfe* Han., Warb., Johns.
 Q7Q, 30. *offers*] *offer* Q6-8.
 25. *horses*] *Horse* F3F4, Rowe 1. 32, 33 | Lines end *Blunt/determina-*
 27. *are*] *is* Var '03, '13, Var., Sing., hon Ff, Rowe 1, T. J. (1710).
 Huds 1, Hal 11, Ktly. 35. *deseruings*] *deserving* Var. '03,
 28. *King*] *Kings* F4, +. '13, Var., Sing., Hal. 11.
 our] *ours* Q6-8, Ff, et seq. 38. *God*] *Heauen* Ff, +, Varr.,
 After 29 The] Om Cap Ran., Knt
 trumpet sounds] *Trumpets* 39 *rule*] *rules* Theob iv.

26. *iourney bated*] COWL (ed. 1914): Exhausted by travel, and so dispirited.

30.] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): The offer of the king was really conveyed by Thomas Prestbury, Abbot of Shrewsbury, and by one of the clerks of the Privy Seal.

36. *qualitie*] MALONE (ed. 1790): Frequently used in the sense of fellowship or occupation. So, in *The Tempest*, I, ii, 192: "Task Ariel and all his quality," i.e., all those employed with him in similar occupations.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Of our profession, on the same side as ourselves. Used especially of the theatrical profession; see *Hamlet*, II, ii, 333. [Here, of course, rather in the sense of "fellowship" than "profession."—ED.]—N. E. D. (1914): Party, side [with reference to this passage].

38. *defend*] SCHMIDT (1874): Forbid.

You stand against annointed Maieftie
 But to my charge. The king hath sent to know 41
 The nature of your griefes, and whereupon
 You coniure from the breast of ciuill peace
 Such bold hostilitie teaching his dutious land
 Audacious crueltie If that the king 45
 Haue any way your good deferts forgot
 Which he confesseth to be manifold,
 He bids you name your griefes, and with all speede,
 You shall haue your desires with interest
 And pardon absolute for your selfe, and these 50
 Herein misled by your suggestion

Hot. The king is kind, and well we know the king
 Knowes at what time to promise, when to pay
 My father, and my vncke, and my selfe, 54

41] Printed as two lines, ending
charge/know Ff, Rowe 1 [T J follows
 Qq]

1, Wh, Cam, Glo, Tud, Ox, Ard.

49 *desires*] *desire* Q₁Q₂

interest] *interest* Q₃.

43. *breast*] *rest* Cap. (conj.).

52] Printed as two lines, ending

44 *hostilitie*] *hostilitie*, Q₂, et seq

kind/king Ff, Rowe 1, T J. (1710)

46. *Haue*] *Hath* Cap. (conj.).

54 *and my vncke*] *my vnckle* Q₂-8,

48 *griefes*] *griefe* Q₃.

Ff, Rowe [T. J follows Q₁Q₂]

speede,] *speed* Ff, +, Dyce, Hal.

39. *limit*] KELLNER (*Restoring Sh*, 1925, p 79) *m* is often misprinted for *u* (*v*). *Level* for *limit* would make a perfect metaphor here, taken from masonry: "you do not stand upright, your position toward the king is oblique." [But *limit*, in the sense of *bounds*, makes good sense —Ed.]

42. *griefes*] MALONE (ed 1790): Grievances

44 *hostilitie*] ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram*, 1870, p 349): *i*, if unaccented, is very frequently dropped in pronunciation before *ly* and *ty*. "Such bold/hostil(i)/ty teach/ing his ['s] dut/eous land "

51. *suggestion*] WARNER (*Letter to Garrick*, 1768, p. 50). The word often occurs in its ordinary sense of *hint*, *insinuation*. But there are some passages where . . . it means more, and is used for pernicious counsel and advice.—SCHMIDT (1874) gives twelve examples of the use in the latter sense, and only one of its use in the former.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897) Secret prompting or enticement. The word is not used in a good sense, and was rather likely to provoke Hotspur; as it evidently did.

52 ff] For events preceding the action of this play, many of which are treated in Shakespeare's *Richard II*, cf. with this passage I, iii, 242-249; V, i, 30-71; and Holinshed, in Appendix: Sources of the Plot.—Ed.

54.] MALONE (ed. 1790): The Percies were in the highest favour with King Henry IV for some time after his accession. Thomas Earl of Worcester was appointed governor to the Prince of Wales, and honoured with the custody of Isabel, widow of King Richard II, when she was sent back to France. Hot-

Did giue him that fame royaltie he weares,
 And when he was not fixe and twentie strong, 56
 Sicke in the worlds regard : wretched and low
 A poore vnminde outlaw sneaking home,
 My father gaue him welcome to the shore :
 And when he heard him sweare and vow to God, 60
 He came but to be Duke of Lancafter,
 To sue his liuery, and beg his peace
 With teares of innocencie, and tearmes of zeale,
 My father in kinde heart and pitie mou'd,
 Swore him assistance, and performd it too. 65
 Now when the Lords and Barons of the realme,
 Perceiu'd Northumberland did leane to him,
 The more and lesse came in with cap and knee, 68

57. *Sicke*] *Sunk* Thirlby MS.
regard] *regard*, Q₂, et seq.
low] *low*, Q₂, et seq.
 60. *he*] *we* Rowe ii, Pope, Theob.,
 Han i, Wai b., Johns., Var '73.
 61. *but to be*] *but to the* Q₄Q₅ [Four
 copies of Q₅ read *be*, four, *the*. See
 Appendix: The Text. Individual Cop-
 ies of the first five Quartos], Q₆-8.
to be but F₂-4, +.
 62. *sue*] *sue out* F₃F₄, Rowe i.
liuery] *liberty* Q₃
peace] Q₁-3, Ktly., Coll iii.
peace. Q₄. *peace*, Q₆-8, Ff, +, Ran,
 Coll. i, ii, Huds., Del., Dyce, Hal.,
 Wh, Cam., et seq (except as above).
peace, Cap., Var. '78
 63.] Should be printed after line
 60 Cap (conj.).
innocencie] *innocence* T. J.,
 Pope, +, Ran., Walker (1860), Dyce
 ii, iii, Huds. ii, Coll. iii.
zeale,] Q₁-4, Coll, Sta., Wh,
 Cam, Glo., Ktly, Tud, Ox., Ard.
zeale: Q₆-8, Ff, +. *zeal*,— Cap, et
 cet
 64. *mou'd*,] *mou'd*, Q₆-8.
 65 *him*] *his* Q₃.
 68. *The*] *They*, F₄, +, Mason, Ran.

spur, who accompanied him, in the presence of the ambassadors of both na-
 tions, protested "on his soul" that she was a virgin.

56. *sixe and twentie*] COWL (ed. 1914): Holinshed says three score

58. *vnminde*] SCHMIDT (1874): Unnoticed, not cared for.

60, 61.] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): See *Richard II*, II, iii, 113-136, 148-151; III, iii,
 101-120.

62. *sue his liuery*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): A law phrase belonging to
 feudal tenures, meaning to sue out the delivery or possession of his lands from
 the Court of Wards, which, on the death of any of the tenants of the
 crown, seized their lands, until the heir "sued out his liuery."

68. *more and lesse*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): The greater and the less.—
 CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): These words refer to those in line 66, the Lords and
 Barons, and mean all orders of them.—ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, p. 27): *More*
 is frequently used as the comparative of *great*.

with . . . knee] COWL (ed. 1914): With cap in hand and bended knee,
 obsequiously.

Met him in Borroughs, Cities, Villages,
 Attended him on bridges, stoode in lanes, 70
 Laid gifts before him, profferd him their oathes,
 Gaue him their heires, as Pages followed him,
 Euen at the heeles, in golden multitudes,
 He presently, as greatneffe knowes it selfe,
 Steps me a little higher then his vow 75

70 *Attended*] *Attend* Q₁₋₈ (1889), *Ard.*
 72. *heures, as Pages*] *Heures, as* *heures*] *hearts* Thirlby MS
Pages, F₄. heirs as pages; Mal. *followed*] *following* Pope, +.
 (conj. 1780), *Ran., Ktly. heirs as* *follow'd* Cap, Var. '78, et seq
pages, Sing, Huds., Del, Dyce, Hal 73 *multitudes,]* *multitudes* Ff, et
 1, Coll 11, 111, Sta., Wh 1, Elton seq

70. *Attended*] SCHMIDT (1874) · *Awaited.*

stoode in lanes] COWL (ed. 1914): *Stood in rows and files between which* Bolingbroke passed. See Dekker, *The Peace is Broken* (Grosart, iv, 162) · "a lane of Brokers, who handled their pieces passing well;" Sir J. Turner, *Pallas Armata* (1683, iii, xi, 213) · "men standing in one row or lane, one behind another" · *A Military Dictionary*, 1711, has "to make a lane, to draw men up in two ranks, facing one another" . . . for any great person to pass through. Others explain. "thronged the lanes leading to the highway along which Bolingbroke passed." [Cowl's examples confirm his explanation.—Ed.]

72.] ELTON (ed. 1889) The punctuation of the old editions has hardly any sanctity compared with the words, and that which we adopt yields better sense [see Textual Notes].—WRIGHT (ed. 1897) objects to the punctuation introduced by Malone on the ground that the phrase "golden multitudes," in the following line, "seems to imply that the words 'as pages followed' are closely connected . . . and this is still further shown by 'Even at the heels,' with which compare *Timon of Athens*, IV, iii, 221: 'Will these moss'd trees, That have outliv'd the eagle, page thy heels'" —COWL (ed. 1914) · Against the pointing of Q_q and F₁₋₈, it may be said that pages in shows and pageants went *before* their masters; cf. *The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vi, 472): "Canst thou declare to me the cause why all their pages follow them, when ours in show do ever go before? In war they follow, and the Spaniard is warring in mind." [But "follow" may signify merely "follow his cause," "become followers, or servants."—Ed.]—IBID. (*Notes on the Text*, 1927, p. 9): Marmion, *Holland's Leaguer*, I, ii: "Your rich men shall strive to put their sons to be his pages." This "echo" seems to establish the correctness of the punctuation proposed by Malone. . . . The "more or less" gave Bolingbroke their heirs as pages. . . . The "heirs" would be received as hostages for their fathers; thus we read in *The Fugger News-Letters* (Brussels, Aug. 16, 1600): "As a surety of good faith the gentleman . . . is said to have sent one of his sons to Spain, to serve there as a page."

74. *as . . . selfe*] ELTON (ed. 1889): As his greatness becomes conscious of itself.

Made to my father while his blood was poore
 Vpon the naked shore at Rauenspurg, 77
 And now forfooth takes on him to reforme
 Some certaine edicts, and some streight decrees,
 That lie too heauie on the Common-wealth, 80
 Cries out vpon abufes, feemes to weepe
 Ouer his Countrey wrongs, and by this face
 This seeming brow of iustice did he winne
 The hearts of all that he did angle for :
 Proceeded further, cut me off the heads 85
 Of all the fauourits that the absent king
 In deputation left behind him here,
 When he was personall in the Irish warre.
Blunt. Tut, I came not to heare this.
Hot. Then to the poynt
 In short time after he deposd the king, 90
 Soone after that depriu'd him of his life,
 And in the necke of that taskt the whole state, 92

80. *he*] *lay* Qs-8, Ff, +, Knt. [Four copies of Qs read *he*; four *lay*. See Appendix: The Text: Individual Copies of the first five Quartos.]

82. *Countrey*] *Countries* Qs, et seq. [Four copies of Qs read *Country*; four, *Countries*. See Appendix, as cited above.]

this] *his* F, F4, Rowe, Theob iii,

Ran

face] Q1Qs. *face*, Q2, et cet.

83. *iustice*] *iustice*, Q2, et seq

85. *further*] *farther* Coll.

off] of Q4.

89. *Tut*,] Om Pope, Theob, Han., Warb., Johns., Cap

91. *him of his*] *him* Qs, Q7Qs.

92. *taskt*] *tax'd* Johns. (conj.).

79. *streight*] SCHMIDT (1874): Strict.

85, 86.] ELTON (ed. 1889): Nothing is mentioned of this in *Richard II*, except the execution of Bushy and his friends (III, 1).

87. *in deputation*] ELTON (ed. 1889): As his deputies; cf IV, i, 33.

88. *personall*] HUDSON (ed. 1880): Commanding in person.

92. *taskt*] STREEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): *Taskt* is here used for *tax'd*; it was once common to employ these words indiscriminately. . . . Holinshed, p 422: "There was a new and strange subsidy or task granted."—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Technically "task" denoted the "fifteenth", which by Magna Charta was given to the king in return for the liberties granted by him, and was levied originally upon every man's possessions, but afterwards collectively upon every city, borough, or town. One of the complaints of the Percies was that Henry had sworn not to suffer "any dismes to be leuied of the Clergie, nor fiftenes of the people."—N. E. D. (1919): *Task* and *tax* were at first nearly synonymous; but in development *tax* follows the sense of the corresponding verb, as an assessed money payment.

93, 102-105.] See Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Holinshed.

To make that woofe, suffred his kinfman March
 (Who is if euerie owner were well plac'd
 Indeed his king) to be ingagde in Wales, 95
 There without raunsome to lie forfeited,
 Disgrac't me in my happy victories,
 Sought to intrap me by intelligence,
 Rated mine vnkle from the counsell boord,
 In rage difmisd my father from the Court, 100
 Broke oath on oath, committed wrong on wrong,
 And in conclusion droue vs to feeke out
 This head of safetie, and withall to prie
 Into his title, the which we find
 Too indirec't for long continuance 105

- 93 *his*] *hit* Q7. *committed*] *committing* F2-4,
 94 *well*] Om. Q5-8, F1F2 *right* Rowe.
 F2F4, + *due* Coll MS. 104 *title*] *title, too*, Pope, Theob.,
 95 *ingagde*] *encag'd* Pope 11, +, Han, Warb, Johns, Cap
 Cap., Varr, Ran, Mal., Steev, Varr, *the*] Om Seymour
 Hal ii. *which*] *which, now*, Dyce 11,
 99 *mine*] Q1-4, Cam., Glo, Wh. 11, 111, Huds 11.
 Tud., Ard *my* Q5, et cet. *find*] *do find* T. J. *find to be*
 101. *on oath*] Om. F2F4. Seymour, Ktly.

95 *ingagde*] THEOBALD (*Sh. Restored*, 1726, p. 178): As *engaged* cannot signify *impawned*, it has no consonancy, nor agreement in sense, with *lying forfeited without ransom*. The truth of the history was this, Mortimer . . . was closely confined in Wales by Owen Glendower . . . Correct, therefore, to correspond with both sense and history, "to be ENCAG'D in Wales."—WRIGHT (ed. 1897) "Incaged" . . . does not represent Mortimer's condition, for he married Glendower's daughter.—DOUCE (ed. Steevens, 1793): *Engaged* signifies *delivered as a hostage*, and is again used in that sense [cf. V, ii, 44].—SCHMIDT (1874): *Engaged*: Pawned, pledged.—N. E. D (1901) *Engaged*: 13. entangled, involved.

98 *intelligence*] COWL (ed. 1914): The abstract term "intelligence" is used here, as often, for the concrete "intelligencer" or spy. . . . Hotspur's allusion is apparently to the "certain lord" who questioned him at Holmedon (cf. I, iii). For a biting description of an "intelligencer," see Nashe, *Have With You* (Grosart, iii, 156)

99, 100.] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): See I, iii, 15-21, 122-124.

103. *head of safetie*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Army from which I hope for protection.—COWL (ed. 1914): There is possible a play intended on "head," a spring, source.

104.] ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, p. 416) explains the metrical irregularity of this line as arising from Hotspur's emotion and the intended solemnity of his utterance.

Blunt. Shall I returne this anfwere to the king ?

Hot. Not so fir Walter. Weele withdraw a while. 107

Go to the king, and let there be impawnde

Some furety for a safe returne againe,

And in the morning early shal mine vnkle 110

Bring him our purpofes, and so farewell.

Blunt. I would you would accept of grace and loue.

Hot And may be so we shall. 113a

Blunt Pray God you do. b

107] Printed as two lines, ending *pose* Q₆₋₈, Ff, Rowe [T J (1721) follows Q₁₋₃], Del.
Walter / while Ff, Rowe [T J follows Qq]

109 a] *the* Q₇Q₈.

110. *mine*] Q₁Q₂, Mal., Steev., Knt, Sing 11, Ktly. *It* Pope, +.
Varr, Sing., Coll, Huds, Del, Sta, God] *Heauen* Ff, +, Cap.,
Wh, Hal 11, Cam. 11, Tud., Ard Varr, Ran., Mal, Steev., Varr,
my Q₈, et cet Sing, Knt, Hal. 11, Ktly.

After 113] Exeunt. Ff, et seq.

111. *purposes*] *porpose* Q₄. *pur-*

105. *indirect*] ELTON (ed. 1889). "Obliquely won:" cf. *II Henry IV*, IV, v, 184: "God knows, my son, By what by-paths and indirect crook'd ways I met this crown"—COWL (ed 1914) Cf, also, *Henry V*, II, iv, 94, and *Edward III*, I, i, where Robert of Artois argues that Edward is the rightful heir: "You are the lineal watchman of our peace, And John of Artois indirectly climbs."—N E. D. (1901). Of succession not descending in a direct line

108. *impawnde*] WRIGHT (ed 1897): Like "engaged" in line 95.

113.] GENTLEMAN (*Dram. Censor*, 1770). Our author has judiciously concluded this act [*sic*] with probable ideas of peace, which bring on more forcibly the operations of the next. [Nothing could emphasize more strongly the desperate state of the rebels than these unexpected words of peace from the defiant Hotspur. For a moment, even he seems to realize the impossibility of continuing the conflict. Observe that Shakespeare really "concludes this act" by the short scene which follows, in which the impending defeat of the rebels is again strongly stressed.—ED.]

[*Scena Quarta.*]*Enter Archbishop of Yorke, fir Mighell.*

Arch Hie good fir Mighell, beare this fealed briefe 1
 With winged haste to the Lord Marshall,
 This to my coosen Scroope, and all the rest
 To whom they are directed. If you knew 4

Scena Quarta] Ff Om. Qq SCENE
 iv. Rowe. SCENE VI Pope Scene
 changes to the Archbishop of York's
 Palace Theob SCENE VI The
 Archbishop of York's Palace Han.
 SCENE VI Changes to the Arch-
 bishop of York's Palace Warb,
 Johns SCENE IV. York. A Room
 in the Archbishop's Palace Cap,
 Dyce ii, iii, Huds. ii, Coll. iii, Ox.
 SCENE IV York The Archbishop's
 Palace. Varr., Ran., Dyce i, Cam.,
 Wh. ii, Glo, Tud., Ard. SCENE IV.
 York. A Room in the Archbishop's
 House Mal, Steev, Varr, Sing.,
 Knt., Coll i, ii, Huds. i, Del, Hal.,
 Sta, Ktly.

Archbishop] The Arch-Bishop Ff,
 et seq.

of Yorke] Om. Cap.

sir Mighell] and Sir Mighel Q₂.
 and sir Mighell Q₃Q₄. and sir Michell

Q₅Q₆, F₁₋₃, Rowe, Pope, Theob.,
 Han, Warb. and sir Michael Q₇Q₈,
 Johns, Varr, Ran, Coll, Sing ii,
 Huds, Del, Dyce, Hal i, Wh, Cam,
 Ktly. and sir Michel F₄. and a
 Gentleman Cap, Mal, Steev, Varr.,
 Sing i, Knt, Sta, Hal ii. [Spellings
 of this name not noted again —Ed]
 1 (*et passim*) Arch.] Qq, Ff, Cap,
 Mal, et seq. York Rowe, +, Varr,
 Ran

2-6.] Printed as four lines, ending
Thus / whom / much / Lord Vaughan
 2-5a] Printed as three lines, ending
Thus / whom / much Ktly.

2 Marshall] Mareshall T J. (1721),
 Pope, +, Cap, Varr., Ran, Mal.,
 Steev., Var. '03, '13, Sta., Coll. iii
Marshal Mowbray Seymour.

4, 5.] Printed as three lines, ending
directed / import / haste Ff, Rowe.

4. knew] but knew T. J (1721)

1. sir] WARNER (*Letter to Garrick*, 1768, p. 65). At Oxford, when an undergraduate has taken his degree as Bachelor of Arts, he is styled *Dominus*; in Cambridge, *Sir*.—COWL (ed 1914). Nothing is known of this Sir Michael, but he was no doubt a priest . . . "Sir" was a usual title of courtesy given to priests.

briefe] JOHNSON (ed. 1765). Letter.

2. Lord Marshall] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): Thomas Mowbray, his confederate in the other rebellion out of which is formed the whole serious part of the play that comes next [*II Henry IV*]: both plays appear to have been planned at the same time, and with great judgment, notwithstanding the inequality of their actions' duration —ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, p. 387): We may explain the apparent trisyllabic *marshal* by reference to the French *mareschal*.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Cf. *Lear*, IV, iii, 8: "The Marshal of France, Monsieur La Far."

3. coosen Scroope] AX (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol.*, 1912, p. 45): This scene has been invented to prepare for the part played by the Archbishop in Part II We could not find in the *Chronicle* either Sir Michael or Cousin Scroope.

How much they do import you would make hafte.

Sir M. My good Lord I gesse their tenor. 6

Arch. Like enough you do.

To morrow good fir Mighell is a day,

Wherein the fortune of ten thoufand men

Must bide the touch. For fir at Shrewsbury 10

As I am truly giuen to vnderstand,

The king with mighty and quicke raifed power

Meetes with Lord Harry And I feare fir Mighell

What with the sicknesse of Northumberland,

Whose power was in the first proportion, 15

And what with Owen Glendowers abfence thence,

Who with them was a rated finew too,

And comes not in ouerrulde by prophecies,

I feare the power of Percy is too weake 19

6. (*et passim*) *Sir M* | *Gent Cap*,
Mal., Steev, Varr., Sing. 1, Knt.,
Hal., Sta.

6.] Printed as two lines, ending
Lord / tenor Var. '73, et seq. (except
Huds. ii).

6. *My good Lord* | *My Lord*, Pope,
Theob., Han., Warb, Johns., Ritson.
Om. Cap.

7. *you do* | Om. Pope, Theob, Han,

Warb, Johns, Ritson

15 *proportion* | *proportion rated*
Theob (conj)

16. *with* | Om. Qs-s

17 *a rated sinew* | *rated sinew* Qs.
rated firmly Qs-s, Ff, Rowe.

18 *in* | *in*, Ff, et seq.

ouerrulde | Qq, Ff, Rowe, Knt.

i, ii, iv *o'er-rul'd* T. J (1721), Pope,
et cet

10 *bide the touch*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Be put to the test. The touchstone was applied to test the purity of gold

15. THEOBALD.] (*Letter to Warburton*, Jan 15, 1729/30): I imagine a word is dropped out at the end of the line [see Textual Notes], *i e*, when we first cast up the proportion of our numbers, we included his power in the account. The following line seems to warrant this conjecture "a rated sinew too," *i.e.*, accounted as part of their strength, rather than as Mr. Pope comments [see Pope's note on line 17].—JOHNSON (ed. 1765). Whose quota was larger than that of any other.

16-18] COURTENAY (*Comm. on Hist. Plays*, 1840). I do not find Shakespeare's authority for this cause of the Welshman's absence; but it is in good keeping.—COWL (*Sources of the Text*, 1928, p. 35) The cause of Glendower's absence would seem to have been of Shakespeare's invention. . . . (p. 36) Daniel, *Civil Wars*, IV, 36: "The ioyning with the Welsh (they had decreed) Stopt hereby part; which made their cause the worse." So Daniel, whereas Holinshed says [see note on IV, i, 125, 126].

17. *a rated sinew*] POPE (ed. 1723): Accounted a strong aid. [Cf. Theobald on line 15, above.—ED.]—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): A strength on which we reckoned; a help of which we made account.

To wage an infant triall with the king.

Sir M. Why my good Lord, you need not feare, 21
There is Douglas, and Lord Mortimer.

Arch. No, Mortimer is not there.

Sir M. But there is Mordake, Vernon, Lord Harry
And there is my Lord of Worcester, and a head (Percy 25
Of gallant warriours, noble gentlemen

Arch. And so there is but yet the king hath drawn
The speciall head of all the land together,
The Prince of Wales, Lord Iohn of Lancaster,
The noble Westmerland, and warlike Blunt, 30
And many mo coriuals and deare men
Of estimation and command in armes.

Sir M. Doubt not my Lo : they shalbe wel oppos'd.

Arch. I hope no lesse, yet needfull tis to feare,
And to preuent the worst, fir Mighell speed : 35
For if Lord Percy thriue not ere the king

21 *my good Lord*] *good my lord*
Var. '03, '13, Sing. i, Huds., Hal ii.
you...feare] Om. Pope, +. *I*
think, you fear Cap.

22] Printed as part of line 21.
Pope, +, Coll. iii.

There is Douglas] *There's Douglas*
Pope, +, Varr, Ran, Mal. *There*
is the Douglas Cap., Ox At end of
line 21: *There's Douglas Steev*, Varr,
Sing. i, Knt, Sta., Dyce ii, iii, Hal. ii,
Huds ii. At end of line 21: *There is*
Douglas Sing. ii, Dyce i, Hal i. At
end of line 21: *There is*; and, at be-
ginning of line 22, *Douglas* Ktly.

Lord] Om. Steev., Var. '03, '13,
Hal.

23 *Arch. No.*] Printed as sepa-
rate line. Cap.

Mortimer is] *Mortimer's Steev.*,
Varr., Sing. i, Sta, Dyce ii, iii, Hal
ii, Huds ii.

24-26] Printed as prose T. J.
(1721).

24. *Lord*] Om Pope, Theob., Han.,
Warb, Johns, Cap.

25, 26] Printed as three lines, end-
ing *Worcester/warriours/gentlemen* Ff,
Rowe, T J (1710).

25 *there is*] Qq, Ff, Rowe, Coll. i,
Huds, Del, Dyce i, Hal i, Cam.,
Glo., Wh ii, Tud., Ard. *there's* Pope,
et cet

31 *mo*] Q1-7, Ard. *moe* Q8, F1F2,
Cam., Glo, Wh. ii, Tud., Ox *more*
F2F4, et cet.

coriuals] *coriuals* Q4-6. *Cor-*
riuals Q7Q8 *Corriuals* Ff, et seq

33. *Lo.*] L. Q2-4. *Lord*, Q3-8, Ff,
et seq.

they] *he* Q4-8, Ff, Rowe, Knt.,
Sing ii, Ktly

36. *not*] *not*, Q2Q3, F1-3, Rowe, et
seq.

31. *mo*] N. E. D. (1901): More in number as distinguished from more in
quantity.

coriuals] See note on I, iii, 207.

deare] COWL (ed. 1914): Noble, honourable, as in *Trinulus and Cressida*,
V, iii, 27: "Life every man holds dear; but the dear man Holds honour far more
precious-dear than life."

32. *estimation*] SCHMIDT (1874): Reputation.

Difmiffe his power, he meanes to visit vs, 37
 For he hath heard of our confederacy,
 And tis but wifedome to make strong against him,
 Therefore make hafte, I muft go write againe 40
 To other friends, and fo farewell fir Mighel. *Exeunt*

[*Actus Quintus. Scena Prima.*]

*Enter the King, Prince of Wales, Lord Iohn of Lancaster,
 Earle of Westmerland, fir Walter Blunt, Falstafffe.*

King. How bloudily the funne begins to peare 1
 Aboue yon bufky hill, the day lookes pale

38. of] Om F₂.
 our] out Q₄
 41 Exeunt] Exeunt, severally
 Cap., Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt.,
 Sta., Hal. ii, Ktly.

Actus...Prima.] Ff. Om Qq. Act V.
 SCENE I Rowe. Act V. SCENE I.
 Shrewsbury. Pope. Act V. Scene.
 The Camp near Shrewsbury. Theob.
 Act V. SCENE I The Camp near
 Shrewsbury. Han. Act V. SCENE I.
 The Camp at Shrewsbury. Warb.,
 Johns, Varr., Ran. Act V. SCENE I.
 The King's Camp, near Shrewsbury.
 Cap., Mal., et seq.
 the King] Qq, Ff, Cap., Cam.,
 Huds. ii, Wh. ii. King Henry Rowe,
 et seq.

Prince of Wales] Prince Henry
 Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt., Coll.,
 Huds., Del., Dyce, Hal., Sta., Wh. i,
 Ktly.

Lord Iohn of] Om Huds. ii.
 Lord Iohn] Prince John Mal.,
 Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt., Coll.,
 Huds. i, Del., Dyce, Sta., Hal., Wh.
 ii, Ktly.

Lord] Om. Ox.
 of Lancaster] Om. Huds. i.
 Earle of Westmerland] Qq, Ff,
 Rowe, Pope, Theob., Warb., Johns,
 Varr., Ran., Cam. i, Glo. Om. Han.,
 et cet.

Falstafffe] and Falstafffe Q₂₋₈,
 Ff, +, Cap., Cam., Wh. ii and Sir
 John Falstaff Var. '78, et cet.

1. to peare] t'appare Thirlby MS.
 2. yon] yond' Coll., Huds., Sing. ii,
 Wh. i, Ktly.

bufky] bosky Cap (conj.), Huds.,
 Dyce, Wh., Coll. iii [The f in Q₁ is
 faint and broken, and may possibly
 be an l.—Ed]

V, i, ii] Ax (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol*, 1912, pp. 46, 47) discusses Shakespeare's departures from Holinshed in the account of the battle. Shakespeare omits two preliminary parleys between the king and the rebels, but includes material from Holinshed's account of these parleys in his own account of Blunt's embassy in IV, iii, and Worcester's and Vernon's in V, i and ii. He makes the king more dignified and less humble than he appears to be in Holinshed.

V, i.] For the evidence that the Falstaff element in this scene was added by Shakespeare when he revised the play, see Appendix: Sources of the Plot: A. E. Morgan, section 21. See also M. Morgann on Falstaff, Appendix: Characters: Falstaff.

s.d. Westmerland] MALONE (ed. 1790): In the old and modern editions, the

At his distemperature.

Prin. The Southren winde 3
Doth play the trumpet to his purposes,
And by his hollow whistling in the leaues 5
Foretels a tempest and a bluftring day.

Kin. Then with the loofers let it simpathize,
For nothing can seeme foule to thofe that winne

The trumpet founds. Enter Worcester

King. How now my Lord of Worcester, tis not wel,
That you and I should meet vpon fuch tearmes 10
As now we meete. You haue deceiu'd our trust,
And made vs doffe our eafie roabes of peace,
To cruft our old limbs in vngentle fteele, 13

5 *by his*] *by the* Q₃ *by* Q₄-8.

7 *loosers*] *losers* Q₂, et seq.

8 *foule*] *soure* F₂ *soure* F₃F₄, T J.
sower Rowe

those] *them* F₃F₄, Rowe.

After 8 *The trumpet sounds.*
Trumpet Cap., Var '78, '85, Ran,
Mal, Steev., Varr., Sing, Knt.,
Huds. 1, Hal. 11, Ktly Trumpet
sounds Coll, Del, Sta., Wh 1

Worcester] Worcester, and Sir
Richard Vernon. Theob, Han,
Warb., Johns, Var '73 Worcester,
and Vernon Cap, Var. '78, et seq

11. *trust*] *trusts* Rowe 11, Pope,
Han

12 *roabes*] *Robe* F₃F₄, Rowe

13 *old*] *old vneaste* Q₆-8
vngentle] *uneasy* Daniel (1870).

Earl of Westmoreland is made to enter here with the king, but it appears from a passage in the next scene that he was left as an hostage in Hotspur's camp till Worcester should return from treating with Henry.

2. *busky*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): Busky is woody (Fr *Bosquet*) Milton writes the word, perhaps more properly, *bosky* — DYCE (ed. 1857): Steevens appears to have forgotten that in *The Tempest*, IV, i, 81, the folio has "my boskie acres." — BLAKEWAY (Var. ed. 1821): I do not know whether Shakespeare ever surveyed the ground of the battlefield, but he has described the sun's rising over Haughmond hill as accurately as if he had. It still merits the name of "busky hill"

3. *his*] ELTON (ed. 1889): The sun's.

4. *trumpet*] SCHMIDT (1874): Trumpeter.

his purposes JOHNSON (ed. 1765): The sun's purposes; that which the sun portends by his unusual appearance.

13. *old limbs*] RITSON (*Cursory Crit.*, 1792) Shakespeare must have known that the king was at this time not more than four years older than he was at the time of the deposition of Richard. And, indeed, in the next play, he makes him expressly tell us that it was then "but eight years since." But it is altogether fruitless to attempt the reconciliation of our author's chronology. — SINGER (ed. 1856): The poet had little regard to dates if he could bring the substance of historic truth within the conditions of dramatic effect. It was necessary to anticipate the king's age that Prince Henry should be represented as arrived at manhood. — CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p. 373): Henry was at

This is not well my Lord, this is not well.
 What fay you to it ? will you againe vnknit 15
 This churlish knot of all abhorred war ?
 And moue in that obedient orbe againe,
 Where you did giue a faire and naturall light,
 And be no more an exhalde meteor,
 A prodigie of feare, and a portent 20
 Of broched mischiefe to the vnborne times.
Worſt Heare me my liege :
 For mine own part I could be well content,
 To entertaine the lag end of my life
 With quiet houres For *I* proteſt 25
 I haue not fought the day of this dislike.
King You haue not fought it, how comes it then ? 27

15. *to it*] *to't* Pope, +, Cap, Varr., et cet
 Ran., Mal, Steev, Varr, Sing, Dyce 27. *it, it*] *pray* T. J. (1721). *it, Sir?*
 ii, iii, Hal. ii, Huds ii. Pope, Theob., Han, Warb., Johns,
 17. *moue*] *more* Qs Cap for *it* Var. '03, '13, Sing i,
 20. *a*] Om. T. J. Hal. ii *it' say*, Seymour, Coll. MS.,
 21 *times*] *times?* Q2, et seq Coll. ii *it' well*, Dyce ii, iii. *it'*
 25. *I*] Qq, Sing. ii, Ard *I do* Ff, *why*, Huds ii.

this time about thirty-six. "Old" John of Gaunt (cf *Richard II*, I, i, 1) was at that time fifty-eight.

17.] COWL (ed. 1914). Move again obediently in your proper orb . . . The allusion is to the orbs or spheres in which, in the Ptolemaic system of astronomy, the stars are fixed, and with which they move.

19. *exhalde meteor*] ANDERS (*Sh. Books*, 1904, p. 248): A meteor was supposed to be a kind of vapour drawn up by the sun and acted upon by the hot influences in the upper air. Hence, exhalation equals meteor [cf. II, iv, 296, 297]. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, III, v, 13: "It is some meteor that the sun ex-hales."

20, 21] See WALKER on V, iv, 54.

20. *portent*] [See ABBOTT on I, 1, 97, aspects, and II, iii, 61, portents. If *fear*, in this line, is to be regarded as a monosyllable, *portents* must be accented on the final syllable.—ED.]

22-29.] MORGAN (*Some Problems*, 1924) finds further signs of curtailment in this passage. See Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Morgan, section 12.

25. *houres*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): A dissyllable, as frequently. See *II Henry IV*, IV, v, 109: "To stab at half an ho-ur of my life."

26. *dislike*] SCHMIDT (1874): Dissension, discord. *Troilus*, II, iii, 218: "You feed too much on this dislike."

27.] LETTSOM (*New Readings*, 1853): The word "say," introduced into this line by "the Old Corrector" [cf. Textual Notes, Coll. MS.] takes off the sharp edge of the king's interrogation and converts him from a flesh and blood

Fal. Rebellion lay in his way, and he found it.

Prin. Peace chewet, peace

Wor It pleafd your maiefty to turne your lookes 30
Of fauor from my felfe, and all our houle,
And yet I muft remember you my Lord,
We were the firft and deareft of your friends, 33

29. *chewet*] *Chevet* Pope *suet* Wh. 33 *friends*] *Friends*: *Ff*, +. *friends*.
" Cap., et seq.
32 *Lord*] *Lord* Q₂₋₃

monarch into a mouthing ranter, a mere tragedy king—ABBOTT (*Sh Gram*, 1870, p. 415) Lines with four accents, where there is a change of thought, are not uncommon

29. *chewet*] POPE (ed. 1723): *Chevet*, fr a Bolster—THEOBALD (ed. 1733): This I take to be an arbitrary refinement of Mr. Pope's nor can I easily agree that *chewet* is Shakespeare's word here. Why should Prince Henry call Falstaff Bolster for interposing in the discourse betwixt the king and Worcester? With submission, he does not take him up here for his unreasonable size, but for his ill-timed unreasonable chattering. A *Chewet* is a chattering bird, a pie . . . Besides, if the poet had intended that the prince should flee at Falstaff on account of his corpulence, I doubt not but he would have called him Bolster in English, and not have wrapped up the abuse in a French word. In another passage the prince honestly calls him Quilt, 'tis pity Mr. Pope did not turn this into *Lodier* or *Materas*, if his French would extend so far. As to Prince Henry, his stock in this language was so small that when he comes to be king he hammers out one small sentence of it to the Princess Catherine and tells her, It is as easy for him to conquer the kingdom as to speak so much French. [See also LOUNSBURY on Pope, Appendix, p. 342]—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): In an old book of cookery, printed in 1596, I find a receipt to make *chewets*, which from their ingredients seem to have been fat, greasy puddings . . . So, in Bacon's *Nat. Hist*: "As for chuets, which are likewise minced meat, instead of butter and fat, it were good to moisten them with cream."—MALONE (ed. 1790) See Florio's *Italian Dictionary*, 1598. "Frilingotti. A kinde of daintie chewet or minced pie"—COLLIER (ed. 1842): *Chewet* may be only a form of printing *suet*, a word very applicable to Falstaff.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897). A kind of pie made of minced meat. Supposed by Theobald to be the same as the French *chouette*, but this is an owl, though Cotgrave defines it as a chough or jackdaw. With either meaning it would have a certain appropriateness as applied to Falstaff.—COWL (ed. 1914). A chough; a noisy, chattering bird. . . . See Pierre Bellon, *Hist. de la Nature des Oyseaux*, 1555, vi, vi: "De la Chouette, ou Chouca rouge: L'on garde ce Chouca rouge aprivoise, & lui apprend-on a parler. . . . Il et moult criard." . . .—N. E. D. gives an earlier example of *chewet* from J. Heywood's *Proverbs*, 1562: "Chattering to chiding is not worth a chuet."

30-71.] For events preceding the action of this play referred to in this passage, many of which are treated in Shakespeare's *Richard II*, cf. I, iii, 242-250; IV, iii, 52-92; and Holinshed; see Appendix. Sources of the Plot.

For you my staffe of office did I breake
 In Richards time, and posted day and night 35
 To meet you on the way, and kisse your hand,
 When yet you were in place, and in account
 Nothing so strong and fortunate as I
 It was my selfe, my brother and his sonne,
 That brought you home and boldly did outdare 40
 The dangers of the time. You swore to vs,
 And you did sware that oath at Dancafter,
 That you did nothing purpose gainst the state,
 Nor clame no further then your new false right,
 The feat of Gaunt, Dukedom of Lancaster : 45
 To this we swore our aide : but in short space
 It rained downe fortune showing on your head,
 And such a flood of greatnesse fell on you,
 What with our helpe, what with the absent king,
 What with the iniuries of a wanton time, 50
 The seeming sufferances that you had borne,
 And the contrarious winds that held the king
 So long in his unlucky Irish wars,
 That all in England did repute him dead :
 And from this swarme of faire aduantages, 55

37. *place*,] Q₁Q₄-s, Ff, Rowe, Coll.
 iii. *place* Q₂Q₃, Pope, et cet.

40. *outdare*] *outdate* Q₂-s.

41. *dangers*] *danger* Q₅-s, Ff, Rowe,
 Knt., Ktly.

42 and 58. *Dancafter*] *Doncaster*
 Q₅, Ff, et seq.

43. *purpose*] *of purpose* Q₅-s, Ff.

44. *further*] *farther* Coll.

45. *Dukedom*] *Duke* Q₈

46. *swore*] *sware* Q₅-7. *sware* Q₈,
 Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han.,
 Warb., Johns., Var. '78, '85, Ran.,
 Knt

50. *of a*] *of* Q₅-s, Ff, Rowe, Wh i.

53. *his*] *the* Q₅-s, Ff, +, Wh 1.

55. *And*] *As*, Cap., Ran.

this] *his* Q₅Q₇.

34, 35.] COWL (ed. 1914): See *Richard II*, II, iii, 26-28.

45. *seat*] SCHMIDT (1874): Estate.

50. *wanton*] SCHMIDT (1874): Loose, frivolous.—ONIONS (1911): Capricious.
 —COWL (ed. 1914): Disordered.—N. E. D. (1928) does not cite this passage,
 but defines *wanton*, as applied to persons, as rebellious, unruly; and, as applied
 to times, as effeminate, luxurious.

51. *sufferances*] SCHMIDT (1874): Distresses, miseries, sufferings. [Ten
 other examples of Shakespeare's use of the word in this sense are cited.]

52-54.] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): See *Richard II*, II, iv, 7, &c.; III, ii, 73-4.

55. *And*] CAPELL (Notes, 1779): The necessity of this emendation [cf.
 Textual Notes] is so glaring that it is almost an impertinence to make any
 remarks on it; neither had there been any, if the *And* had not gone down

You tooke occasion to be quickly wooed
 To gripe the general fway into your hand, 57
 Forgot your oath to vs at Dancafter,
 And being fed by vs, you vfd vs fo
 As that vngentle gull the Cuckoes bird 60
 Vfeth the sparrow, did oppresse our neaft,
 Grew by our feeding to fo great a bulke,
 That euen our loue durft not come neare your fight, 63

60 *gull*] *churl* Thirlby MS by MS, Walker (1860), Huds. II,
Cuckoes bird] *Cuckoo-bird* Thirl- Wh. II

through so many critical editions that their authority may induce a suspicion that there is construction and sense in the period without this amendment, if there be such suspecter, let him peruse it again in the old copies, and he will find his mistake [All editors since Capell, save the loyal Rann, have failed to discover this mistake!—ED.]

59–66] GREY (*Crit. Notes*, 1754): 'Tis remarked of the cuckoo that she lays her eggs in other birds' nests. See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 10,9—JOHNSON (ed. 1765) The term *gull* applied to a nestling bird in quite an unfledged state, is still in provincial use in Cheshire. The cuckoo's chicken, who, being hatched and fed by the sparrow, in whose nest the cuckoo's egg was laid, grows in time able to devour her nurse.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1773) Thus in Philemon Holland's translation of Pliny's *Natural History*, 10,9 "The titling, therefore, that sitteth, being thus deceived, hatcheth the egge and bringeth up the chick of another bird.—and this she doth so long, untill the young cockow being once fledge and readie to flie abroad, is so bold as to seize upon the old titling and eat up her that hatched her"—KNIGHT (ed. 1839) Shakespeare was a naturalist in the best sense of the word. He watched the phenomena of nature, the economy of the animal creation, . . . and set these down with almost undeviating exactitude . . . Before White, Jenner, and Montagu had described the remarkable proceedings of the cuckoo, Shakespeare had described them, as we believe, from what he saw himself. Pliny was the only scientific writer upon natural history that was open to Shakespeare. . . . Now the description of the cuckoo in Pliny is very different from the description before us. . . . It was reserved for very modern naturalists to discover that the *hedge-sparrow's* nest was a favorite choice of the old cuckoo. . . . Had Shakespeare not observed for himself, he would have mentioned the stock-dove or titling [instead of the sparrow]. . . . The word *oppress* is singularly descriptive of the operation of the "ungentle gull." The great bulk of the cuckoo, in the small nest of the sparrow, first crushed the proper nestlings, and the instinct of the intruder rendered it necessary that they should be got rid of. The common belief, derived from the extreme voracity of the cuckoo, has led to the opinion that it eats the young nestlings. Pliny says expressly that it devours them. How remarkable, then, that Shakespeare does not allude to this belief. . . . Had his natural history not been more accurate than the popular belief, he would have made Worcester reproach the king with actually destroy-

For feare of fwallowing : but with nimble wing
 We were inforft for safety fake to flie 65
 Out of your fight, and raife this prefent head,
 Whereby we stand oppofed by fuch meanes,
 As you your felfe haue forgde againft your felfe
 By vnkind vfage, daungerous countenance,
 And violation of all faith and troth, 70
 Sworne to vs in your yonger enterprize.
King Thefe things indeed you haue articulate, 72

65. *safety sake*] *safety's sake* F₄, +. *your*] Om F₁F₂
safety' sake Sing ii *safety-sake* 72 *articulate,*] *articulate* Q₄ *ar-*
 Dyce, Hal i, Huds ii *ticulated,* Ff, +, Cap, Varr, Ran,
 67. *we*] *you* Cap., Ran Mal, Steev, Varr, Sing, Knt,
 71. *Sworne*] *Swore* Q₆₋₈ Dyce, Sta, Hal, Wh i, Clarke (1879).

ing the proper tenants of the nest The Percies were ready to accuse him of the murder of Richard—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Hence in *Lear*, I, iv, 208-9: "The hedge-sparrow fed the cuckoo so long, That it had it head bit off by it young."

64. *feare of swallowing*] SCHMIDT (1874, p. 1418): The gerund may have a passive sense even when it is not in the predicate. "The unback'd breeder, jealous of catching (i e. of being caught)," *Venus and Adonis*, 320; "like one that fears robbing (being robbed)," *Two Gentlemen*, II, i, 22.

67. *we*] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): The inattention and haste of [the former editors] is more notorious still in this passage [cf note on V, i, 55] . . . for they who run might have perceived its corruption and the change that was requisite, unless they have run in their sleep. [Cf. Textual Note. Rann is again the only subsequent editor who did not "run in his sleep."—ED]

opposed] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): In opposition to you—COWL (ed. 1914): In opposition to one another. See I, i, 9.

by such meanes] COWL (ed. 1914): By reason of such grounds (of offence)—an elliptical construction. "By means of" sometimes means "by reason of," "owing to," as in Bacon's *Henry VII.* "Their bodies were buried by him (the priest) in some place which, by means of the priest's death, soon after could not be known."

69. *daungerous countenance*] COWL (ed. 1914): Haughty, threatening looks. Ascham, *Scolemaster*, says that a young gentleman learns at Court "to face, stand foremost, shove back: and to the meaner man . . . to seeme somewhat solemne, coy, big, and daungerous of looke." . . . For "dangerous," threatening, see *King John*, IV, ii, 212: "To know the meaning Of dangerous Majesty when perchance it frowns"

72-82.] GRIFFITH (*Morality of Sh.*, 1775): The king here gives a very just account of the nature, pretences, and artifices of rebellion. [It being impossible to deny or publicly to admit the truth of the rebels' charges, Henry adopts the politician's refuge of bringing counter-accusations.—ED.]

72. *articulate*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1773): Articulated, i.e., drawn out,

Proclaimd at market Croffes, read in Churches,
 To face the garment of rebellion
 With some fine colour that may please the eye 75
 Of fickle changlings and poore difcontents,
 Which gape and rub the elbow at the newes
 Of hurly burly innouation,
 And neuer yet did infurrection want
 Such water colors to impaint his cause 80

73 *Proclaimd*] *Proclaimed* Q₂₋₄ Warb, Johns., Var '73
 78. *innouation*,] *innouation*: (or 80 *cause*] *cause*, Q₂₋₄, Johns.
innouation.) Q₆Q₇Q₈, Ff, Rowe, Pope, *cause*; Q₃₋₈, Rowe, Pope, Han., Cap,
 Han, Cap, Var. '78, et seq. *innouocation* Q₆ *innouation*, Theob., et seq. *cause* Ff, Theob, Warb.

article by article —IBID. (Var ed. 1778) Exhibited in articles. So, in Daniel's *Civil Wars*, v: "How to articulate with yielding wights" Again, in *The Spanish Tragedy*: "To end those things articulated here"—ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram*, 1870, p. 242): Some verbs ending in *-te*, *-t*, and *-d*, on account of their already resembling participles in their terminations, do not add *-ed* in the participle . . . Thus, *Richard III*, V, v, 3: "Well hast thou acquit thee."—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): According to Hall (*Chron.*, ed. 1809, p. 28), these articles were drawn up by the advice of Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, and were six in number. Their authenticity has been questioned, but Shakespeare did not concern himself about this, nor need we

74, 75. *face . . . colour*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): An allusion to our ancient fantastic habits, which were usually faced, or turned up, with a colour different from that of which they were made [Cf Steevens's note on IV, ii, 29.]—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): To *face* is to patch outwardly, so as to give it a good appearance . . . Similarly, to *line* is used figuratively of inward strengthening and support in II, iii, 80.

76. *changlings*] SCHMIDT (1874): Inconstant persons, waverers.—COWL (ed. 1914): Turncoats, renegades, as in Heywood, *The Royal King*, III: "He scornes to be a changeling or a shifter," and North's *Plutarch*, *Demosthenes*: "He lost his life, because he would be no changeling." . . . Daniel (*Civil Wars*, i) writes that Bolingbroke was welcomed "Of th'altering vulgar, apt for changes still."

77. *rub the elbow*] DOUCE (*Illust. of Sh.*, 1807, i, 444): The itching of the elbow, according to popular belief, denoted approaching change.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Apparently a sign of approval or satisfaction. See *Love's Labour's Lost*, V, ii, 109: "One rubbed his elbow thus, and fleer'd and swore A better speech was never spoke before." Cf. Guilpin, *Skialetheia* (ed. Grosart, p. 25): "He'le cry, oh rare, and scratch the elbow too To see two butchers' cures fight."

78. *hurly burly innouation*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Change which throws everything into confusion.

80. *water colors to impaint*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Water colors, because they

Nor moody beggars staruing for a time,
Of pell mell hauocke and confusion.

82

Prin. In both your armies there is many a foule,

81. *moody*] *muddy* Q₆₋₈
time] *time* Ff, et seq.

armies] *Armes* Q₆.

soule] Q₁₋₃Q₇Q₈ *soule* Q₄₋₆,

83. *your*] Qq, Cam, Glo, Wh 11, Ff, et cet.
Tud, Ard *our* Ff, et cet

were intended to produce an immediate effect, and not to last —COWL (ed. 1914) Thin pretexts that will not hold. Peacham (*Compleat Gentleman*, 1622) observes that "paynting in Oyle . . . is of more esteeme than working in water-colours" The latter is more rapidly executed, and "oyle-colours will not out when water colours will with the least washing." "Impaint" is used only here by Shakespeare.—N. E. D. gives later examples.

81.] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779) The poet's meaning is express'd with too much conciseness *want* (line 79) is carry'd forward into this line; but after *moody beggars* we want a very different verb from *impaint*, such as *uphold it: starving* is used too licentiously for "watching with the eagerness of men who are starved." [The meaning of the passage is much clearer than the meaning of Capell's note. "Never did insurrection want (lack) pretexts or, as supporters, moody beggars eager for riot and insurrection as a means of livelihood." This seems a better explanation than Elton's (ed 1889). He makes *beggars* "co-subject with *insurrection to want*."—Ed.]

81. *moody*] SCHMIDT (1874): Discontented, angry.—COWL (ed. 1914): Either sullen, as in I, iii, 19, and in *Comedy of Errors*, V, i, 79, or angry, savagely desperate, as in *II Henry IV*, IV, iv, 39.

83-101.] COURTENAY (*Commentaries on Hist. Plays*, 1840) The prince's offer of single combat is imagined by Shakespeare, as well as Hotspur's contemptuous allusions to the follies of his supposed rival. All this is in good keeping with the rest of the play, but in utter defiance of history —AX (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol*, 1912, p. 48) This dramatic incident [of the prince's challenge to Hotspur] cannot be supported by Holinshed because it is too unlikely, as well as being unhistorical. Is it probable that the king would have accepted such a proposal, having, as he had, an army far superior to that of the rebels, and being convinced both of Hotspur's invincibility and of his son's inferiority? Shakespeare does not give the reason why Worcester passes over in silence the fact that the king consents to the single combat suggested by his son, or why the earl places in its stead Henry's resolution to do battle [V, ii, 31]. Here we may see that one improbability gives rise to another. For, if the king had not the least chance of seeing his son victor in such a duel, could the rebels have had a greater stroke of good fortune than to see their cause committed to Hotspur? . . . Of course, this single combat, which was to be an ordeal, has been introduced by Shakespeare only to show the prince's courage, and to prepare the way for his victory over the Prince of Honour. [The offer is introduced, obviously, to show the prince's courage, and also, perhaps, to show his lack of judgment. The same combination of noble impulse and immature judgment is shown in III, ii, 145-152. The king does not accept the prince's

Shall pay full dearly for this incounter
 If once they ioine in trial, tell your nephew 85
 The prince of Wales doth ioine with all the world
 In praife of Henrie Percy, by my hopes
 This prefent enterprife fet of his head,
 I do not thinke a brauer Gentleman,
 More actiue, valiant, or more valiant yong, 90

84. *this*] *this bold* Pope, Theob,
 Han, Warb, Johns, Cap *this day's*
 Seymour.

incounter] *encounter*, Q₂₋₄Q₈, Ff,
 et seq *encounter* Q₅₋₇

85 *trial*,] *tryall* Q₈. *triall* Ff, et
 seq

87 *Henrie*] *Harry* Q₇Q₈, Cap.
Percy,] *Percy* Q₄, et seq

hopes] *hopes*, Q₁, Ff, et seq

88 *of*] *off* Ff, et seq

90 *actiue, valiant*,] *actiue, more*
valiant, Q₂₋₈ *active-valiant*, Theob,
 Johns, et seq

valiant yong] *valiant-young* Theob,
 Johns, et seq *valued young*
 Han, Warb. *valiant-tough* Heath

offer, as Ax imagines Pleased with his son's spirit, the king replies (line 101) "As you would dare meet Hotspur in battle, so should we dare back you against him; but infinite considerations weigh against it. No, good Worcester, we cannot accept the prince's offer, but we make one of our own, an offer of peace" The king was quite as conscious as Dr. Ax is of the impracticability of the prince's proposal, nor were Worcester and Vernon so stupid as to fail to report a bona-fide offer. Note that Worcester does mention it in passing (V, ii, 46, 47); but no one regards it, here or there, as a possible solution—ED.]—COWL (*Sources of the Text*, 1928). *Ballad of Chevy Chase*, i, 73-80 "Then sayd the doughtie Douglas unto the lord Persie. To kill all thes giltles men, Alas! it weare a great pitie. But, Persie, . . . let all our men vppon a parti stand, and do the battell off the and me "

83. *your*] ELTON (ed. 1889) and WRIGHT (ed. 1897) Percy's and Douglas's.—COWL (ed. 1914): The king's army and that of the rebels. . . . The Folio reading *our* may be right.

88. *set . . . head*] MUSGRAVE (Var. ed. 1778): Taken from his account.

90. *actiue . . . yong*] THEOBALD (ed. 1733): Without [the hyphens; see Textual Notes] the sense seems feeble and cold The prince means, in my opinion, he did not know a braver gentleman than Hotspur, one more sprightly and stirring in his valour, or more valiant for his youth.—UPTON (*Crit. Observ.*, 1746): Shakespeare uses adjectives adverbially. So here, more actively valiant or more valiantly young . . . So, in *Hamlet*: "I am myself indifferent honest." He is plainly imitating Sir Philip Sidney, who in his *Astrophel and Stella* thus speaks of Edward IV: "Nor that he could young-wise, wise-valiant, frame His sire's revenge."—CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): His compounds are beautiful, and of easy conception, importing that Hotspur's valour was of the most active kind, and the degree of it greater than is usually found in such young years.

valiant yong] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): I think the present gingle [*sic*] has more of Shakespeare in it [than Hanmer's emendation has].—HEATH (*Revisal*

More daring, or more bold is now aliue
 To grace this latter age with noble deedes, 92
 For my part I may speake it to my shame,
 I haue a truant beene to Chiualrie,
 And fo I heare he doth account me too , 95
 Yet this before my fathers maiestie,
 I am content that he shall take the oddes
 Of his great name and estimation,
 And will to faue the blood on either side
 Trie fortune with him in a fingle fight. 100
King And prince of Wales, fo dare we venture thee,
 Albeit, confiderations infinite
 Do make against it : no good Worcester no,
 We loue our people well, euen thofe we loue
 That are miled vpon your coofens part, 105
 And will they take the offer of our grace,

92. *deedes*,] *deedes*. Q₁Q₂Q₃-s. *deeds*.
 Ff, Rowe, Pope 1, Han, Cap., et seq
deed. Pope 11, Theob, Warb., Johns.

93. *part*] *part*, Q₂, et seq

96. *maiestie*,] *Majesty*,— (or *Majesty*.) Johns., et seq.

99. *will*] *will*, Q₂-s, Ff, et seq

side] *side*, Q₂Q₃Q₄-s, Ff, et seq.

100. *a*] Om. Q₂-s.

101. *venture*] *venter* F₁-s.

102. *Albeit*,] *Albeit* Q₃, T J (1721),

Han., Coll, Huds, Del, Dyce, Hal 1,
 Wh, Cam., Glo, Ktly., Tud, Ox.,
 Ard

103. *no good*] *No, good* Q₇Q₈, F₃F₄,
 et seq.

no...no] *go..go* Thirlby MS.
know...know, Mason (1785).

106. *will*] *will*, Pope

grace,] *Grace*: Ff. *grace*;
 Rowe, Pope.

of *Sh*, 1765) defends his own emendation: Whose valour hath either more activity in it, or holds out with greater endurance. The prince is speaking of Hotspur's personal accomplishments, not of his reputation.

100.] GENTLEMAN (*Int.* to Bell's ed, 1773): It is common for the king to be here seated on a drum, to rise at this line, when Falstaff, who is strangely seated behind him, tumbles down, to create a very ill-timed Bartholomew-Fair laugh. Can any one suppose the Fat Knight would venture so near the king? So contemptible a stage-trick should be suppressed

101-103.] MORGAN (*Some Problems of Hen. IV*, 1924) finds further signs of curtailment here, inasmuch as "no, good Worcester, no," does not follow easily after the first half of line 103, and, further, because it is remarkable that the suggestion of single combat between the prince and Hotspur is dropped so suddenly and so completely. See Appendix: Sources of the Plot: A. E. Morgan, section 12. See also note on V, i, 83-101, above.

105. *coofens part*] SCHMIDT (1874): Kinsman's party.

106-108.] See Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Holinshed.

106. *will*] THEOBALD (*Letter to Warb.*, Jan. 15, 1730): The Editor [i.e., Pope,

Both he, and they, and you, yea euery man
 Shall be my friend againe, and ile be his, 108
 So tell your coofen, and bring me word
 What he will do. But if he will not yeeld, 110
 Rebuke and dread correction waight on vs,
 And they shall do their office. So be gone .
 We will not now be troubled with replie,
 We offer faire, take it aduisedly. *Exit Worcester*

Prin. It will not be accepted on my life, 115
 The Dowglas and the Hotspur both together,
 Are confident against the world in armes.

King Hence therefore, euery leader to his charge,
 For on their answere will we set on them,
 And God befriend vs as our cause is iust. *Exeunt manent* 120

Falst. Hal, if thou see me downe in the battel *Prince,*
(Falst.)

108 *his,*] *his* (or *his*) Q₃, et seq.
 109. *bring*] *then bring* T J, Cap,
 Dyce 11, 111, Huds 11. *return* Pope,
 Theob., Han, Warb., Johns *go and*
bring Seymour.

word] *word again* Ktly.

110. *yeeld*] *yeelds* Q₆.

111 *waight*] *wast* Q₂, et seq

114. *Exit Worcester*] *Exit Wor-*
cester, with Vernon. Theob., Han,
 Warb., Johns, Var. '73 *Exeunt*
Worcester, and Vernon. Cap, Var
 '78, et seq

116. *together,*] Q₁₋₆, Ff, Rowe, Coll.
 111. *together* Q₇Q₈, et cet.

119 *will we*] *we will* Var '85, Ran.

120-122. *Exeunt . Falst*] *Exeunt*
King, Blunt, and P John Cap, Var.
 '78, '85, Ran., Mal, Steev., Varr.,
 Sing, Knt., Coll, Huds, Del., Dyce,
 Sta, Hal, Wh. 1, Ktly., Ox *Exeunt*
 all but the Prince of Wales and Fal-
 staff Cam., Wh 11, Glo, Tud, Ard.
 120. *manent*] Qq, Rowe 11, Theob.,
 Var '73. Manet Ff, Rowe 1. SCENE
 11. *Manent* Pope, Han, Warb,
 Johns. Om Cap et cet.

121-124] Printed as prose. Pope,
 et seq.

121. *Prince,*] *Prince and* Ff *Prince*
Henry and Rowe, +. Om. Cap et
 seq.

see Textual Notes] here, by mistaking the sign of the tense for a verb, breaks short the dependence of the sentence. I read, and point it, thus: "And, will &c.", i.e., "so they will submit to take the terms offered, &c."

109.] ABBOTT (*Sh Gram.*, 1870, p. 411): Lines with four accents are very rare, unless there is a pause in the middle of the line. [Cf. III, i, 70, and V, i, 27, note.—ED.]—ELTON (ed. 1889) *Bring* is, possibly, pronounced as a disyllable (*be-ring*), as *Henry* is three (*Hen-e-ry*) in *III Henry VI*, III, iii, 90.

111. *waight on vs*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Wait on us, are in our service.

114. *take it aduisedly*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Consider it with deliberation.

116. The . . . the] ABBOTT (*Sh Gram.*, 1870, p. 66): It is not often that *the* is so used [i.e., to denote fame or notoriety] before English proper names. In this line the second *the* may be caused by the first, which, of course, is still used,—*"the Bruce," "the Douglas,"* being frequent, and referring to the chief of the Bruces and Douglasses.

And bestride me, fo, tis a poynt of friendship. 122

Prin. Nothing but a Coloffus can do thee that friend-
Say thy prayers, and farewell. (ship, 125

Fal. I would twere bed time Hal, and all well. 125

Prin. Why, thou owest God a death.

Falst. Tis not due yet, I would be loath to pay him be-
fore his day, what need I be so forward with him that calls
not on mee? Well, tis no matter, honor prickes me on;
yea, but how if honor pricke me off when I come on? how 130

123, 124] Printed as prose. T J. After 126] Exit Prince Hen Han,
(1721) Johns., Varr., Ran. Exit Cap.,
125 *twere*] Cam, Wh u, Glo, Mal, et seq
Tud, Ard. *it were* Q₂, et cet. 128. *day*] *day*, (Exit Prince Henry)
126 *Why*] *Why?* Q₂₋₃ Hal. 1
God] *heauen* Ff, +, Varr., 130 *yea*] Om Ff, +.
Ran, Knt

120. *manent*] See Appendix: Sources of the Plot A E. Morgan, section 21.

121.] [In *The Dramatic Censor*, 1770, GENTLEMAN comments, at this juncture, on the "contemptible piece of buffoonery" which, in Bell's ed., he assigns to line 100 of this scene (see note on that line) The "business" would be less inappropriate here than there, and would give additional meaning to Falstaff's next speech.—ED]

122. *bestride*] STEEVENS (Var ed 1773): In the battle of Agincourt, Henry, when king, did this act of friendship for his brother, the duke of Gloucester.

125. *bed time*] ELTON (ed. 1889): Suggested by the prince's "Say thy prayers."

126, 127. *death . . . due*] WRIGHT (ed 1897): There is possibly a pun here on *death* and *debt*, as in I, iii, 185, 186—COWL (ed 1914). The word-play on *death* and *debt* occurs as early as the first English translation of the *De Imitatione Christi* (c. 1400, ed Ingram, p 88): "gode menne that payed her dette of holy dethe."

127, 128. *pay . . . day*] COWL (ed. 1914): Cf. Lyly (ed Bond, iii, 451): "In youth who dies, or else is slaine, Paies nature but a debt yts due. Who youngest dies he doth but paye A debt (he owes) before the day."

127-139.] UPTON (*Crit. Observ.*, 1746) 'Tis usual [in classical literature] for the philosophic comedian to make one person enter into a dialogue with himself and sustain the parts of two persons.—BLAKEWAY (Var. ed. 1821): Sganarelle, in Moliere's *Cocu Imaginaire*, argues in a manner remarkably similar: "Quand j'aurai fait le brave, et qu'un fer, pour ma peine, M'aura d'un vilain coup transpercé la bedaine, Que par le ville ira la bruit de mon trespas, Dites-moi, mon honneur, en serez vous plus gras?"—MILLS (*Falstaff*, New Shak. Soc. Proc., 1881, p. 4): In his catechism of honor the knight meant *military glory*; in that sense it is as wise as witty. [See also Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Cowl (1928).—ED.]

128, 129. *him . . . not*] ELTON (ed. 1889): The creditor that calls not for the debt.

then can honor fet to a leg ? no, or an arme ? no, or take
away the grieffe of a wound ? no, honor hath no skil in 132
furgerie then ? no, what is honor ? a word, what is in that
word honor ? what is that honour ? aire, a trim reck-
oning Who hath it ? he that died a Wednesfday, doth he 135
feele it ? no, doth he heare it ? no, tis insensible thē ? yea,
to the dead, but wil not liue with the liuing ; no, why ?
detraction will not suffer it, therefore ile none of it, honor 138
is a meere skutchion, and so ends my Catechisme. *Exit.*

131 *then*] *then?* Q₂Q₃, F₁F₂, Rowe
11, et seq. *then*, Q₈ *then*; F₃F₄,
Rowe i.

131, 132. *no, no, .no,]* *no. no. .*
no Q₂Q₃, Han., Warb., Johns *No*
..No. .No. Ff, Dyce, Hal i, Cam,
Huds. 11, Wh. 11 *No No ..No.*
Rowe, Pope i, Cap, Varr, Ran.,
Mal., Steev, Varr, Sing., Knt., Coll.,
Huds. i, Del, Sta., Wh. i, Hal. ii,
Ktly. *no...no...no.* Pope 11 *no...*
no...no. Theob 1. *no...no?* *no*
Theob ii-iv.

133 *no,]* *no:* Q₂-s. *No* Ff, et seq.

133, 134 *what is in. aire]* *What is*
that word? *Air.* Cap (conj.).

133 *in that]* *that* Q₄-s, Ff, +, Cap,
Varr, Ran., Knt, Huds, Del., Sing
11, Dyce, Sta., Hal. i, Wh, Ktly, Ox.

134. *word honor?]* *word?* *honor* Q₂.
what . honour?] Om. Q₅-s, Ff,
+, Cap., Varr., Ran, Knt, Huds,
Del., Sing. 11, Dyce, Sta, Hal. 1, Wh,
Ktly., Ox.

aire,] *aire* Q₂-s, Ff. *aire;*
Rowe, Pope, Theob, Han, Warb.,
Johns *Air?* T. J *Air* Cap, et seq

135. *a]* *o'* Han, Cap, Var. '78, et
seq.

Wednesday,] *Wednesday* Q₃
Wednesday? Q₄-s. *Wednesday* Ff,
et seq.

136 *no, .no,]* *no. no* Q₂-s *No.*
..No. Ff, et seq

is] Qq, Cam, Glo, Wh 11,
Tud, Ard *It is* Ox. *Is it* Ff, et cet.

137. *dead,]* *dead:* Q₂-s. *dead* Ff,
et seq.

not liue] *it not liue* Q₂, et seq.

liuing;] *liuing?* Q₂, et seq

no,] *no.* Q₂-s *No* Ff, et seq.

138. (1st) *it,]* Qq, Ff, Rowe, Pope.
it Theob., Han., Warb, Johns.,
Cam., Dyce 11, 111, et seq. *it*—T. J,
Cap, et cet.

(2nd) *it,]* *it,* Q₅-s, Theob.,
Han, Warb., Johns. *it.* (or *it'*) Ff,
et cet.

131. set to] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Put on a leg that is cut off.—COWL (ed' 1914): Huloet (*Dictionnaire*, 1572) has: "*Set to.* Appono, Mettre, Apposer' Adjustre." The Folio *too* is a common misprint for *to*.

132. grieffe] SCHMIDT (1874): Pain. Cf. I, iii, 51.

134. what . . . aire] COWL (*Sources of the Text*, 1928): Daniel, *A Pastorall*, 1592. "that name, that Idle name of wind . . . that empty sound call'd Honour" Daniel's *Pastorall* is a translation of Tasso's *Aminta*, I, ii; and there we find: "quel vano nome senza soggetto. . . Quel che da'l volgo insano Onor . . . fu detto . . . Vattene."

trim] SCHMIDT (1874): Nice, fine; used ironically.

134, 135. reckoning] N. E. D. (1914): The process or result of one's counting. A computation of the sum owing by, or due to, one; a statement of a charge or charges; a bill, especially at an inn or tavern.

136. insensible] N. E. D. (1901): Not to be apprehended by the senses.

139. meere skutchion] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): This is very fine. The re-

[*Scena Secunda.*]*Enter Worcester, fir Richard Vernon*

Wor. O no, my nephew must not know fir Richard,
The liberal and kind offer of the king.

Ver. Twere best he did.

Wor. Then are we all vnder one.

3

Scena Secunda] Ff. Om Qq '78, et seq
SCENE II Rowe. SCENE III. Pope 1 know] know, Q₂₋₆, Ff, et seq.
Scene changes to Percy's camp know; Q₇Q₈
Theob. SCENE III. Changes to Percy's Camp Han., Warb, Johns 2 liberal and kind] Q₁, Sta, Cam.,
SCENE II Hotspur's Camp Cap, Glo., Wh ii, Tud, Ard. liberal-kind
Varr, Ran. SCENE II. The Rebel Walker (1860), Dyce ii, iii, Huds. ii.
Camp. Mal, et seq liberal kinde Q₂, et cet.
sir] and sir Q₂₋₈, Ff, +. 3 are we] we are Ff, +, Sing, Huds
sir Richard] and Cap, Var. 1, Ktly. vnder one] vndone Q₆, et seq

ward of brave actions formerly was only some honorable bearing in the shields of arms bestowed upon deservers But Falstaff having said that honour often came not until after death, calls it very wittily a scutcheon, which is the painted heraldry borne in a funeral procession. And by "mere scutcheon" is insinuated that whether alive or dead, honour was but a name—COWL (ed 1914). A funeral escutcheon or hatchment . . . was the lowest description of heraldic ensign allotted for funerals. Mere gentlemen had no pennon, but as many scutcheons as they desired (J. G. Nichols, *Diary of Henry Machyn*, p. xxxi). In Machyn's *Diary* (pp 309 and 144) we read that "Master Coldwell, gentleman and lawyer," was buried "with half a dozen scocheons of buckeram," and that "Mistress Draper had two dozen." The scutcheons, which were made of metal, silk, buckram, paper royal, or pasted paper, were fastened up in the churches.

1, 2, 31, 35, 37-41.] See Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Holinshed

1-25.] CLARKE (*Sh. Characters*, 1863): It may be urged in extenuation of Worcester's conduct that he knew by experience the cold, unrelenting, and grasping disposition of Henry. With some show of prudence, therefore, he will not risk the chance of Percy's demonstrative and generous nature being touched by his sovereign's offer of reconciliation. [Lines 16-23, however, stress the purely selfish motive behind Worcester's treachery.—ED.]—AX (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol.*, 1912, p. 48): Shakespeare gives a plausible explanation of Worcester's treachery, whereas it remains unexplained in the Chronicle. Worcester's mistrust . . . would have been in place in the negotiations in Gaultree Forest in 1605 [cf. *II Henry IV*, IV, 1 and ii].

2. and] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Q₂₋₈ and Ff omit *and*, apparently for the sake of the metre, which is perfectly good with it.

3. vnder one] COWL (ed. 1914), with all other editors, adopts the reading

It is not possible, it cannot be
 The king should keepe his word in louing vs, 5
 He will suspect vs still, and find a time
 To punish this offence in other faults,
 Supposition al our liues shall be stucke full of eyes,
 For treason is but trusted like the Foxe,
 Who neuer so tame, so cherisht and lockt vp, 10
 Will haue a wilde tricke of his ancesters,

5 *should*] *would* Q₄₋₈, Ff, Rowe,
 Knt, Ktly

7 *other*] *others* Q₅₋₈, F₁F₂

8 *Supposition*] Qq, Ff, Vaughan
Suppose then Rowe i, T J (1710)
Suspicion Rowe ii, et seq. *Suppose*,
 T J (1721).

al our liues shall be] *shall be all*
 Farmer, Var '85, Ran., Steev., Var
 '03, '13, Hal ii.

stucke] *struck* Rowe i
eyes] Om. Vaughan.

9. *treason*] *reason* Q₈.

the] a Theob., Warb, Johns.

10 *neuer*] *ne're* Ff *ne'er* Rowe, et
 seq.

11 *ancesters,*] *ancesters*: Q₂₋₈. *An-*
cestors Ff, Rowe, Cap *ancestors*
 Pope, et cet

of Q₆ (see Textual Notes), but gives the following parallels to the reading of Q₁₋₄ Dekker and Webster, *Northward Ho* (Pearson, III, 25). "Your man shall bring all (money, &c) vnder one"; Brome, *A Mad Couple*, III, 1. "I'll tell you . . . all under one", Nashe, *Saffron Walden* (Grosart III, 14): "Leave them . . . outright to hang, draw, and quarter them al under one"—N. E. D. (1926): Under one In one, united, together [In all citations given to illustrate this meaning, "under one" is preceded by "both" or "all." The reading of Q₁₋₄ is, obviously, possible—ED.]

7. in other faults] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): When punishing other faults.

8] ROWE's emendation in his second edition (see Textual Notes) has been almost universally accepted, though many attempts have been made to regularize the metre of this line—ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, p. 401) cites the line as one of five pure Alexandrines in Shakespeare. Its purity, of course, depends upon the acceptance of Rowe's emendation.—PERRING (*Hard Knots in Sh.*, 1885) offers the strange suggestion that some one thought the whole line "supposititious," and indicated his suspicion by a marginal note which the printers interpreted as part of the text. He would omit the line altogether.—COWL (ed. 1914) suggests the possibility of making the line decasyllabic by omitting *all our liues* and pronouncing *Supposition* as it is pronounced in Davenant's *Cruel Brother*, 1630, V, 1: "Supposition with arguments of strength."—IBID. (*Notes on Text*, 1927, p. 18): In Jonson's *Masque of Queens*, in the line "Thy fearful sister, wild Suspicion," Suspicion is a word of four syllables.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): The image of Suspicion is exhibited in a Latin tragedy called *Roxana*, written about the same time, by Dr. Alabaster.—COWL (ed. 1914): The imagery may be traced back to Vergil, *Aeneid*, iv, 180, and *Ezekiel*, x, 12.

9-11.] GREY (*Crit. Notes*, 1754): The tricks of the fox are enumerated in Dr. Derham's *Physico-Theology*, iv, 11. The late ingenious Mr. Gay has beautifully described the nature of the fox in his 29th fable: "Think what our ances-

Looke how we can, or fad or merely, 12
 Interpretation will misquote our lookes,
 And we shall feed like oxen at a stall,
 The better cherisht still the nearer death, 15
 My nephewes trespassse may be well forgot,
 It hath the excuse of youth and heat of blood,
 And an adopted name of priueledge,
 A hair-braind Hotspur gouern'd by a spleene,
 All his offences liue vpon my head 20
 And on his fathers. We did traine him on,
 And his corruption being tane from vs,
 We as the spring of all shall pay for all . 23

12. *we*] *he* Q₄₋₈, Ff *spleene,*] *spleene:* (or *spleene*.)
merely,] *merily*, Q₂Q₄. *merrily*, Q₈, Ff, et seq
Q₃ *merrily?* Q₅. *merrily*. Q₆₋₈ 20 *liue*] *lie* Dyce II, III, Huds II,
merrily, Ff, et seq. Coll. III.
14 *a*] *Om* Q₇Q₈. 22. *being tane*] *beene tane* Q₄ *be-*
15. *death,*] *death* Q₂, et seq. *ing tane* Q₅ *being a taint* Warb.
19 *hair-*] *Qq*, Ff, Theob., Warb., (conj.).
Johns., Coll. I, II. *hare-* F₂₋₄, et cet.

tors have done; A line of thieves from son to son, To us descends the long disgrace, And infamy hath marked our race. Though we like harmless sheep should feed, Honest in thought, in word, in deed, Whatever henroost is decreas'd, We shall be thought to share the feast. The change will never be believed, A lost good name is ne'er retrieved."

11 *tricke*] COWL (ed. 1914): Often in the sense of a trait of character, as in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Maid in the Mill*, III, 1: "In you a wildness is a noble trick."

13] COWL (ed. 1914): Unfriendly critics will put an ill construction upon our looks.

18. *adopted . . . priueledge*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): The name of Hotspur will privilege him from censure.—COWL (ed. 1914): A "hotspur" was a common name for an impulsive person, but, according to the N. E. D., the word first occurs as surname to Sir Henry Percy.

19. *hair-braind*] COWL (ed. 1914): Hare-braind: rash, impulsive. . . Wilkins, *Essay towards a Real Character*, 1668, distinguishes between "hare-brained," rash, and "hair-brained," conceited.—N. E. D (1901): Hare-brained: Having no more sense than a hare. The spelling hair-brained, suggesting another origin for the compound, is later, though occasional before 1600.

spleene] SCHMIDT (1874): Any sudden impulse or fit beyond the control of reason; a fit of passion; a caprice.

22. *tane*] Warburton (ed. 1747): Perhaps, *a taint*, an infection.—HEATH (Revised, 1765, p. 254): But why should we take pains to pick holes in a sound place? The verb *take* signifies to catch by infection.

Therefore good coofen, let not Harry know
 In any cafe the offer of the King. *Enter Percy.* 25
Ver. Deliuier what you will, ile fay tis fo. Here coms 26/27
Hot My vncl is returnd, (your coofen.
 Deliuier vp my Lord of Westmerland,
 Vncl, what newes ? 30
Wor. The king will bid you battell presently.
Doug Defie him by the Lord of Westmerland.
Hot. Lord Douglas go you and tell him fo 33

25. Enter Percy] Enter Hotspur
 Q₂₋₈ Enter Hotspurre (after *coosen*,
 line 27) Ff Enter Hotspur and
 Douglas (after *coosen*, line 27) Rowe,
 +, Varr, Ran, Cam, Glo, Wh 11,
 Tud, Ard Enter Hotspur, and
 Douglas; Officers attending (after
coosen, line 27). Cap Enter Hot-
 spur, and Douglas; and Officers and
 Soldiers, behind (after *coosen*, line
 27) Mal., Steev., Varr, Sing., Knt.,
 Hal 11, Ktly. Enter Hotspur and
 Douglas, Officers and Soldiers, behind
 (after *coosen*, line 27). Coll 1, 11, et
 cet., except Coll. iii, which reads
 Enter Hotspur and Douglas, Officers
 and Soldiers following.

26, 27.] Printed as two lines, ending

so / *coosen* Ff, et seq

26 *ts*] Om Q₇Q₈.

After 27] SCENE IV Pope, Han,
 Warb., Johns.

28-30] Printed as two lines, ending
vp/newes? Cap, Varr, Ran, Mal,
 Steev., Varr, Sing, Knt., Coll.,
 Huds., Del., Dyce, Sta, Hal, Wh 1,
 Ktly., Ox

30 *newes?*] *newes.* Q₂₋₄ *newe*—
 F1.

32. Doug] Hot Cap, Ran, Mal.
 (conj), Sta (conj).

33 Hot] Om. Cap, Ran, Mal
 (conj.).

go you] *go you then* Pope, The-
 ob., Han, Warb., Johns. *do you go*
 Cap *pray you go* Ktly

29] MALONE (ed. 1790): Westmoreland was "impawned as a surety" for the safe return of Worcester; see IV, iii, 108, 109.—ELTON (ed 1889). This is said to a soldier

32.] CAPELL (ed. 1768, and *Notes*, 1779), [again followed by the faithful RANN, assigns this line to Hotspur, for the following reasons]: Hotspur, who from his station, his temper, and every consideration imaginable, must have been the *first* to take fire at his uncle's intelligence, which moreover is directed to him, is made the *second* in copies [*i.e.*, in former editions]; for this line is taken from him and given to Douglas. [Capell's implication is unfair and misleading. If this line had been assigned to Hotspur in Qq and Ff, we should indeed condemn those who have "taken it from him"; or if the line had been assigned to him in some of the Qq or Ff, we might be inclined to follow the reading of such copies; but as there is no authority for assigning it to Hotspur, and as it is appropriate to Douglas, we must rank this suggestion of Capell's among the foolish suggestions occasionally offered by him.—MALONE (ed. 1790) supports Capell in a note, but assigns the line to Douglas.—ED.]

33. Douglas] MALONE (ed. 1790): A trisyllable.—WALKER (*Sh. Vers.*, 1854, p. 7) lists this word and line under the following rule: "Words such as juggler, tickling, kindling, England, angry, children, &c., are often pronounced as though a vowel were interposed between the liquid and the preceding mute.

Doug. Marry and fhall, and very willingly *Exit Dou*
Wor. There is no feeming mercie in the king 35
Hot Did you beg any ? God forbid
Wor. I tolde him gently of our greeuances,
 Of his oath breaking, which he mended thus,
 By now forfwearing that he is forfworne,
 He cals vs rebels, traitors, and will fcourge 40
 With haughtie armes this hatefull name in vs.

Enter Douglas.

Doug. Arme gentlemen, to armes, for *I* haue throwne
 A braue defiance in king Henries teeth,
 And Westmerland that was ingag'd did beare it,
 Which cannot chuse but bring him quickly on 45
Wor. The Prince of Wales slept forth before the king,
 And nephew, chalengd you to fingle fight.
Hot O would the quarrel lay vpon our heads,
 And that no man might draw fhort breath to day
 But I and Harry Monmouth, tell me, tell me, 50

34 *and shal*] *I shall* Pope, Theob.,
 Han, Warb., Johns, Huds ii.

and very] *very* Q₂Q₈.
 Dou] *Doug.* Q₂-s. Dowglas
 Ff, +, Varr, Ran. Om Cap, Mal,
 et seq.

36. *any*] *any of him* Han, Walker
 (1860) *any, marry,* Seymour

God] *Wor. God* Walker (1860)
 37. *I tolde*] *I did not / I told*
 Vaughan

our] *your* Q₂-s

39 *now forswearing*] *new-forswear-*
 ing Walker (1860), Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
 ii.

41. *Enter*] *Qq, Ff, +, Wh. 1. Re-*
 enter Cap, et cet

42 *armes,*] *arms'* Han., Cap, et
 seq

44. *Westmerland ingag'd*] *West-*
merland, ... ingag'd, Theob., et seq
did] *doth* Cap (conj.).

34 *and shal*] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): The *and* is made *I* by the four latter moderns [see Textual Notes], an unnecessary word, destructive of harmony, and of spirit and ease likewise.—COWL (ed. 1914): "Indeed, and I shall"—an expression of eager assent; cf. Jonson, *Volpone*, V, i: "Sir, I must have a fairer answer. *Mos.* Madam! Marry, and shall!"

35. *seeming mercie*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Mercy, even in appearance.

39. *now*] WALKER (*Crit. Exam. of Text*, 1860) cites seven passages in Shakespeare, including this line, in which he thinks the printers have mistaken *new* for *now*, e.g., *Shrew*, III, ii, 55: "now repaired with knots."

forswearing . . . forsworne] COWL (ed. 1914): Denying with a false oath that he has broken his oath. "Forswear" here includes the meanings "to deny upon oath" (as in *Romeo and Juliet*, I, v, 50: "Did my heart love 'til now? Forswear it, sight.") and "to swear falsely."

44. *ingag'd*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Delivered as a hostage.

50. *Monmouth*] HUDSON (ed. 1880): Henry was so named from the town in Wales where he was born.

How fhewed his tasking ? feemd it in contempt ?

Ver. No, by my foule I neuer in my life 52
 Did heare a chalenge vrgde more modestly,
 Vnlesse a brother should a brother dare,
 To gentle exercife and prooffe of armes. 55
 He gaue you all the duties of a man,
 Trimd vp your praifes with a Princely tongue,
 Spoke your deferuings like a Chronicle,
 Making you euer better then his praife,
 By full difpraifing praife valued with you, 60

51 *tasking*] *talking* Q₂₋₈, Ff, +

60 *By you,*] Om Pope, Han,
 Warb (conj)

51 *tasking*] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779) Challenge—MALONE (ed 1790): I know not whether "tasking" is not used here for "taxing," or satirical representation. So, in *As You Like It*, II, vii, 86 "My taxing, like a wild goose, flies" "Tasking," however, is sufficiently intelligible in its more usual acceptance: we still say "he took him to task"—COWL (ed 1914). Task and tax (to accuse or censure) are metathetical forms of the same word.

56. *duties of a man*] CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p 312): Duties, used elliptically for "qualities duly belonging to."—COWL (ed. 1914). A manly observance and respect, cf. *Hamlet*, I, ii, 87: "'Tis sweet and commendable in your nature, Hamlet, To give these mourning duties to your father," i.e., dues and observances of mourning I think "of a man" refers to the prince, and not to Hotspur, the words are perhaps parallel to "with a princely tongue" in line 57, and "like a chronicle" in line 58. Minsheu defines "Dutie" as "that which by law of nature or civil respect is due to one" [Cowl's interpretation is attractive, and possible; but it is not as simple and obvious as that given by Clarke and many others—Ed]

59, 60. *Making . . . you*] THEOBALD (*Letter to Warburton*, Jan. 15, 1730) [restores line 60, omitted by Pope (see Textual Notes), and defends the restoration]: "Making you better than his praise" But how? This addition from the old copies answers the question.—WARBURTON (ed. 1747): This foolish line [60] is indeed in the folio, but it is evidently players' nonsense—HEATH (*Revised*, 1765, p. 255): Warburton ought at least to have told us how he makes sense of line 59 without line 60. It is difficult to conceive how a man can make another man better than his praise of him, unless it be by doing what the second line tells us the prince did—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Why it [line 60] should be censured as nonsense, I know not. To vilify praise, compared, or valued, with merit superior to praise, is no harsh expression. There is another objection to be made. Prince Henry, in his challenge of Percy, had indeed commended him, but with no such hyperboles as might represent him above praise, and there seems to be no reason why Vernon should magnify the prince's candour beyond the truth. Did Shakespeare then forget the foregoing scene? Or are some lines lost from the prince's speech? [Vernon is Shakespeare's mouthpiece for extolling the prince, and here is the opportunity for emphasiz-

And which became him like a prince indeed,
 He made a blushing citall of himfelfe, 62
 And chid his truant youth with fuch a grace
 As if he maffred there a double fpirit
 Of teaching and of learning instantly, 65
 There did he pause, but let me tel the world
 If he outliue the enuie of this day,
 England did neuer owe fo fweete a hope
 So much misconstrued in his wantonneffe.
Hofp Coofen I thinke thou art enamored 70
 On his follies, neuer did I heare

- | | |
|--|---|
| 61 <i>And</i>] <i>And</i> , Theob., et seq | 69 <i>misconstrued</i>] <i>misconstured</i> Q ₂ |
| 63 <i>chid</i>] <i>chide</i> F ₄ , Rowe 1 | <i>misconstred</i> Q ₆₋₈ |
| <i>with such</i>] <i>with</i> F ₂ . <i>so with</i> | 71. <i>On</i>] <i>Upon</i> Pope, +, Cap, Varr., |
| F ₃ F ₄ , Rowe. | Ran, Steev, Varr, Sing 1, Knt., |
| 64. <i>there</i>] <i>then</i> Coll. MS., Coll 11 | Huds, Dyce, Coll MS, Hal., Wh 1, |
| 65. <i>learning</i>] <i>learning</i> ; T. J. (1721). | Ktly., Coll 111 |
| <i>instantly</i>] <i>instantly</i> : Q ₂₋₈ , Ff, | <i>neuer</i>] <i>for never</i> T. J. (1721). |
| Rowe, T. J. (1710). <i>instantly</i> T. J. | <i>never, never</i> , Vaughan. |
| (1721). <i>instantly</i> Pope, et seq | |

ing Hal's magnanimity. Shakespeare does not necessarily forget the speech in the preceding scene, nor are there necessarily lines lost. The audience will remember less accurately than the author, and will retain only an impression of the prince's magnanimity in praising his rival. That impression is strengthened by Vernon's report.—ED.]—MALONE (ed. 1790): I do not suspect any omission. Our author in repeating letters and speeches of former scenes seldom attends minutely to what he has written—COWL (ed. 1914). Our ancestors strained after the most extravagant vein of compliment. Sidney writes to Stella (*Astrophel and Stella*, xxxv): "Not thou by praise, but praise in thee is raised."

62. *blushing citall*] POPE (ed. 1723): Cital: taxation—COLLINS (Var. '73, Appendix, vol. x): I rather think cital means recital. The verb is used in that sense in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, IV, i, 53; *Henry V*, V, ii, 70; *Titus Andronicus*, V, iii, 117.—ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, p. 339): Recital. [Abbott gives over fifty examples of the dropping of prefixes in similar words. Modern editors agree in defining the word as *mention* or *recital*, and find the idea of self-accusation sufficiently expressed in *blushing*.—ED.]

64. *mastred*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): Was master of.—ELTON (ed. 1889): Owned.

65. *instantly*] COLLIER (ed. 1842): At the same instant. [N. E. D. gives no such definition.—COWL (ed. 1914) is probably correct in defining it as diligently, earnestly, urgently; cf. *Luke*, vii, 4: "They besought him instantly."]

67. *enuie of this day*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): The hostile malice to which he will be exposed today.

68. *owe*] SINGER (ed. 1826): Own.

Of any prince so wilde a libertie, 72
 But be he as he will, yet once ere night
 I will imbrace him with a fouldiours arme,
 That he shall shrinke vnder my curtesie, 75
 Arme, arme with speed, and fellowes, foldiours, friends,

72 *prince*] *prince*, Theob., Warb.,
 Johns., Varr., Ran., Mal., Steev.,
 Varr., Sing., Sta., Hal.

wilde] *wild*, Theob., Warb.,
 Johns., Varr., Ran., Mal., Steev.,
 Varr., Hal.

a libertie] *a Liberty* Pope at
libertie Q₁-8, Ff., Rowe, Theob.,
 Warb., Johns., Varr., Ran., Mal.,
 Steev., Varr., Knt., Del., Hal.,
 Vaughan in *liberty* Han. *a liber-*

tine Cap., Var. '78 (conj.), Sta., Cam.,
 Glo., Dyce II, III, Elton (1889), Ox.,
 Ard. of *liberty* Coll. MS. *o'liberty*
 Coll., Huds., Sing. II, Dyce I

73. *will, yet*] *will yet*, Theob. I

75 *curtesie*,] *courtesie* Q₁, et seq.

76. *fellowes, soldiours*,] *fellow's soul-*
diers, Q₅ *fellowes Souldiers*, Q₆.
fellow Souldiers, Q₇Q₈, Thirlby MS.

friends,] *Friend*, Rowe I
friends, (turning to the Officers Cap.

69. in his wantonnesse] COWL (ed. 1914): In respect to, or as a consequence of, the levity of his behaviour.

71 On] STEEVENS (ed. 1793) Mr Pope introduced the syllable necessary to metre [see Textual Notes]. Mr. Malone tells us, however, that *hear* is used as a dissyllable.

72. *prince . . . libertie*] THEOBALD (ed. 1733): *a Liberty*. Thus Mr. Pope has given it us in both his editions, as if a liberty could mean a libertine. Whether chance or purpose be the source of this reading is not easy to determine: for besides that this gentleman's indolence is so singular, his vein of criticism is so extravagant, that, like our author's fools, he is seldom or never called to account for his rhetorick. I have restored the reading of the old copies [But not of the oldest (see Textual Notes) which is here followed by the "indolent" Mr. Pope. Theobald did not know Q₁, but that he did know Q₂ is shown by his note on I, II, 40, *old lad of the castle*. He, however, chose to ignore that "old copy" in his attack, here, on Pope.—ED.] The meaning is that a prince of so wild and licentious a behaviour should not be suffered at liberty for fear of doing mischief.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): "I never heard of any prince that played such tricks and was not confined as a madman."—STEEVENS (ed. 1793): The oldest reading may be the true one, for in *The Comedy of Errors*, I, II, 101, the same phraseology occurs: "prating mountebanks, And many suchlike liberties of sin."—MALONE (Var. ed. 1821): I doubt whether the passage quoted from *The Comedy of Errors* has the meaning assigned to it by Mr. Steevens.—SINGER (ed. 1826): "So wild at liberty" may mean "so wild and licentious in his conduct." I much incline to "so wild a libertine."—KNIGHT (ed. 1839): So wild of his own unrestrained will.—WHITE (ed. 1859): Never did I hear so wild a liberty reported of any prince.—HUDSON (ed. 1880): "So wild o'liberty" plainly means, using his freedom so wantonly. [That *libertie* was a misprint for *libertine* in Q₁, seems to be the best opinion, although White's ingenious interpretation makes good sense out of the reading of Q₁.—ED.]

76-101.] See Appendix: Sources of the Plot; Holinshed, III, 24.

Better confider what you haue to do 77
 Then I that haue not wel the gift of tongue
 Can lift your blood vp with perfuafion

Enter a Meſſenger.

Meſ My Lord, here are letters for you. 80

Hol. I cannot read them now,
 O Gentlemen the time of life is ſhort,
 To ſpend that ſhortnes baſely were too long
 If life did ride vpon a dialls point,
 Still ending at the arriuall of an houre, 85

78 <i>Then</i>] <i>That</i> Q ₃₋₈ , F ₁ . <i>Than</i>	81 <i>cannot</i>] <i>can't</i> Walker (1860).
F ₂ F ₄ , et seq	83. <i>were</i>] <i>'twere</i> Han, Cap
79. <i>with</i>] by Cap.	<i>long</i>] <i>long</i> , Q ₂ Q ₃ , Pope, et seq
After 79.] SCENE V Pope, Han,	<i>long</i> Q ₅₋₈ <i>long</i> Q ₄ , Ff, Rowe.
Warb, Johns	84 <i>If</i>] <i>Tho'</i> Rowe, +.
80 Printed as two lines, ending	85 <i>ending</i>] <i>ended</i> Q ₇ Q ₈ .
<i>Lord</i> / <i>you</i> Cap, Dyce II, III	<i>houre</i> ,] <i>hour</i> Rowe, et seq.
<i>here are</i>] <i>here's</i> Walker (1860)	After 85] A line lost. Ktly (conj.).

77-79] HUDSON (ed. 1880): A strange shaping of language it may be translated thus. "You can better kindle your spirits by thinking . . . than my small power of speech can heat your courage"—ELTON (ed. 1889). Two constructions in the rapid speech are mixed. (1) "You can better consider . . . than I can lift." (2) "Better consider' . . . I cannot lift" Shakespeare, like Thucydides, does not so much break through grammar, as live before it.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897) Hotspur professes not talking, and Shakespeare has made his language characteristically incoherent, though his general meaning is clear. It is better, he would say, for you to consider what you have to do, than for me, who am no orator, to attempt to excite you by words

80-101.] AX (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol.*, 1912, p. 49): Hotspur's speech is a paraphrase of an harangue reported by Holinshed (III, 24), which, however, does not breathe the manly ardour found in the play. The war-cry [line 97] Shakespeare found likewise in his authority, but the arrival of letters just before the battle seems to be an invention of his own.

82, 83.] COWL (ed. 1914): Perhaps a reminiscence of a passage in Seneca, *De Brevitate Vitae*, cap. i. . . . Shakespeare may, however, have been directly indebted to Lyly, *Euphues* (Arber ed., p. 152): "we have not as Seneca saith little time to live, but we leese muche, neither have we a short life, by Nature, but we make it shorter by naughtynesse; our life is long if we know how to vse it."

83-85] HUDSON (ed. 1880): Meaning that if life were vastly shorter than it is,—if it were measured by an hour,—it were still too long to be spent basely.

84. *dialls point*] COWL (ed. 1914): The hand or needle of a clock or sundial.

85. *Still*] Always.

And if we liue we liue to tread on kings,
 If die, braue death when princes die with vs, 87
 Now for our consciences, the armes are faire
 When the intent of bearing them is iust *Enter another.*
Mef. My Lord, prepare, the king comes on a pace 90
Hot I thanke him that he cuts me from my tale,
 For I professe not talking onely this,
 Let each man do his best, and here draw I a sword,
 Whose temper I intend to staine
 With the best bloud that I can meet withall 95
 In the aduenture of this perillous day,
 Now esperance Percy and fet on,
 Sound all the loftie instruments of war,
 And by that Musicke let vs all embrace,
 For heauen to earth some of vs neuer shall 100

86 *And*] Qq, Ff, +, Knt iii
an Cap, et cet.

88 *consciencences*] *conscience* Mal.,
 Steev, Var '03, '13, Hal. ii.
are] *is* Qs-s, Ff

89. *of*] *for* Qs-s, Ff, +, Varr.,
 Ran, Knt.

another.] *another* Messenger.
 Ff, et seq.

92 *talking*] *talking*, Qs-s *talking*.
 (or *talking*.) Ff, et seq.

this.] *this*—Cap., et seq.

93. *here*] *heare* Qs.
draw I] *I draw* Ff, Rowe, Knt.,

Sing ii, Ktly
a] *my* F4, Rowe

a sword] Printed at beginning
 of line 94 Pope, et seq., except Knt.
 and Sing. ii

94. *temper*] *worthy temper* Ff, Rowe,
 Knt, Sing. ii, Wh i

95. *withall*] *withall*, Qs-s, Ff, +.
withal Cap, et cet

96 *day.*] *day* Qs, et seq.

97. *esperance*] Qq, Ff *Esperance*,
 Rowe *Esperances*, T. J. *Espe-*
ranza! Theob *Esperance*! Knt., Ktly
Esperance! Pope, et cet

Percy] *Percy*! Theob, et seq.
a Percy! Wright (conj, Cam ii).

and] *and so* Han

100. *For earth*] *'Fore heaven and*
earth! Coll. MS. *For here on earth*
 Sing. ii, Kinnear (1883)

88. *for our consciences*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): As regards our consciences.

89. *intent of bearing*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Object for which we bear

97.] See Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Holinshed — POPE (ed. 1723):
Esperance, the word of battle on Percy's side.—PERCY (Var. ed. 1773): *Es-*
perance, or *Esperanza*, has always been the motto of the Percy family. . .
 "Esperance ma Comforte" is still legible over the great gate at Alnwick.—
 CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): *Esperance* must be made of four syllables, *more Gallico*.

100. *For . . . earth*] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): "One might wager heaven to
 earth."—SINGER (*N. & Q.*, May 15, 1852): This could hardly be tortured to fit
 Warburton's paraphrase, a strange thought to enter Hotspur's mind at such
 a time. The context requires "here on earth." [Warburton's interpretation
 has for once, however, satisfied most of his successors, and is generally accepted

A second time do such a courtesie.

101

Here they embrace, the trumpets sound, the king enters with his power, alarme to the battel, then enter Douglas, and fir Walter Blunt.

After 101. Here] Om. Ff, et seq.
they sound,] They embrace,
then exeunt. The Trumpets
sound, Rowe, Theob. They embrace,
then exeunt. The Trumpets
sound SCENE VI Pope, Warb,
Johns. The Trumpets sound. They
embrace, then exeunt SCENE VI.
Han Flourish of Trumpets, &c
They embrace, and Exeunt. SCENE
III Cap, Sta. They embrace, then
exeunt The Trumpets sound SCENE
III Var '73 The Trumpets sound
They embrace, then exeunt. SCENE
III. Plain near Shrewsbury Var.
'78, '85, Ran The trumpets sound
They embrace, and exeunt SCENE
III. Plain near Shrewsbury. Mal,
Steev., Varr, Sing., Knt, Coll., Huds.
1, Del, Dyce, Hal. 1, Wh 1 The
Trumpets sound They embrace,
and exeunt. SCENE III. Plain between
the camps. Cam., Glo., Hal 11,
Ktly, Huds. 11, Wh. 11, Ard They
embrace and exeunt. SCENE III

Plain between the Camps. The
Trumpets sound Tud The Trumpets
sound They embrace and
exeunt. SCENE III—Between the
Camps Ox

the king then] Alarums, as
of a Battle join'd Excursions,
and Parties fighting Cap. Excursions,
and Parties fighting Alarum
to the battle. Then Mal, Steev,
Varr., Sing, Knt., Coll, Huds, Del.,
Dyce, Sta., Hal, Wh. 1, Ktly, Ox.

enters] entereth F₁F₂, Johns.,
Var. '73, '78. entreth F₃F₄, Rowe,
Pope, Theob, Han 1, Warb., Var.
'85.

power,] power, and passes over
Wh. 11, Tud.

to] vnto Ff, Rowe 1
sir Walter Blunt.] Blunt,
meeting. Cap, Mal., Steev, Varr.,
Sing, Knt, Coll, Huds 1, Del.,
Dyce, Sta, Hal, Wh. 1, Ktly. Blunt.
Var. '78, '85.

today—ED.]—DYCE (*A Few Notes*, 1853): "Fore heaven" [see Textual Notes] is a sort of petty oath which belongs to familiar discourse, and is therefore altogether at variance with the solemn tone of the present scene. . . . "For" seems indispensable to introduce the reason why they should all embrace on this occasion.—COLLIER (ed. 1858): We do not change the old text for we think that Mr. Dyce's objection . . . ought to have weight. Mr. Dyce does not tell what he prefers.—DYCE (*Strictures on Collier's Ed*, 1859): I never supposed that anyone could doubt my approval of the old reading and of Warburton's explanation:—as to Mr. Singer's conjecture, it is about as bad as that of the MS. Corrector.

[Scene III.]

Blunt. What is thy name that in battell thus thou 1
What honour dost thou feeke vpon my head? (croffest me,

Doug. Know then my name is Douglas,
And I do haunt thee in the battell thus
Because some tell me that thou art a king. 5

Blunt. They tell thee true.

Doug. The Lord of Stafford deare to day hath bought

SCENE III] Cap., et seq Om Qq,
Ff, Rowe, Theob. SCENE VI Pope,
Han., Warb., Johns. [See note on
V, 11, After 101.]

1, 2] Printed as two and one-half
lines, ending *thus / seeke / head* Han.,
Cap., Varr., Ran., Mal, Steev., Varr.,
Sing., Knt. 1, 111, Coll., et seq

1 *in battell thus*] *thus in battle* Pope,
Theob., Warb., Johns *in the battle*
thus T. J., Han., Cap., Varr., Ran.,

Mal, Steev, Varr, Sing, Knt 1, 111,
Coll 1, 111, Huds, Dyce, Sta, Hal,
Wh, Cam, Glo, Ktily, Tud., Ox,
Ard

thou crossest] *Dost cross* Han.

2 *What*] *and what* Han.

4 *I*] Om. F₂F₄

6. *They. true*] *Douglas, they tell*
thee true, for so I am Seymour

7. *Stafford*] *Stafford Q₂*
deare] *deere Q₂, F₁. heere F₂₋₄.*

Scenes 111-v] See Appendix: Sources of the Plot. Holinshed.

1-29] Ax (*Rel of Sh to Hol*, 1912, p. 50) For the account of this battle, Holinshed has recourse to Hall and Walsingham, whose statements he does not combine, but quotes separately; this circumstance renders the comparison of the play with the *Chronicle* a little difficult. The statement in the play (cf. V, iii, 7-9 with V, iv, 40, 41) that Douglas slew Sir Walter Blunt and three others appparelled like the king, agrees with Holinshed. But in neither account does the chronicler include among them the Earl of Stafford, whom Shakespeare reports to have been the first victim of that generous disguise Holinshed names him among the dead. The quotation from Walsingham in our chronicle represents Blunt as the king's standard-bearer, and runs thus: "They gave a violent onset on them that stood about the king's standard, and slaying his standard-bearer, Sir Walter Blunt, and overthrowing the standard, they made slaughter of all that stood about it." If this passage is to be taken literally, that is . . . if standard-bearer was not merely a title of honour, Blunt was not clothed in the king's suit. . . . On the other hand, Hall, in Holinshed, III, 26, says: "Douglas slew at that instant Sir Walter Blunt, and three other, appparelled in the king's suit and clothing," and the office of standard-bearer is not given to him here. Shakespeare seems to have made use of this second statement, which he may have understood to mean that Blunt, too, wore the king's clothing. But we are not sure that the passage must be interpreted this way, or whether "appparelled" refers only to the three others and not to Blunt at all.

7. *Stafford*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Edmund, fifth Earl of Stafford, . . . married Ann Plantagenet, daughter to Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester,

Thy likenesse, for in steed of thee king Harry 8
 This sword hath ended him, so shall it thee
 Vnlesse thou yeeld thee as my prifoner. 10

Blunt I was not borne a yeelder thou proud Scot,
 And thou shalt find a king that will reuenge
 Lord Staffords death.

They fight, Douglas kils Blunt, then enter Hotspur.

Hot O Douglas hadst thou fought at Holmedon thus
 I neuer had triumpht vpon a Scot. 15

Doug. Als done, als won here, breathles lies the king.

8 *in steed*] *in stead* Q₂₋₇ *insted* Glo, Wh 11, Tud, Ard Blunt is
 F₁ *instead* F₂ *instead* Q₈, F₃, et seq slaine, Ff, +, Var. '78, '85, Coll iii
 10. *Vnlesse*] *Velesse* Q₅ and Blunt is slaine Cap, et cet
 my] a Q₅₋₈, Ff, Rowe, Knt then enter] then enters Q₄₋₈,
 11 *a yeelder*] *to yeeld* Q₅₋₈, Ff, Ff, Rowe Enter Cap., Var '78,
 Rowe, Pope, Theob, Han, Warb., et seq
 Johns., Ran, Knt., Wh 14 *Holmedon*] *Holmsdon* Q₇Q₈
proud] *haughty* Ff, Rowe, Pope, 15. *triumpht vpon*] *triumpht ouer*
 Theob, Han, Warb, Johns, Ran, Q₃₋₈, Var '73, Knt 1, 11, 1v *tri-*
 Knt, Wh *umphed o're* Ff, +, Sta, Wh 1, Huds
Scot] *Sot* Q₅. 11 *triumph'd o'er* Ran.
 13. *Lord*] *Lords* F₁. 16 *won here*,] *won: here* (or *won,*
 After 13. *They*] *Om* Ff, +, Cap., *here*) Q₂Q₃, Cap, et seq *won, here*
 Varr., Ran. Q₄₋₈, Ff, +.
 Douglas kils Blunt] Qq, Cam,

by Eleanor, daughter to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford His wife was therefore the king's first cousin on the father's side, and first cousin to the Prince of Wales on the mother's Being thus closely connected with the royal family by marriage, he was naturally found on the king's side at Shrewsbury, leading the van, and according to Holinshed had been made constable of the realm on the morning of the battle. Hall reckons him among the slain on Hotspur's party (*Chron*, ed 1809, p 31)

11. a . . . proud] WHITE (ed. 1859). The text of the folio is preferable for its rhythm, its euphony (in avoiding "thou proud"), and its thought, aside from its authority —DYCE (ed. 1864): But "thou proud" occurs elsewhere in Shakespeare [White is the only editor or critic who raises his voice in defence of the folio reading of this line, which, since Malone (see Appendix: The Text: Malone), has been generally cited as perhaps the most conspicuous example in the play of the process of textual deterioration from Q₁ to F₁. The compositor of Q₅ was careless in setting up this line: he not only substituted *Sot* for *Scot*, but made the more significant error of substituting *to yeeld* for *a yeelder*, thus injuring the rhythm of the line. The editors of F₁, who used Q₅ as printer's copy, apparently attempted to correct this metrical imperfection by substituting *haughty* for *proud*.—ED.]

15. *triumpht vpon*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): *Triumph'd* has the accent on the second syllable, as in V, iv, 14.—COWL (ed. 1914): "Triumph on" or "upon" occurs frequently in Shakespeare; "triumph over" only twice.

Hot Where? *Doug.* Here.

17/18

Hot This Douglas? no, I know this face full well,
A gallant knight he was, his name was Blunt, 20
Semblably furnisht like the king himselfe

Doug Ah foole, goe with thy foule whither it goes,
A borrowed title hast thou bought too deare
Why didst thou tell me that thou wert a king?

Hot The king hath many marching in his coates 25

19 *This Douglas?*] *This, Douglas?* *whither*] *whether* F₁ *where'er*
Q₂-5, F₄, et seq Thirlby MS, Cap, Ritson (1783),
this face] *his face* Theob, Coll MS, Coll 11, Huds 11
Warb, Johns, Var '73 *goes*] *goes'* (to the Body Cap
22 *Ah foole*] Qq *Ah foole: Ff* 23 *borrowed*] Qq, Ff, Cam, Tud
Ah' fool Rowe, +. *Ah' 'fool'* *borrow'd* Rowe, et cet
Vaughan, Tud *A fool* Cap, et cet 25. *marching*] *masking* Coll MS,
thy] *my* Walker (1860) Coll 11, 111, Dyce, Wh 11.

21 *Semblably*] STEEVENS (Var ed 1778). In resemblance, alike This occurs in *The Devil's Charter*, 1607 "So semblably doth he with terror strike" Again, in Jonson's *The Case is Altered*, 1609. "Semblably prisoner to your general" Again, in the 22nd song of Drayton's *Polyolbion*. "The next, Sir Walter Blunt, he with three others slew, All armed like the king"

22 *Ah*] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): The nonsense of the reading . . . stands confessed . . . The suitableness of what we have now [see Capell's emendation in Textual Notes] will hardly be questioned, and is further recommended by the great ease of the change that has helped us to it—STEEVENS (Var ed 1778) adopted Capell's reading as given in his edition of 1768, without attributing it to him, and commented: I have ventured to omit a single letter, as well as to change the punctuation, on the authority of the following passage in *The Merchant of Venice*, II, ix, 75 "With one fool's head I came to woo, But I go away with two" Again, more appositely, in *Promos and Cassandra*, 1578. "Go, and a knave go with thee."—COWL (ed. 1914). For a similar confusion of *Ah* with *A*, cf *Romeo and Juliet*, I, 1, 201: "Ah, word ill urg'd to one that is so ill," where *Ah* is the reading of Q₁, and *A* of Q₂ and Ff. As emended by Capell, the expression is quasi-proverbial . . . See Middleton, *The Widow*, V, i. "Hang thyself when thou wilt. a slave go with thee!"; Heywood, *Rape of Lucrece* (Pearson, v, 229). "Got thee to thy tent, and a coward go with thee!"

whither] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): *Whither* gives us barely a meaning, but no convenient one certainly.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778). To whatever place. So in II, iii, 101.

25. *marching*] DYCE (*A Few Notes*, 1853): Surely the MS. Corrector [see Textual Notes] was right in substituting *masking* for *marching*. In *Tamburlaine*, Pt. I, V, ii, a line used to stand thus: "And march in cottages of strewed reeds," until I altered *march* to *mask*.—SINGER (ed. 1856): Mr. Collier's Corrector gives a very plausible, but perhaps unnecessary, conjecture.

coates] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): It was the custom for knights to wear over their armour a sleeveless surcoat with their heraldic bearings.

Doug. Now by my sword I will kill al his coates.
 Ile murder all his wardrop, peece by peece 27
 Vntill I meete the king. *Hot.* Vp and away,
 Our souldiers stand full fairely for the day.

Alarme, Enter Falstaffe solus.

Falst Though I could scape shot-free at London, I 30
 feare the shot here, heres no skoring but vpon the pate
 Soft, who are you? fir Walter Blunt, theres honour for
 you, heres no vanitie, I am as hot as molten lead, & as
 heaue too God keepe leade out of me, I need no more 34

27 *wardrop*] *wardrobe* Q₂Q₃, Ff, et
 seq *wardrobe* Q₄-7.

After 29] Exeunt Ff, et seq

Alarme] *Alarum*, and Ff,
 Rowe. SCENE VII *Alarm*, Pope, Han,
 Warb., Johns. Other *Alarums*. Cap.,
 Varr., Ran., Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing.,
 Knt., Sta., Hal., Ktly. *Alarums*
 Coll., Huds., Del., Dyce, Hal. 1,
 Wh. 1, Ox *Alarum*. Cam., Glo., Wh.
 ii, Tud., Ard.

solus] Qq, Ff, +, Cam., Glo.,
 Wh ii, Tud., Ard. Om. Cap, et cet

32. *are you*] Qq, Ff, Knt, Sing. ii,
 Dyce, Hal 1, Cam., Glo., Ktly., Huds.

ii, Coll iii, Wh. 11, Tud., Ard. *art*
thou F₂-4, et cet.

Blunt,] Qq, Ff, Rowe i, T J.
Blunt? Rowe ii, + *Blunt!*— Sta.
Blunt. Cam., Huds 11, Wh. 11.
Blunt,— Cap, et cet

33 *heres no*] *there's* Han.

vanitie,] Q₁Q₄-6, Ff, Rowe
vanity Q₇Q₈. *vanity!* Varr., Ran.,
 Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt,
 Huds., Dyce, Sta., Hal., Cam., et seq.
vanity. Q₂Q₃, Pope, et cet.

34. *God*] *heauen* Ff, +, Varr., Ran.,
 Knt

30, 31. *shot-free . . . shot*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): A play upon the word *shot*, as it means the part of a reckoning, and a missive weapon discharged from artillery.

31. *skoring . . . pate*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Cf. *Comedy of Errors*, I, ii, 65: "For she will score your fault upon my pate."—COWL (ed. 1914): "Scoring" carries on the quibble of "shot," as in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Scornful Lady*, II, iii: "You have no calling for drink there, but with a cannon, nor no scoring but upon your ships' sides." [For the custom of scoring charges to guests in a tavern, cf. II, iv, 25: "skore a pint of bastard, &c."—ED.]

33. *no*] Warburton (ed. 1747): In our author's time, the negative, in common speech, was used to design, ironically, the excess of a thing. . . . But the Oxford editor [Hanmer, see Textual Notes], not apprehending this, has altered it.—EDWARDS (*Canons of Crit.*, 1748): Profound critic! As if it were not in all times so used! But no matter for that; the note is contrived so as to make a careless reader believe that the editor is particularly well versed in the phraseology of the author's time.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): I am in doubt whether this [Warburton's] interpretation, though ingenious and well supported, is true. The words may mean, Here is real honour, no vanity, no empty appearance.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): I believe Dr. Warburton is right: the same ironical kind of expression occurs in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Mad Lover*: "Here's no villany!" . . . and in *The Taming of the Shrew*: "Here's no knavery!"

weight then mine owne bowels. I haue led my rag of
Muffins where they are pepperd, theres not three of my 36
150 left aliuie, and they are for the townes ende, to beg
during life but who comes here? *Enter the Prince.*

Prin. What, stands thou idle here? lend me thy fword,
Many a noble man lies starke and stiffe, 40
Vnder the hoofes of vaunting enemies,

35, 36. *rag of Muffins*] *rag of Muffians*
Q₆₋₈, F₃F₄ *Rag-o-Muffians* Rowe,
Pope, Theob., Han 1, Warb., Johns
ragamuffins Cap., Han 11, et seq.

36. *not*] *but* Cap. (conj.), Ran,
Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., Coll. 11,
Sta., Hal., Wh. 1, Dyce 11, 111. *not but*
Ktly.

37. 150] *hundred and fiftie* Rowe,
et seq.

are] Om. Ff, Rowe

38. the Prince] Q₁₋₆, F₁F₂, Cap.,
Cam., et seq. Prince Q₇Q₈, F₃F₄.
Prince Henry Rowe, et cet The
Prince, with his sword broken Kem-
ble

39. *What,*] *What* Q₁₋₈, F₃F₄, Rowe
1, Mal.

stands] *standst* Q₂, et seq.

40. *noble man*] *Nobleman* F₁F₂,
Cap., Han 11, et seq.

lies] *likes* F₁

35, 36. I . . . Muffins] COWL (ed 1914): If we are to take Falstaff's statements at their face value [and there is no reason for not doing so here, inasmuch as he is talking to himself and is not attempting to deceive anyone—ED.], the cynical bravado of this is of a piece with his "I have misused the king's press damnably" (IV, ii, 12). "The new discipline," writes Sir John Smythe (*Certain Discourses Militarie*, 1590), "of some of our men of war in the Low Countries hath been to send and employ their men into many dangerous . . . exploits . . . as though they desired and hoped to have more gain and profit by the dead pays of their soldiers slain." Digges (*Four Paradoxes*, 1604) censures those captains and colonels who bravely "lead their men even to the place of butchery, and then . . . take their leave (under pretence to fetch supplies)." See also T. Powell, *Tom of all Trades* (pr 1631): "The sea-captain is exposed to as much danger during the whole fight as the poorest man in the ship, where the land-captain useth but to offer his men to the face of the enemy, and then retreateth."

rag of Muffins] COWL (ed. 1914): Ragamuffins. The word is from Ragamoffyn, the name of a devil whose "bel-syre" was Belial. See *Piers Plowman*, C, xxi, 283.

36. *not*] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): What cloud it was that sat upon the editor's mind when this sentence was under considering, he knows not; but a cloud there was, otherwise he had never been led by authority to keep the "not," when hardly light is more striking than that "not" should be "but."—BOSWELL (Var. ed. 1821): I see no objection to the old reading. Why might not Falstaff's ragamuffins have been reduced to two? [See note on IV, ii, 39, *not*.—ED.]

37. *townes ende*] COWL (ed. 1914): A favorite resort of beggars. See Heywood, *The Royal King* (Pearson, vi, 60) where the clown bids two indigent servingmen betake themselves to the town's end and beg.

whose deaths are yet vnreuengd, I preethe lend mee thy 42
sword.

Falst O Hal, I preethe giue me leaue to breath a while,
Turke Gregorie neuer did fuch deeds in armes as I haue 45
don this day, I haue paid Percy, I haue made him fure.

Prin He is indeed, and liuing to kill thee 47

42, 43 *whose sword*] *Whose deaths*
as yet are unreueng'd I *prithe* /
Lend me thy sword. Dyce II, III, Huds.
II.

42. *yet*] Qq, Coll, Cam, Glo, Ktly,
Wh II, Tud, Ard *as yet* Dyce II,
III, Huds II Om. Ff, et cet.

I preethe] *Prethy* F₁F₂ *Prethee*
F₃F₄ *Prithe* Rowe Om. Pope, +,
Cap, Varr., Ran *Pr'ythee* (or
prithe) Mal, Steev., Var '03, '13,
Sing, Knt, Huds I, Del, Sta, Wh I,
Hal. II, Ktly.

mee] Om. Steev., Var. '03, '13,

Hal. II.

44-53] Printed as verse, twelve
lines, ending *Hal / while / armes /*
day / sure / thee / sword / Hal /
gets not / wilt / case / Hal / Cite Cap.
As verse, ten lines, ending *while /*
armes / Percy / sure / thee / sword /
ahue / wilt / Hal / Cite Ktly.

44. *breath*] *breathe* Q₂Q₃Q₆-8, F₄,
Pope, et seq (except Cap.).

46 *sure*] *sure, Percy's safe enough*
Johns (conj)

47, 48] Printed as prose. Cam,
Wh. II, Tud., Ard.

45. *Turke Gregorie*] THEOBALD (*Letter to Warburton*, Jan. 15, 1730):
Who can Falstaff mean? Does he humorously raise a fictitious hero? I think
he means Pope Gregory, who made some stir in military achievements.—IBID.
(ed 1733) quotes Warburton's reply: Our author must mean Pope Hildebrand,
who assumed the name of Gregory VII Fox, in his *Booke of Martyrs*, tells
terrible stories of this Hildebrand. But the reason of giving him the
epithet Turk was on account of that infamous penance he enjoined on the
Emperor Henry IV Fox had made this Gregory so odious that I don't
doubt that good protestants were well pleased to hear his tyranny publicly re-
marked on, and [WARBURTON (ed 1747)] to hear him characterized as uniting
the attributes of their two great enemies, the Turk and the Pope, in one.—
COWL (ed 1914): The Turk was reputed fierce and cruel; and Hildebrand, if
protestant writers are to be believed, merited this epithet Bailey's *Dict.*
(*Canting Words*) has: "Turk: any cruel, hard-hearted man." . . . As Hilde-
brand was not distinguished in arms, Falstaff may allude to some incident in
his career like that so piquantly related by Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (ed.
1641, I, 218): [Pope Alexander] perceived the frauds of Hildebrand, . . . which,
when Hildebrand heard, he was stricken with such a fury that scarcely could
he keep his hands off him while Mass was done. After the Mass was fin-
ished . . . he had him into a chamber, and there all to be pummelled the Pope
with his fists."

46. *made him sure*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): "Sure" has two significa-
tions: *certainly disposed of* and *safe*. Falstaff uses it in the former sense; the
prince replies to it [line 47] in the latter.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Cf. *Pericles*, I,
i, 169: "If I can get him within my pistol's length, I'll make him sure enough."

I preethe lend me thy fword

Fal. Nay before God Hal, if Percy be aliue thou gets
not my fword, but take my pistoll if thou wilt 50

Prin Giue it me, what ? is it in the case ?

Falst I Hal, tis hot, tis hot, theres that will facke a
Citie

The Prince drawes it out, and finds it to be a bottle of Sacke.

Prin What is it a time to iest and dally now ?

He throwes the bottle at him Exit.

Falst Well if Percy be aliue, ile pierce him ; if hee doe 55

48 I sword] *Lend me thy sword, I*
pruthee Var '03, '13, Hal u.

lend now, *lend* Cap

49. *before God Hal,*] Hal, Ff, +,
Varr, Ran, Knt *Hal* 'Fore God
Cap.

gets] *getst* Q₂, et seq.

51 *is it*] *is't* Cap

52 *I*] *Ay* Pope, et seq

Hal,] *Hal* (offering the Case to
him. Cap

tis hot, tis hot,] *tis hot* Q₂-s, Ff,
+.

After 53 The Prince Sacke] Q₁-4,
Cam, Glo, Wh. u, Tud, Ard The
Prince drawes it out, and findes it a
bottle of Sacke Q₂-s, Johns, Var '73.
Prince opens, and draws out a Bottle
of Sack Cap The Prince drawes

out a Bottle of Sacke Ff, et cet

54 *What*] Q₁Q₇Q₈ *What?* Q₂Q₄.

What' Coll, Huds 1, Del, Wh 1.

What, Q₂Q₅Q₆, Ff, et cet

is it] *is't* Han, Steev, Varr,

Sing 1, Knt 1, u, Coll, Huds, Del,

Wh 1, Dyce u, iii, Hal u, Ox.

After 54 He throwes Exit] Qq,

Cam, Glo, Wh u, Tud, Ard. Exit.

Throwes it at him. Ff Throws it at

him, and Exit Rowe, et cet

55 *Well*] Om. Q₂-s, Ff, +, Cap,
Varr, Ran, Knt.

aliue,] *alve* F₂-4, Rowe 1.

ile] *he'll* Han., Warb

him;] Q₁, Rowe, Pope, Theob.,

Han, Warb *him*, Q₂-s, Knt *him*

Ff. *him* Johns, et cet.

50-52. pistoll . . . sacke] STEEVENS (Var ed 1778): The same comic circumstance occurs in the ancient *Interlude of Nature*, written long before the time of Shakespeare "Glottony: We shall have warfare, it is told me *Man* Yea, where is thy Harness? *Glottony* Marry, here is harness enow. *Wrath* Hast thou no other harness but this? *Glottony* What the devil harness should I miss, Without it be a bottle? Another bottle will I go purvey."—GRAY (*Sh's Conception of Humour*, 1917): The triumph of worldly wisdom over heroic patriotism is approved and applauded in G. B. Shaw's *Arms and the Man* . . . Falstaff has a bottle for a pistol, Bluntschli has chocolate. "I've no ammunition," he says, "what use are cartridges in battle? I always carry chocolate. . . . You can always tell an old soldier by the inside of his cartridge box. The young ones carry pistols and cartridges; the old ones, grub."—W. J. LAWRENCE (*Gent. Mag.*, 1906): There were various shapes of leathern drinking-vessels. The most interesting was that of the dagger or horse-pistol, . . . a rude representation of a 16th century pistol. It was evidently a leather pistol of this kind which Falstaff carried.—STOLL (*Sh. Stud.*, 1927, p. 434, note): But that would spoil the point: the audience must be made to see for themselves that a pistol it is not.

come in my way fo, if he doe not, if *I* come in his willingly,
 let him make a Carbonado of me. I like not such grinning 57
 honour as fir Walter hath, giue me life, which if I can
 faue, fo · if not, honor comes vnlookt for, and theres an
 end. 60

56 way so,] way so, Q₂₋₄. way, 57. me] me, F₂₋₄, Rowe i me;
 so Q₂₋₈, Ff, et seq T J.
 After 60] Exit Ff, et seq

52. sacke] JOHNSON (ed. 1765). A quibble.

55 Percy . . . pierce] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): I take the conceit to be this To pierce a vessel is to tap it Falstaff takes up his bottle, which the prince had tossed at his head, and being about to animate himself with a draught, cries: "If Percy be alive, I'll pierce him," and so draws the cork. I do not propose this with much confidence—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778). Ben Jonson has the same quibble in *The New Inn*, III. "Sir Pierce will pierce a new hogshead" I believe Falstaff made this boast that the prince might hear him, and continued the rest of the speech in a lower accent, or when the prince was out of hearing. Shakespeare has the same play on words in *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, ii, 79. ["Master Parson, quasi pers-on. An if one should be pierced"]—HOLT WRIGHT (Steevens ed., 1793): Shakespeare was not aware that he here ridiculed the serious etymology of the Scottish historian, Skinner: "Piercy, a penetrando"—HUNTER (*New Illust. of Sh*, 1845): Percy was pronounced Piercy. Cf. John Davies's *Humour's Heaven*, 1605, dedicated to Algernon Lord Percy: "A perfect Pierce-eye, that in darkness cheers, A Pierce-eye, or a Piercing eye, doeth show."—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): In Milton, *L'Allegro*, 138, "pierce" rhymes with "verse."—COWL (ed. 1914): See Capgrave, *Chron. of Eng* (ed. Hingeston, p. 279): "And Herri Percy, aftir the propirte of his name, pierced in so far that he was dead." "Pierce" rhymes with "reherce" in *Richard II*, V, iii, 127.

He] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): Certainly "he'll," i.e., Prince Henry will, who is just gone out to seek him. "I'll" pierce him contradicts the whole humour of the speech. [Warburton's own lack of humour, and lack of understanding of Falstaff, is nowhere better illustrated than in this foolish note—ED.]

57. Carbonado] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): A piece of meat cut crosswise for the gridiron.

57-60. I . . . end] ELTON (ed. 1889): Falstaff still harps on his catechism (V, i, 129-138). Hotspur's and Falstaff's views on honour are the two extremes, ironically facing. Shakespeare probably exhibits the prince's way as the true mean.

[Scene IV.]

Alarume, excursions Enter the King, the Prince, Lord Iohn
of Lancaster, Earle of Westmerland

King. I preethe Harry withdraw thy selfe, thou bleed- 1/2
(eft too much,

SCENE IV.] Cap, et seq. Om. Qq.
Scena Tertia Ff SCENE III Rowe
SCENE VIII. Pope, Han, Warb,
Johns SCENE IV. Another Part of
it. Cap. SCENE IV Another Part
of the Field Var '78, et seq.

Alarume.] Qq, F4, Rowe, Pope,
Theob., Han, Johns, Var '73.
Alarum, F1-3, Warb, Cam., Glo,
Wh 11, Tud, Ard Alarums Cap,
Var '78, et cet.

the King] King Henry Dyce, Hal 1,
Cam 1, Huds 11, Ox.

the Prince] Qq, Ff, +, Varr, Ran.,
Cam, Wh. 11. The Prince, wounded
Tud Prince of Wales Cap. Prince
Henry Mal, et cet

Lord ..Lancaster] Qq, Ff, +, Varr,
Ran, Cam, Glo, Wh. 11, Tud, Ard
Lancaster Huds 11 John of Lancas-
ter Ox. Prince John Cap, et cet

Earle of] and Earle of Q2-8, F1F2,
Cam, Glo, Wh 11, Tud, Ard and
the Earle of F2F4, +, Varr, Ran and
Cap, et cet

1, 2 I much,] Printed as verse, one
line, omitting *I prethee*, and reading
bleed'st for *bleedest* Cap, Varr, Ran
As verse, one line, retaining *I prethee*,
and reading *bleed'st* for *bleedest* Mal
Printed as verse, two lines, ending
pruthee / much, and following Mal.'s
reading Steev., et seq.

Scene iv.] RHODES (*Stagery of Sh.*, 1922, p. 9): In the Elizabethan prompt-books . . . stage-directions were given only where the action or the movement was not the natural corollary to the dialogue Where the movement became intricate, as in many of the Histories, the directions were made express An example of essential instructions for "business" or "pantomime" is found in *I Henry IV*, where the fights at Shrewsbury demand no less than eighteen directions in the first Folio Taken together they give an almost perfect scenario of the action. . . . In the quarto of 1598 is one more direction, for Prince Hal (V, iv, 101), "He spieth Falstaff on the ground"; but the scenario is not quite complete, because in both quarto and folio there is one implied action, no direction being given that Westmoreland and Prince John exeunt (line 16). . . . (p. 4): In three of the authorised quartos the stage-directions have a style which may be regarded as literary rather than theatrical. Those of *Titus* are elaborate and literary, while those of *I Henry IV* have been given a literary form, though less elaborately [see, for example, the stage-direction after V, iii, 53: "finds it to be a bottle of sack."—Ed.] —SIR MARK HUNTER (*Rev Eng. Stud.*, 1926, p. 299): When Rowe was obviously interested in his work, and taking pains, his scene-divisions, where battles are represented, correspond pretty faithfully with the divisions marked or implied in the folios; whereas elsewhere his arrangement, for the most part, corresponds neither with that of the folios nor of the later editions.—G. F. REYNOLDS (*Conventions of Eliz. Stage, Mod. Phil.*, 1919, p. 40): Change of location here is perhaps not essential, but modern editors suppose one.

1-14.] AX (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol.*, 1912, p. 51): As to the wounding of the prince

Lord Iohn of Lancaster go you with him

P. Iohn Not I my Lord, vnlesse I did bleed too

Prin I befeech your maieftie make vp,

5

Leaft your retirement do amaze your friends. (to his tent

King I will do fo. My Lord of Westmerland lead him 7/8

West Come my Lord, ile lead you to your tent

Prin. Lead me my Lord ? I do not need your helpe, 10

And God forbid a shallow scratch should drie

5 *I*] *I do* Pope, Theob., Han, Warb., Johns., Cap., Steev., Var. '03, '13, Coll. MS., Coll. 11, 111, Wh. 1, Dyce 11, 111, Hal. 11, Huds. 11

make] *to make* Ktly

6. *Least*] *Lest* Q₁Q₂-s, Theob., et seq. (Printed at end of line 5. Ktly.) *your retirement*] *you retirement* F₁F₂.

7, 8] Printed as two lines, ending *so / tent* Ff, +, Varr., Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt., Huds., Del., Dyce,

Hal., Sta., Cam., Ktly., Wh. 11 Printed as two lines, ending *Westmerland / tent* Cap., Coll., Wh. 1.

7 *I will*] *I'll* Ktly

8. *Lord*] *L* Q₁-s

9 *ile*] *I will* Cap., Varr., Ran., Mal., Steev., Varr., Knt. 1, 111, Dyce 11, 111, Hal. 11, Ktly., Huds. 11

11. *God*] *heauen* Ff, +, Cap., Varr., Ran., Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt., Coll., Huds. 1, Del., Wh. 1, Hal. 11, Ktly

by an arrow, we find this circumstance in Holinshed, III, 26. Shakespeare has, however, altered the details a little. In the *Chronicle* the prince declines to retire "lest his departure should strike some fear into the hearts of his men." Nor will he retire, in the play, "from such a field, &c." In the *Chronicle*, he applies these words to his father, who, anxious about his son, has left the battle; as, indeed, in the play also, the prince says to his father "I beseech, &c." (lines 5, 6). According to Holinshed, not the king, but divers noblemen were about the prince when he was wounded.

2. *thou bledest*] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): History says that the prince was wounded in the eye by an arrow — MALONE (ed. 1790): All the chronicles that I have seen say that he was wounded in the *face*. It is not easy to conceive how he could continue fighting after being wounded in the eye.

5, 6.] LLOYD (*Essays on Sh.*, 1858): The subtle politician Bolingbroke is not destitute of military talent nor military courage, but still his discretion and caution accompany him to the field. . . . In the battle itself there is the slightest hint of slackness in these words of Prince Henry. The stratagem for which Sir Walter Blunt pays dearly is also brought home to the king himself as its promoter [V, iii, 25].

5. *make vp*] CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, pp. 346, 381): Bring up your forces: an idiomatic expression. Cf. *King John*, III, ii, 5.

6. *retirement*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Dunbar, Earl of March, had withdrawn the king from that part of the field where Hotspur and Douglas made their attack on the royal standard.

amaze] COWL (ed. 1914): Fill with dismay. N. E. D. cites Drayton, *Odes*, xvii, 27: "Though they be one to ten, Be not amazed." [Cf. Holinshed: "stricken fear into their hearts." — ED.]

The Prince of Wales from such a field as this, 12
 Where staine nobilitie lies troden on,
 And rebels armes triumphe in massacres
Ioh We breath too long, come coosen Westmerland 15
 Our dutie this way lies · For Gods sake come.
Prin. By God thou hast deceiu'd me Lancaster,
 I did not thinke thee Lord of such a spirit,
 Before I lou'd thee as a brother Iohn,
 But now *I* do respect thee as my soule 20
King I saw him hold Lord Percy at the poynt,
 With lustier maintenance then I did looke for
 Of such an vngrowne warrior
Prin. O this boy lends mettall to vs all *Exit.*
Doug Another king they grow like Hydraes heads, 25

13 *staund*] *slain* Thirlby MS, Cap
 (conj)

15 *breath*] *breathe* Q₂Q₃Q₄-s, F₄,
 Theob., et seq (except Cap).

16 *Gods*] *heauens* Ff, +, Varr.,
 Ran, Coll. iii

After 16] Exeunt P. John and
 West. Cap et seq.

17 *God*] *heauen* Ff, +, Cap, Varr.,
 Ran, Mal, Steev., Varr, Sing, Knt,
 Dyce 1, Sta., Hal, Ktly., Huds 11,
 Coll iii

18 *Lord*] *Lord*, Q₅

19. *Before*] *Before*, Q₂Q₃Q₇Q₈, Ff, et
 seq

brother] *brother*, Q₂-sQ₈, F₁F₂F₄,

et seq

24] Printed as two half-lines, end-
 ing *boy/all* Pope, et seq (except Knt.
 ii, iv)

24 *Exit*] Exeunt. Theob., Han.,
 Warb., Johns.

After 24] Enter Dowglas Ff,
 Rowe, Varr., Ran., Cam, Glo, Wh
 11, Tud., Ard Manet K. Henry
 Enter Douglas Pope, Theob, Han.,
 Warb., Johns Alarums Enter
 Douglas Cap, Mal., Steev, Varr,
 Sing., Knt., Coll, Huds, Del., Dyce,
 Sta, Hal., Ktly, Ox

25. *king*] Qq *King?* Ff, + *king?*
 Cap., et seq.

22. *lustier maintenance*] SCHMIDT (1874): More gallant deportment, or carriage — WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Stouter endurance or resistance.

25-46.] See Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Holinshed.—Ax (*Rel of Sh. to Hol*, 1912, pp. 51, 52): The king's encounter with Douglas is based on the *Chronicle* . . . which does not, however, say who effected the king's deliverance; for the words: "The prince help his father" must be considered as a general remark and not referred to the king's dangerous position, which is reported in quite another connection. Perhaps in the play the prince supplies the place of the Earl of March, the Scotsman, who has not succeeded in attracting Shakespeare's attention. . . . According to Kabel, this deed of the prince is borrowed from Daniel [see Appendix: Sources of the Plot: Daniel, iii, 111]. We observe that this incident follows quite naturally from the play itself and from Holinshed, in following whose account Shakespeare had only to substitute the prince for the earl. Douglas's words, l. 25, are the poetical transcription of Holinshed's "I marvel to see so many kings, &c."

I am the Douglas fatall to all thofe
That weare thofe colours on them. What art thou 27
That counterfetst the perfon of a King ?

King The king himfelf, who Douglas grieues at hart,
So many of his shadowes thou haft met 30
And not the verie king, I haue two boies
Seeke Percy and thy felfe about the field,
But feeing thou falt on me fo luckily
I will affay thee and defend thy felfe

Doug. I feare thou art another counterfet, 35
And yet in faith thou bearest thee like a king,
But mine I am fure thou art who ere thou be,
And thus I winne thee.

They fight, the king being in danger, Enter Prince of Wales.

Prin. Hold vp thy head vile Scot, or thou art like
Neuer to hold it vp againe, the fpirits 40
Of Valiant Sherly, Stafford, Blunt are in my armes,

29. *who Douglas*] *who*, Dowglas, Cam, et seq.
F₄, et seq. of Wales] Om Ff. Henry
31. *king*,] *king* Q₂₋₃. *King*. Ff, et Rowe, +, Varr., Ran., Mal, Steev.,
seq. Varr, Sing, Knt., Coll, Huds., Del.,
34. *thee*] *thee*, Q₂₋₃. *thee* (or *thee*;) Dyce, Hal., Sta, Wh. 1, Ktly., Ox.
Q₂Q₃, Ff, et seq. 39. *thy*] *they* F₁.
and] Qq, Coll. i, ii, Del, Ard. 41. *Valiant*] Om. Pope, Theob.,
and so Ktly (*Exp*) so Ff, et cet. Han, Warb., Johns., Cap, Hal ii.
36. *bearest*] *bear'st* Q₂₋₃, Ff, et seq. *Sherly*] *Shirley* Cap., et seq.
37. *I am*] *I'm* Pope, Theob, Han., *Blunt*] *Massy*, *Blunt*, Walker
Warb., Johns., Dyce ii, iii, Huds. ii. (1860).
After 38] (engaging hum. Cap *my*] Om Theob. iv.
After 38. *They fight*] Om Cap *armes*] *arm* Walker (1860),
Enter] Re-enter Dyce, Hal., Dyce ii, iii, Huds ii.

It is perhaps not important to state that in the chronological order of events Shakespeare seems to differ from his authority.

25. *like Hydraes heads*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Which grew as fast again as they were cut off. [Cf. Daniel's *Civil Wars* (1595), iii, 86, in Appendix: Sources of the Plot.—Ed.]

34. *assay*] COWL (ed. 1914): Attack. Cf. Henryson, *The Paddock*: "Death will thee assay, Thou wait not quhen." [Or, perhaps, merely "make trial of your strength."—Ed.]

and] COWL (ed. 1914): I retain here the quarto reading *and*. Cf. *Much Ado*, I, ii, 15: "I will send for him; and question him yourself." See also note on III, i, 188.

41. *Sherly*] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): Holinshed spells the word Shorley, and calls the party Sir Hugh; putting him among the slain on the king's side along with Sir John Clifton and Sir Nicholas Gausell [cf. lines 45, 46].—WALKER

It is the Prince of Wales that threatens thee, 42
Who neuer promifeth but he meanes to pay.

They fight, Douglas flieth

Cheerly my Lord, how fares your grace ?
Sir Nicholas Gawfey hath for fuccour fent, 45
And fo hath Clifton, ile to Clifton ftraight.

42 *threatens*] *threates* F₂. *threats* fight, Dowglass retires T. J. (1721).
F₃F₄, Rowe After 43 *They fight,*] (fight; and
43. *he*] Om F₂₋₄, Rowe, Pope, Cap
Theob, Han, Warb, Johns, Mason, flieth] flies Cap, Mal, et seq
Ran. 44 *how*] *cheerly, how* Dyce 11
After 43] *They fight,* Dowglass is (conj)
beat off the stage. T. J. (1710) *They*

(*Crit Exam.*, 1860, ii, 13-18): *Words Omitted in the First Folio* Read, *metre grata*, "the spirits / Of valiant Shirley, Stafford, (), Blunt, / Are in my arms / It is, &c." According to Drayton there were four of these parhela Daniel (*Civil Wars*, iv, 1) says three [In iii, 113 of the 1595 text, Daniel mentions Stafford and Shorley. In iv, 53 of the expanded 1609 text, Daniel adds the names of Clifton, Gawsell, Caluerley, "and many more"—Ed.] Holinshed mentions, besides the Earl of Stafford and the knight above mentioned, several other knights as slain in battle. He gives the list expressly as comprising all the persons of distinction that were killed on the king's side. It is probable therefore that the fourth representative of the king, like the other three, was one of them; and as perhaps the only one of the names that suits the metre is that of Sir John Massy, I would suggest "the spirits / Of valiant Shirley, Stafford, Massy, Blunt, / Are &c."—ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram*, 1870, p. 354): It may be remarked that great license is taken with the metre whenever a list of names occurs; cf. *Richard II*, II, i, 279, 283, 284.—COWL (ed 1914): Pope, for metre's sake, omits *valiant*. . . . It has been suggested that *valiant* may have been an afterthought, and inserted in compliment to the famous travellers, the brothers Shirley, one of whom was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1597.

43] MASON (*Comments on Last Ed.*, 1785): This [cf. Folio reading, Textual Notes] agrees with what the prince says in the first act: "And pay the debt I never promised."

43. *promiseth*] WALKER (*Sh. Vers.*, 1854, p. 66): There are certain classes of words, the greater part of them composed of two short syllables, *punish, flourish, promise*, &c. . . . which are frequently contracted into one syllable, or placed in monosyllabic places in the line. Cf. *Comedy of Errors*, V, i, 222: "Prom'sing to bring it to the Porcupine" with "Who never prom'seth but he means to pay."

45. *Gawsey*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Sir Nicholas Goushill of Hoveringham, co. Notts, who, with his son Sir Robert, was killed at Shrewsbury. [See note on line 41.]

46. *Clifton*] WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Sir John Clifton, Knight of the Shire of Nottingham. [See note on line 41.]

King. Stay and breathe a while,
Thou hast redeemed thy loft opinion,
And shewde thou makst some tender of my life,
In this faire rescue thou hast brought to me 50

Prin. O God they did me too much iniury,
That euer said I harkned for your death,
If it were so, I might haue let alone
The insulting hand of Douglas ouer you,
Which would haue been as speedy in your end 55
As al the poisonous potions in the world,
And fau'd the trecherous labour of your sonne.

King. Make vp to Clifton, ile to S. Nicholas Gawfey.

Exit Ki :

Enter Hotspur.

Hot. If I mistake not, thou art Harry Monmouth : 59

47 *and*] Om Cap
breath] *breathe* Q₂Q₃Q₆Q₇, F₄,
Pope, +, et seq (except Cap)

48. *redeemed*] *redeemd* Q₅, et seq
thy] *my* Rowe, Pope, Theob,
Han., Warb., Johns., Ran. (conj.).

49. *makst*] *makest* Q₂₋₃, Cam

51. *God*] *heauen*, Ff, +, Varr., Ran.,
Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing, Knt, Hal.
ii.

52. *harkned*] *harkened* Q₂₋₅.

for] *to* Q₄₋₈, Ff, Rowe, Cap.

56 *poisonous*] *pois'nous* Pope, Theob,
Han., Warb., Johns., Cap.

57. *trecherous*] *treach'rous* Pope,
Theob., Han., Warb., Johns.

58. *King.*] K. Prince Rowe 1.

S] *Sir* Ff, et seq

Nicholas] Nichol F₃F₄

Exit Ki.] *Exit K* Q₄. *Exit Q₂₋₈,*

Ff, +, Varr., Ran., Dyce, Hal. i,
Cam., et seq (except Hal ii, Ktly).

Exit K Henry. Mal., Steev., Varr.,

Sing, Knt, Coll., Del., Sta., Wh i,

Hal ii, Ktly. *Exit the King* Huds i

After 58.] SCENE IX Pope, Han.,

Warb. Johns

After 58. *Enter*] As the Prince is
going out, *Enter* Cap.

59 *Monmouth:*] *Monmouth?* Q₂₋₈,

T. J. *Monmouth* Ff, et cet.

48 *opinion*] CAPELL (*Notes*, 1779): Character, the opinion I had of you.—
REED (Var. ed. 1785): Reputation. So, . . . in Shirley's *Gamester*: "You have
the opinion of a valiant gentleman."—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): See III, ii, 42,
IV, i, 77

49. *makst some tender*] CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p. 346, et cet.): Hast some
loving regard for, cf. *As You Like It*, V, ii, 65: "By my life I do. which I tender
dearly."

52. *harkned for*] COWL (ed. 1914): Desired; cf. *Taming of the Shrew*, I, ii,
256.

54. *insulting . . . ouer*] WALKER (*Crit. Exam.*, 1860, i, 160-162) lists this
phrase under the heading PECULIAR CONSTRUCTION WITH THE ADJECTIVE.
Among other passages cited are *Lear*, III, ii: "Thou simular man of virtue"
for "Thou man of simulated virtue"; and *I Henry IV*, V, i: "A portent of
broached mischief" for "A portent of mischief broached to."

insulting] SCHMIDT (1874): Exultant, triumphant.

Prin Thou speakest as if I would deny my name.

Hot My name is Harry Percy. 61

Pr Why then I see a very valiant rebel of the name;
I am the Prince of Wales, and thinke not Percy

To share with me in glory any more :

Two stars keepe not their motion in one sphere, 65

Nor can one England brooke a double raigne

Of Harry Percy and the Prince of Wales.

Hot. Now shal it Harry, for the houre is come 68

60 <i>speakest</i>] <i>speakest</i> F ₂₋₄ , Rowe	Wh ii, Tud, Ard. <i>that</i> Q ₃₋₈ , Ff, et
62] Printed as half-line and full	cet.
line, ending <i>see/name</i> Rowe ii, et seq	63 <i>not</i>] <i>not</i> , Q ₂ Q ₃ Q ₇ Q ₈ , Rowe, et
62 <i>Why</i>] Omit Pope, Theob,	seq
Han, Warb, Johns, Cap.	<i>Percy</i>] <i>Percy</i> , Q ₂ , et seq
<i>the</i>] Q ₁ Q ₂ , Mal., Sing. i, Huds i,	68 <i>Now</i>] <i>Nor</i> Q ₈ , Ff, et seq.
Sta., Hal., Cam., Glo, Dyce ii, iii,	<i>Harry</i>] <i>Harry</i> ? Q ₂ Q ₃ Q ₈ .

59-101] COURTENAY (*Comm on Hist Plays*, 1840) The incidents of the battle of Shrewsbury are in part warranted by the Chronicles, in part imaginary. Among the latter is the slaying of Hotspur by the prince, which, if not gratuitously invented by the poet for improving the plot, may have originated in the misreading of one chronicler by another. Hall, after mentioning the gallant deeds of the king, says that "other of his part" fought valiantly and slew Lord Percy. Holinshed ascribes the same prowess to the "other on his part," as referring to one person the prince having been lately mentioned. Shakespeare may apply the designation to him — Ax (*Rel of Sh. to Hol*, 1912, p 53) We do not wonder that Shakespeare bestowed on the prince the fame of having vanquished Hotspur. . . . Although the play may require it . . . we cannot but feel the unlikelihood of Harry's victory. Shakespeare does not so present the incident that one can suppose Hotspur to be quite exhausted and the prince quite fresh, in which case the greatest hero might be vanquished by a beginner in chivalry. Quite the contrary: for he tells us that the prince had been severely wounded — R A LAW (*Unity in Henry IV, Mod Phil*, 1927) Are we certain that in making Hal kill Hotspur Shakespeare was [consciously] changing Holinshed? . . . I believe that the first interpretation that an intelligent reader would put upon the sentence "the other on his part" . . . would be that "the other" refers to the prince, whose valour is so praised at the beginning of the paragraph, and that "on his part" is a connective phrase contrasting the king with his son [note that this is the impression made on Courtenay, above.—ED.] Closer examination shows us that "other" is plural, and that "on his part" means "of the king's party." But as Shakespeare actually makes Hal kill Hotspur, it is reasonable to suppose that on first reading Holinshed he was misled.

64.] SEYMOUR (*Remarks*, 1805): But heretofore the glory was all Percy's.

65.] COWL (ed. 1914): A proverbial expression. . . . In the text there is an allusion to the opinion of Ptolemy that each planet has its own orb or sphere in which it moves. Cf. V, i, 17, note.

To end the one of vs, and would to God

Thy name in armes were now as great as mine.

70

Prin. Ile make it greater ere I part from thee,

And al the budding honors on thy crest

Ile crop to make a garland for my head.

Hot I can no longer brooke thy vanities.

They fight : Enter Falstafte.

Falst. Well said Hall, to it Hall. Nay you shall find

75

no boyes play here I can tel you.

Enter Douglas, he fighteth with Falstafte, he fals

down as if he were dead, the Prince

killeth Percy.

Hot. Oh Harry thou haft robd me of my youth,

77

69 *God*] *heaven* Ff, +, Varr., Ran.,
Knt.

72 *the*] *thy* Qs-s.

After 74. *They fight*] *Fight*. Ff, +,
Cap., Varr., Ran.

75 *Hall*,...*Hall*] *Hall*. *Hall* Cap.,
et seq.

After 76. *Enter*] *Re-enter* Dyce,
Hal, Cam, et seq.

he fighteth .were dead] and
makes at Falstafte, who receives a
Blow, and falls down, making Shew
as he were dead, and Exit Douglas
Cap

fighteth] fights Qs, et seq.

he fals] who falls Ff, et seq.
dead,] dead, and Exit Douglas

Cap., Mal., et seq

the Prince killeth Percy] The
Prince kills Percy. Rowe, Pope,
Theob, Warb, Johns the Prince
wounds Hotspur Han Hotspur re-
ceives a Wound, and falls. Cap.
Percy is wounded, and falls. Varr.,
Ran. Hotspur is wounded, and falls.
Mal., et seq.

77 *thou hast*] *though thou'st*
Vaughan.

youth] *worth* Theob. (conj).
growth Warb (conj).

68. *Now*] COLLIER (ed. 1842). By a collation of this play made by the late J. P. Kemble, now before me, it should appear that he had seen a copy of the 1598 quarto in which this passage read "Nor shall it, &c" If so, it must have been a correction made as the first edition went through the press [My rotograph of the Devonshire-Huntington copy of the quarto of 1598 shows an apparent smear over the *w* of *Now*, as if someone had, at some time, attempted to correct the misprint and to substitute an *r* for the *w*. There is no such smear in either of the other two copies of Q1.—ED.]

72. *honors . . . crest*] See Hartman's note on line 96, *favors*.

74. *vanities*] SCHMIDT (1874): Frivolities.

75. *said*] COLLIER (ed. 1842): That is, *done*.—COWL (ed. 1914): An expression of approval, used here as often elsewhere when nothing has been said.

77-101. GENTLEMAN (Bell's ed., 1773): Though Henry's gallant behaviour must give pleasure, yet every generous mind must feel for Percy's fall; as, though a rebel, he seems to act upon just principles and very aggravated provocation. It is a very nice, and almost unparalleled, point to bring two char-

I better brooke the losse of brittle life
 Then those proud titles thou hast won of me,
 They wound my thoughts worfe then thy sword my flesh, 80
 But thoughts the slaues of life, and life times foole,

78 *brooke*] *broke* Q₅ Dyce ii, iii, Hudson ii, Kinnear,
brittle] *bitter* F₃F₄. Vaughan *thought's the slaue* Q₂, et
 80 *thy*] *the* Q₅-8, Ff, Rowe, Knt 1 cet
sword] *word* Q₁ *life times*] *life, times* Q₇Q₈, F₁F₂,
 81 *thoughts the slaues*] Q₁, Lettsom, Sta.

acters into mortal combat on the stage, where, as in the present case, we must rejoice over the success of one and grieve for the fate of the other The prince's genteel eulogium over the corpse of a brave and generous foe does him credit

77. *youth*] THEOBALD (*Letter to Warburton*, Dec 23, 1729) "Robbed me of my youth?" Why does Hotspur level his complaint here? He a little before wishes Henry's name were as great in arms as his own . . . I have a strong suspicion that the poet wrote *worth*, i.e., thou hast cut off all the fame of my budding honours by this conquest —WARBURTON (ed 1747) I fancy Shakespeare wrote *growth*, i.e., honours in the bud. The two following lines seem to point to this reading, and not to agree with the former one —WRIGHT (ed 1897) My youth. not only my young, vigorous life, but all the honours it has brought me

80-83 *They . . . stop.*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Hotspur in his last moments endeavours to console himself. The glory of the prince *wounds his thoughts*, but *thought, being dependent on life*, must cease with it, and will soon be at an end *Life*, on which *thought* depends, is itself of no great value, being the *fool and sport of time*, of *time* which, with all its dominion over sublunary things, *must* itself at last *be stopped*.—STAUNTON (ed 1858): The fine gradation in this noble passage is quite ruined in all modern editions by the mistaken punctuation [in line 81; see Textual Notes] —LETTSOM (Note, in Dyce's ed., 1864) The readings of Q₂ are sophistications by one who did not see that *thoughts* as well as *time* were nominative cases before *must*, and consequently supposed that the syntax was defective for want of a verb. It is odd that Staunton, who saw that *life* was nominative to *must*, did not see more. [Most modern editors agree with WRIGHT (ed. 1897) that Johnson's interpretation is the only possible one.—Ed.]

81. *life times*] [The comma after *life* in F₁F₂ illustrates the principle of punctuation discussed by SIMPSON (*Sh. Punct.*, 1911, p 53), under the heading "Comma marking an ellipse of copula." Cf. *Richard II*, I, i, 159: "We'll calm the Duke of Norfolk; you, your son"; and *As You Like It*, II, vii, 139. "All the world's a stage, And all the men and women, merely players"—Ed.]

times foole] STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778): Hotspur refers to the Fool in our ancient Moralities. The same allusion occurs in *Measure for Measure* [III, i, 11-13: "thou (life) art death's fool; For him thou labor'st by thy flight to shun, And yet runn'st toward him still"].—DOUCE (*Illust. of Sh.*, 1807, i, 444): Dr. Johnson's interpretation [see above] is much more natural and intelligible.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): There is no such allusion as Steevens suggests.

And time that takes furuey of all the world 82
 Muft haue a stop. O I could prophecy,
 But that the earthy and cold hand of death
 Lies on my tongue no Percy thou art duft 85
 And food for

Pr For wormes, braue Percy. Fare thee wel great hart
 Ill weaud ambition, how much art thou shrunke,
 When that this body did containe a fpirit,
 A kingdom for it was too fmall a bound, 90
 But now two paces of the vileft earth
 Is roome enough, this earth that beares the dead
 Beares not aliuie fo ftout a gentleman,
 If thou wert fenfible of curtefie
 I fhould not make fo deare a fhew of zeale, 95
 But let my fauors hide thy mangled face,

84. *earthy and*] *earth and* Q₂₋₈.
earth and the Ff, Rowe

85. *no Percy*] *no Percy*, Q₂₋₈, F₁F₂.
No, Percy, F₃F₄, et seq.

86. *for.*] *for* Q₂₋₇. *for-* Q₈, Ff, et seq.

After 86] Dies. Rowe, +, Var. '78,
 et seq. (sinks, and dies Cap.

87. *Fare thee wel*] *Farewell* Ff,
 Rowe.

great hart] Om. Pope, Theob,
 Han, Warb.

hart] *heart*, Q₂₋₈. *heart*. Ff,
 Rowe *heart*, (or *heart*!) Johns., et seq.

92. *the dead*] *thee dead* Q₇Q₈, F₄, et seq.

95. *deare*] *great* Q₂₋₈, Ff, +, Varr.,
 Ran, Knt., Huds i, Wh. i.

96. *fauiors*] *favour* Warb.

83. I . . . *prophecy*] STAUNTON (ed. 1858): The belief that the dying are endowed with a faculty of prevision is of high authority. . . . Shakespeare has before illustrated the superstition in *Richard II*, II, i, 31, 32: "Methinks I am a prophet new inspired, And thus, expiring, do foretell of him"

88. III . . . *shrunke*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): A metaphor taken from cloth, which shrinks when it is ill-weaved, when its texture is loose.

89-92.] THEOBALD (ed. 1733): A reflexion, very like this in substance, our author has again given us in *Julius Caesar*, III, i, 149: "O mighty Caesar! Dost thou lie so low? Are all thy conquests, glories, triumphs, spoils, Shrunk to this little measure?"—COWL (ed. 1914): The same thought occurs in Lyly's *Euphues* (ed. Bond, i, 314): "Philip falling in the dust, and seeing the figure of his shape perfect in shewe: Good God, said he, we desire the whole earth and see how little serveth." Mr. Bond thinks that Shakespeare's original was either Lyly's *Campaspe*, V, iv, 55, or *Midas*, III, i, 14: "What should I doe with a world of ground, whose body must be content with seauen foot of erthe?"

93. *stout*] SCHMIDT (1874): Bold and resolute.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): This is the only sense in which the word was originally used.

95. *deare*] COWL (ed. 1914): *Dear* has, here, merely an intensive force.

96. *fauiors*] WARBURTON (ed. 1747): We should read *favour*, face or countenance. He is stooping down to kiss Hotspur.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765): He,

And euen in thy behalfe ile thanke my felfe, 97
 For doing thefe faire rights of tenderneffe,
 Adiew and take thy praife with thee to heauen,
 Thy ignominy fleepe with thee in the graue, 100

97 *ile*] I Theob iv, Johns, Var 100 *ignominy*] Q₁-Q₈, F₃F₄, +,
 '73 Cam, Glo, Wh. 11, Ard. *ignomy*
 98. *rights*] *rites* Q₂, et seq Q₄-7, F₁F₂, et cet

rather, covers his face with a scarf to hide the ghastliness of death —HEATH (*Revisal*, 1765) 'So strained and flat an expression [as that suggested by Warburton] could never have come from Shakespeare.—COWL (ed 1914) It was customary, we read in Stowe's *Annales* (ed 1631, p 1039), for gentlewomen to give as token of their favour "little handkerchiefs of about three or foure inches square . . . and gentlemen and others did usually weare them in their hatts, as favours of their loves"—HARTMAN (*Prince Hal's 'Shew of Zeale,' P M L A*, 1931) 'It would seem that Shakespeare here intended more than a conventional chivalric gesture on the part of the regenerate prince From a chain of textual evidence it is demonstrable that the playwright had in mind for his climax a far more dramatic, more tacitly ironic, move—Hal's disengaging his royal plumes (the "budding honours" of his own helmet) to shroud the face of his dead rival. In III, ii, 135 ff the prince foretells the day "When I will wear a garment all of blood, And stain my favours in a bloody mask, . . . For every honour sitting on his helm Would they were multitudes, &c" Here *favours* means but features. . . . The *honours* sitting on Hotspur's helm, however, are *favours* in the other chivalric sense—decoration, adornment, or ornament. In IV, i, 97 ff, Vernon reports . . . that the "nimble-footed madcap prince" and his comrades are afield, "all plum'd" . . . Again in V, iv, 71, 72, as the climax impends, the plumed crests are designated by the playwright . . . "all the budding honours on thy crest." Here, as in the earlier passage, *honours* refers to the ornaments of Hotspur's head-dress; the "plumes sitting on his helm" in Act III are here "budding on his crest." . . . In view of these earlier passages is it not likely that the playwright intended Hal to remove his own "budding honours" from his crest to cover the gallant rebel's face? This would certainly be the perfect gesture, the fitting rite of tenderness for one who "better brooked the loss of life than of his proud titles." . . . The Chamberlain's and King's Players necessarily wore plumed helmets, as the stock in trade of military regalia—by a tradition as firmly rooted in Elizabethan stagecraft as in contemporary portraits, title-pages, broadsides, illuminations, and the like. Henry V's helmet may still be seen in his chantry at Westminster; but the favours which Shakespeare visualized could be found only among the lost records of theatrical properties, Revels' Accounts, company managers' diaries—among the "Nayles, vices, Hookes, Hinges, hobbyhorses, pitchers, paper, Branches of sylke and other garniture for pageantes, fethers, & such like Implements."

100, 101.] CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p. 406): Shakespeare occasionally uses the subjunctive mood very elliptically, allowing one or more words to be understood in the sentence thus constructed: "*May thy ignominy &c. . . . But not be remembered.*"

But not remembered in thy Epitaph.

He speth Falstaffe on the ground.

What old acquaintance, could not all this flesh 102

Keepe in a little life ? poore Iacke farewell,

I could haue better sparde a better man .

O I should haue a heauy misse of thee, 105

If I were much in loue with vanitie :

Death hath not strooke so fat a Deere to day,

Though many dearer in this bloody fray,

Inboweld will I see thee by and by, 109

101 *But* Be Cap, Ran

After 101. He ground] Om Ff,

Rowe i, T J He sees Falstaff

Rowe ii, Pope, Theob, Han, Warb

He sees Falstaff on the ground.

Johns, Varr, Ran., Mal, Steev,

Varr, Sing, Knt, Coll. i, iii, Huds i,

Del, Dyce i, Sta., Hal, Wh i, Ktly.

(going, and sees Falstaff Cap. (See-

ing Falstaff on the ground. Coll. ii

(sees Falstaff on the ground Dyce ii,

iii, Huds ii

102 *What*] *What?* Ff *What*, (or

What!) Q₂, et cet

acquaintance,] *Acquaintance?*

Ff *acquaintance!* Q₂, et cet

107 *fat*] *faire* Q₂₋₈, Johns, Var.

'73

Deere] *Dear* F₃

108. *dearer*] *a dearer* Rowe ii, +.

109 *Inboweld*] *Imbowelde* Q₄. *Im-*

boweld Q₈, et seq.

100 *ignominy*] COWL (ed. 1914): A trisyllable, as in *Paradise Lost*, I, 115 . . . The Folio is inconsistent in its use of the two forms [*ignominy* and *ignomy*; see Textual Notes] Here and in *Troilus*, V, x, 33 (Q *ignominie*) it reads *ignomy*; but in *Titus*, IV, ii, 115, it substitutes *ignominy* for (Q) *ignomy*; and in *Measure for Measure*, II, iv, 111, retains (Q) *ignomy* where the verse requires *ignominy*

105 *haue . . . thee*] COWL (ed. 1914): Miss thee grievously, with a quibbling reference to Falstaff's weight.

107, 108. *Deere . . . dearer*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): There is in these lines a very natural mixture of the serious and ludicrous produced by the view of Percy and Falstaff. I wish all plays on words had been forborne.—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778). I find the same quibble in *Two Angry Women of Abington*, 1599: "Life is as dear in a deer"; and in *A Maidenhead Well Lost*, 1632: "There's no deer so dear but he will kill it."—DRAKE (*Sh. and his Times*, 1817): Thus, in *I Henry VI*, IV, ii, Talbot says: "Sell every man his life as dear as mine, And they shall find dear deer of us, my friends."

107. *fat*] [See Textual Notes.] TOLLET (Var. ed. 1778): *Fat* seems the better reading, for Turberville, in *The Terms . . . of Venerie and the Chace*, observes: "You shall say by any deare, a great deare, and not a *faire deare*, unless it be a rowe."

108. *dearer*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Of greater worth.

109. *Inboweld*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Exenterated.—ANON (*Desultory Comments*, 1801): Of such brutality Prince Henry was incapable. The meaning is "put into the bowels of the earth."—DOUCE (*Illustr. of Sh.*, 1807, i, 445): Surely the prince designs no more than that Falstaff's body shall be embalmed in

Til then in bloud by noble Percy lie.

Exit

Falstaffe riseth vp.

Fal. Inboweld, if thou inbowel me to day, ile giue you 111
leauē to powder me and eate me too to morrowe. Zbloud
twas time to counterfet, or that hot termagant Scot had
paide me scot and lot too. Counterfet? I lie, I am no
counterfet, to die is to bee a counterfet, for he is but the 115
counterfet of a man, who hath not the life of a mā · but
to cōterfet dying when a man therby liueth, is to be no
counterfet, but the true & perfect image of life indeed.
The better parte of valour is discretion, in the which bet- 119

110 *Exit.*] Om Q₄₋₈.

After 110 *Falstaffe riseth vp.*] *Falstaff* rises. Rowe 11, Pope, Theob., Han., Warb., Johns. *Falstaff*, rising slowly Varr., Ran. (After *Fal.*, l. 111) (rising slowly. Cap., Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt., Sta., Hal. 11, Ktly. (After *Fal.*, l. 111) (Rising. or (Rising up. Coll., et seq.

111 *Inboweld,*] *Inbowel'd?* Q₂₋₄. *Imboweld?* Q₅₋₈, Ff. *Imbowell'd?* Rowe, et seq.

112. *too*] Om Pope, Theob., Han., Warb., Johns., Knt

Zbloud] Om Ff., +

114 *I lie*] Om Q₅₋₈, Ff., Rowe

116. *mā*] *man* Q₂, et seq.

117 *cōterfet*] *counterfet* Q₂, et seq.

119 *valour*] *Valour*, Ff., Rowe, Pope

15] 15— Cap., Var. '78, '85, Ran., Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., Hal., ii. 15, Sta.

the usual manner.—MADDEN (*Diary of Master Silence*, 1897, p. 66). The deer having been disembowelled, the venison is reserved for the powdering tub [cf. lines 111, 112]

111.] MORRIS ARNOLD (*Solilo. of Sh.*, 1911, p. 93): Shakespeare employs the overheard soliloquy for comic purposes. . . . Unless the actor impersonating Falstaff should take the liberty of indulging in a surreptitious grimace, the fun is not apparent during the prince's speech, but explodes in the first word of the ensuing monologue by Falstaff.

112. *powder*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): Salt.

114. *paide*] COWL (ed. 1914): Falstaff quibbles on the two meanings of *paid*, i.e., despatched (as in V, iii, 46), and paid, in the literal sense.

scot and lot] GREY (*Crit. Notes*, 1754): Scot and lot, anno 33 Hen. 8, cap. 19, signifieth a customary contribution laid upon all subjects according to their ability.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): Falstaff evidently thought the Douglas able to pay heavily!

119. *The . . . discretion*] COWL (ed. 1914): "The wisdom and discretion of man," writes Saviola (*Of Honour*, 1595), "is as great a virtue as his magnanimity and courage, which are so much the greater virtues by how much they are accompanied with wisdom: for without them a man is not to be accounted valiant, but rather furious." See Beaumont and Fletcher, *King and No King*, IV, iii: "It shew'd discretion, the better part of valour," and *Humorous Lieutenant*, I, i: "Valour's best companion, staid Discretion."

ter part I haue faued my life. Zounds I am afraid of this
gunpowder Percy, though he be dead, how if he should 121
counterfet too and rife ? by my faith I am afraid hee
woulde proue the better counterfet, therefore ile make him
fure, yea, and ile fweare I kild him. Why may not he rife
as well as I ? nothing confutes me but eies, and no body 125
fees me : therefore firrha, with a new wound in your thigh,
come you along with me. 127

*He takes vp Hotspur on his backe Enter Prince
Iohn of Lancaster.*

120. *Zounds*] Om. Ff, +, Varr,
Ran.

afraid] *afeard* Q₆₋₈

122. *by my faith*] Om. Ff, +, Cap.,
Varr, Ran., Mal., Steev, Varr.,
Sing., Knt, Hal ii

124. *sure*,] *sure*, (giving him a Stab.
Cap.

kild] *slew* Q₆₋₈ *have kill'd* F₄,

Rowe i, T. J.

rise] *risey* F₄.

126. *sirrha*,] *sirrah*, (stabbing him)
Mal., Steev, Varr., Sing., Knt,
Huds., Del., Dyce, et seq.

with] Om F₁F₂.

After 127. He] Qq, Coll, Ox. Om
Ff, et cet.

vp] Qq, Cam, Glo., Wh. ii,
Tud, Ard Om. Ff, et cet

Enter] SCENE XI Enter Pope,
Han., Warb., Johns Re-enter Cap,
et seq (except Wh. 1)

Prince Iohn] Prince and
Iohn Q₂₋₈, Ff Prince Henry and
John Rowe, Pope, Theob, Warb,
Johns, Varr., Ran. Prince Henry
and Lord John Han the Prince, and
Prince John Cap. Prince Henry and
Prince John Mal., Steev., Varr,
Sing., Knt., Coll, Huds i, Del,
Dyce, Sta, Hal., Ktly. Prince of
Wales and Lord John Cam., Glo.,
Wh. ii, Tud., Ard. Prince Henry
and Lancaster Huds. ii. the Prince
and John of Lancaster Ox.

of Lancaster] Om. Cap.,
Mal, Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt.,
Huds., Del., Dyce, Sta, Hal, Wh. i,
Ktly.

126. *new wound*] COWL (ed. 1914) summarizes a note by FARMER (Var.
1773, x, ii): Lord Lyttleton notes that such an outrage was perpetrated on the
body of Harold at Hastings.

s d., after 127] GENTLEMAN (Bell's ed, 1773): The son of sack's rolling and
tumbling about the stage, to get Hotspur on his back, is too much in the style
of pantomime mummary. . . . Such ludicrous attacks upon reason are be-
neath Shakespeare.—DAVIES (*Dram. Misc.*, 1785): No joke ever raised such
loud and repeated mirth in the galleries as Sir John's labour in getting the body
of Percy on his back. . . . How Booth and Harper managed this pantomimic
scene is not easy to tell. Booth's weight and roundness of figure would render
the bulky Harper's lifting him worse than walking a hundred yards on uneven
ground! Quin had little or no difficulty in perching Garrick on his shoulders,
who looked like a dwarf on the back of a giant. But, oh! how he toiled to raise
Barry from the ground As they were rivals, and occasionally jarred, we may
without breach of charity suppose that Hotspur sometimes enjoyed the sweat
of Falstaff. . . . At length this upper-gallery merriment was done away with

Prin. Come brother Iohn, full brauely haft thou flesht
Thy mayden sword.

Iohn of Lan But soft, whom haue we heere ? 130
Did you not tell me this fat man was dead ?

Prin. I did, I saw him dead,
Breathlesse and bleeding on the ground. Art thou aliuie ?
Or is it fantasie that playes vpon our eiesight ?
I preethe speake, we will not trust our eies 135
Without our eares, thou art not what thou seemst

Fal. No thats certaine, I am not a double man : but if
I bee not Iacke Falstafte, then am I a Iacke : there is
Percy, if your father will doe me anie honour, fo : if not, 139

128, 129] Printed as prose. Ff, Rowe i

130 Iohn of Lan] Iohn. (or Lan)
Q₂, et seq.

whom] who Q₅₋₈, Ff, Rowe,
Cap, Var. '78, '85, Ran., Knt., Sing.
ii, Ktly.

132-136.] Re-arranged, with lines
ending *bleeding* / *ground* / *fantasie* /
speake / *eaes* / *seemst* Cap, Varr.,
Ran, Mal, Steev, Varr., Sing., Knt.
i, iii, Coll., Huds, Dyce, Hal., Wh. i,
with lines ending *dead* / *ground* /
fantasie / *speake* / *eaes* / *seemst* Del.,
Sta., with lines ending *dead* / *ground* /
aliue / *eiesight* / *eies* / *eaes* / *seemst*
Knt. ii, iv; with lines ending *dead* /
aliue / *eiesight* / *eies* / *seemst* Cam.,
Glo., Wh. ii, Tud., Ard.; with lines

ending *dead* / *ground* / *fantasie* /
speake / *eaes* / *seemst* Ktly, Ov.; with
lines ending *and* / *aliue* / *eiesight* /
eies / *seemst* Vaughan.

133 *Breathlesse and bleeding*] *And*
breathless Pope, Theob, Han, Warb.,
Johns.

on] upon Cap, Varr., Ran.,
Steev., Var. '03, '13, Hal ii, Vaughan.

134 *fantasie that*] *fancy* Pope,
Theob., Han, Warb., Johns.

that] Om Vaughan

138. *bee*] am F₂₋₄, +, Cap

139 *Percy*] *Percy*. (throwing down
his Load Cap. *Percy*. (throwing the
body down) Varr, Ran, Mal., Steev.,
Varr, Sing, Knt., Huds., Coll. MS.,
Coll ii, in, Dyce, Sta, Hal., Cam.,
Ktly., Wh. ii.

by the difficulties which Henderson encountered in getting Smith on his shoulders. So much time was consumed in this pick-a-back business that the spectators grew tired. It was thought better, for the future, that some of Falstaff's ragamuffins should bear off the body.

128, 129. *flesht* . . . sword] COWL (ed. 1914): To flesh: to initiate, to use for the first time—a metaphor from the practice of "entering" a young hound by allowing it to taste the flesh of the animal it was being trained to hunt.

137. *double man*] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): I am not Percy and Falstaff together, though having Percy on my back I seem double.—N. E. D. (1897): Double (sb. 2c): The apparition of a living person; a wraith, fetch.—COWL (ed. 1914): With a play perhaps on the other meaning of *double*. The word *doubleman*, in the sense of apparition, occurs in Robert Kirk's *Secret Commonwealth*, 1691 (ed. Andrew Lang, p. 9). [Falstaff's use of the word in this sense is earlier than any cited in the N. E. D.]

138. *Iacke*] See III, iii, 81, note.

let him kill the next Percie himfelfe : I looke to bee either Earle or Duke, *I* can assure you.

141

Prin. Why Percy, I kild my felfe, and faw thee dead

Falst. Didst thou ? Lord, Lord, howe this world is giuen to lying, I graunt you I was downe, and out of breath, and so was he, but we rofe both at an instant, and fought a long houre by Shrewesburie clocke, if I may be beleuede fo : if not, let them that should rewarde valour, beare the finne vppon their owne heads Ile take it vpon my death, I gaue him this wound in the thigh, if the man were aliuē, and would denie it, zounds I would make him eate a peece of my fword

145

150

John. This is the strangeſt tale that euer I heard.

152

140. *kill*] *slay* Q₆₋₈.
to bee either] *either to be* F₁F₄,
 Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han., Warb.,
 Johns. *to be* Var. '73.
 142. *Why Percy*] Q₁Q₆. *Why, Per-*
cy Q₂Q₃Q₇Q₈, Ff, et seq. *Why Percy*
 Q₄Q₅.
kild] *slew* Q₆₋₈.
 143. *this*] *the* Q₆₋₈, Ff, +, Knt.
 144. *lying*] *lying* Q₂. *lying?* Q₃₋₇,
 Ff. *lying!* Q₈, Rowe, et seq.
 146. *clocke*] *clocke*. F₁, Johns, et

- seq. *Clock* F₄. *clock*: Rowe, Pope,
 Theob., Han., Warb.
 147. *beleuede*] *beleueed*, Q₃, et seq.
 148. *take it vpon*] *take't on* Ff,
 Rowe, Pope, Theob., Han., Warb.,
 Johns., Wh. i. *take it on* Var. '73.
 149. *thugh*] *thugh*: Q₂Q₃, Ff, et seq.
 150. *zounds*] *Om.* Ff, +, Cap.,
 Varr., Ran., Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing.,
 Knt., Hal. ii, Ktly
would] *will* Q₈.
 152. *euer*] *Qq*, Cam., Glo., Wh. ii.,
 Tud., Ard. *e're* (or *e'er*) Ff, et cet.

139 *Percy*] COLLIER (ed. 1858): This stage-direction is found nowhere but in my corrected folio of 1632 [but see Textual Notes], and Mr Singer has copied it without observation [the injustice of this accusation is apparent.—Ed.] It shows what was the practise of our old stage, and what ought to have been the practise on the modern stage, viz, that Falstaff, instead of keeping the corpse of Hotspur on his back until the end of the scene, should relieve himself of the burden by throwing it down. When the dialogue with the two princes was at an end, he did not pick up the body, but dragged it off.—DYCE (*Strictures on Collier*, 1859): Was there ever an editor who made so many random assertions? Before accusing Mr. Singer, why did he not look at the passage in later editions? . . . Besides, Mr. Collier is quite in the dark about "the practise of the modern stage." . . . I never saw a Falstaff that did so, and I have seen several:—but as in all probability Mr. Collier will not take my word for it, I call in the unimpeachable testimony of Oxberry's acting edition of the play, 1822.

146. *Shrewesburie clocke*] CLARKE (*Sh. Key*, 1879, p. 97): This mention of the church-clock by its name gives humorous effect of pretended exactness and serves as reminder of the site of the scene.

Prin. This is the strangest fellow, brother Iohn,
Come bring your luggage nobly on your backe
For my part, if a lie may do thee grace, 155
Ile guild it with the happiest termes I haue.

A retrace is sounded.

Prin. The Trumpet founds retrace, the day is our,
Come brother let vs to the highest of the field,
To see what friends are liuing, who are dead *Exeunt.*

Fal. Ile follow as they say for reward. Hee that re- 160
wardes mee God reward him. If I do growe great, ile
growe lesse, for ile purge and leaue Sacke, and liue cleanlie
as a noble man should do. *Exit.* 163

155 *may*] *will* Q₆-s.
thee] *the* F₃

156. *guild*] *gild* F₁F₂F₄, et seq
After 156 A] Om Cap.

15] Om. Cap., Dyce ii, iii,
Huds ii

157. *Trumpet sounds*] *trumpets sound*
Q₄-s, Ff, +, Sing ii, Knt. ii, iv, Ktly
our] *ours* Q₂Q₃, Cap., Var.
'78, et seq.

158. *let vs*] *lets* Q₄-s, Ff, +, Cap.,
Varr, Ran., Mal., Steev., Varr, Sing.,
Knt, Huds., Sta, Dyce ii, iii, Hal ii,
Ktly.

the highest] *th'highest* Pope,
Theob., Han., Warb, Johns, Dyce ii,
iii.

159. *Exeunt.*] *Exeunt* Princes Cap.
Exeunt P Henry and P. John Mal.,

Steev, Varr, Sing, Knt, Coll,
Huds. i, Del., Dyce, Sta, Hal, Wh i,
Ktly. *Exeunt* Prince of Wales and
Lancaster. Cam., Glo, Wh ii, Tud,
Ard. *Exeunt* Prince Henry and
Lancaster. Huds. ii. *Exeunt* the
Prince and Lancaster Ox.
161 *God*] *heauen* Ff, +, Varr,
Ran., Knt.

great] *great again* Ff, Rowe,
Wh.

162 *lesse*,] *lesse?* Q₅Q₆, Ff.

163. *Exit*] Qq, Ff, +, Cam, Glo.,
Tud., Ox., Ard. *Exit*, dragging off
the body. Coll i, ii, Coll. MS *Exit*,
bearing away the body. Coll. iii.
Exit, bearing off the Body Cap, et
cet.

158. *highest of the field*] SCHMIDT (1874). The farthest visible part of the
field.—WRIGHT (ed. 1897): The highest ground, from which the whole field
could be seen.

161. *great*] WHITE (ed. 1859): The folio reading, *great again*, has been re-
jected by all modern editors, unwarrantably and injuriously; for such a word
[as *again*] could not come into the text by accident; and it has value as one of
several indications that Falstaff is a decayed man of family, one whose vices
and follies, aided by his humour, have dragged him [*sic*] from the position to
which he was born and bred.

[Scene V.]

The Trumpets sound. Enter the King, Prince of Wales, Lord Iohn of Lancaster, Earle of Westmerland, with Worcester, and Vernon prisoners.

King. Thus euer did rebellion find rebuke,
 Ill spirited Worcester, did not we send grace, I
 Pardon, and tearmes of loue to all of you ?
 And wouldst thou turne our offers contrary ?
 Mifuse the tenor of thy kinfmans trust. 5
 Three knights vpon our party flaine to day,
 A noble Earle and many a creature else,
 Had been aliuie this houre,
 If like a Chriſtian thou hadst truly borne
 Betwixt our armies true intelligence. 10
 Wor. What I haue done my ſafety vrg'd me to :
 And I embrace this fortune patiently,
 Since not to be auoided it fals on me. 13

SCENE V.] Cap., et seq. Om. Qq.
 Scæna Quarta. F₁F₄. Scæna Quinta.
 F₂. SCENE IV. Rowe. SCENE XII.
 Pope, Han., Warb., Johns. SCENE VI.
 Var.

The Trumpets sound.] Another Part.
 Flourish of Trumpets, &c. Cap. Another part of the field.
 The trumpets sound. Varr., Ran., Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., et seq
 the King] Qq, F₁F₂, Cap., Cam., Wh. ii. King, F₁F₄. King, Henry, Rowe. King Henry, Pope, et cet.

Prince of Wales] Prince Henry Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt., Coll., Huds., Del., Dyce, Sta., Wh. i, Hal., Ktly. The Prince Ox.

Lord Iohn of Lancaster] Prince John Cap., Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt., Coll., Huds. i, Del., Dyce, Sta., Hal., Wh. i, Ktly. Lancaster Huds. ii. John of Lancaster Ox.

Earle of Westmerland] Westmoreland, and others; Cap., Mal., Steev., Varr., Sing., Knt., Coll., Huds., Del., Dyce, Sta., Hal., Wh. i, Ktly., Ox.

1. rebuke,] rebuke (or rebuke,—) Q₂Q₃, Ff, et seq.

2. not we] Qq, Sta., Cam., Glo, Wh. ii, Tud., Ard. we not Ff, et cet.

5. trust] trust? Q₂, et seq.

8. houre] hour, Worcester, Ktly.

13.] Which, not to be avoided, falls on me. Coll. MS, Coll. ii, iii.

6-8.] COURTENAY (*Comm. on Hist. Plays*, 1840): The earl is Stafford; of the knights, two are Blunt and Shirley. Besides these Holinshed mentions Clifton, Gausell, Cockayne [and five others] The prince has said previously [V, iv, 40, 41]: "The spirits Of Shirley, Stafford, Blunt, are in my arms."—Ax (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol.*, 1912, p. 56): According to the *Chronicle* (III, 26) "there died in all upon the king's side 1600, and 4000 were grievously wounded. In all there died of those that fought on the Percies' side about 5000," among these "the most part of the knights and esquires of the county of Cheshire."

King. Beare Worcester to the death and Vernon too :
Other Offendors we will pause vpon. 15
How goes the field ?

Prin. The noble Scot Lord Dowglas, when he saw
The fortune of the day quite turn'd from him,
The noble Percy slain and all his men
Vpon the foot of feare, fled with the rest 20
And falling from a hill, he was so bruised,
That the pursuers tooke him. At my tent
The Douglas is : and I beseech your grace
I may dispose of him.

King With all my hart.

Prin. Then brother Iohn of Lancaster, 25
To you this honorable bounty shall belong,

14. to the] to Ff, Rowe, Pope,
Theob., Warb., Johns. to his Han.

After 15] Exit Worcester and Ver-
non Ff, Rowe 1 Ex. Worcester and
Vernon. T. J., Rowe 11 Exe. Wor-
cester and Vernon Pope, Han. Ex-
eunt Worcester and Vernon, guarded.
Theob., Warb., et seq.

17 noble] gallant Pope, +.

18. quite turn'd] turn'd quite Qs-s
quite turned Theob., Warb., Johns

19. slaine] Q1Q7Qs. slaine, Qs, et
cet.

26. To you] Printed at the end of
line 25 Pope, et seq

13] DYCE (*Structures on Collier*, 1859), commenting on Collier's emendation of this line [see Textual Notes]: One of the hundreds of variations introduced by Mr. Collier in sheer wantonness. As to the metre, the old line is right enough (if we do not try to spoil it by laying the emphasis on *me*); and as to the meaning, that of the old line has decidedly the advantage of clearness.

13. auoided] ABBOTT (*Sh. Gram.*, 1870, p. 358): *Ed* following *d* or *t* is often not written; and, when written, often not pronounced. [Cf. Abbott's note on V, i, 72.]

14.] AX (*Rel. of Sh. to Hol.*, 1912): Holinshed (III, 26) says that "the Earl of Worcester, the setter forth of all this mischief, was taken prisoner," and that "he, the Baron of Kinderton, and Sir Richard Vernon were condemned and beheaded the following Monday. The earl's head was sent to London, there to be set on the bridge"

17-31.] THOS. CAMPBELL (*Remarks on Sh.*, 1838; ed. 1846, p. 59): The Scottish Douglas retreats, but only when the field is lost, and after he has slain three warriors. . . . His reputation could afford him to retreat without expense to his honour, and therefore he shows, after prodigal valour, a discretion which is quite as nationally characteristic as his courage.—KNIGHT (*Wm. Sh., A Biog.*, 1842, p. 463): *Henry IV* was written before the union of England and Scotland, and when the countries had constant feuds which might easily have broken out into actual war. But Shakespeare, at the very time when the angry passions of England were excited by the Raid of Carlisle, thus

Go to the Douglas and deliuer him 27
 Vp to his pleafure, ranfomleffe and free,
 His valours fhewne vpon our Crefts to daie
 Haue taught vs how to cherifh fuch high deeds, 30
 Euen in the bofome of our aduerfaries.
John. I thanke your grace for this high curtefie,
 Which I fhall giue away immediatly. 33

29 *valours*] *valour* Q₄, et seq Knt, Sta., Wh, Dyce u, Hal u,
 30 *Haue*] *Hath* Q₄, et seq Huds ii
 taught] *shewn* Mal 33 *giue .immediatly*] *put in act*
 32, 33.] Om Q₅₋₈, Ff, Rowe, Var. *without delay* Coll MS
 '78, '85, Ran, Mal, Steev, Varr,

made his favorite hero teach the English to think honorably of their gallant neighbors—AX (1912, p. 56): As to the liberation of Douglas, the suggestion which Shakespeare attributes to the prince is conceived and accorded by the king himself in the *Chronicle* Harry's exploit, the honour he pays the body of his dead adversary, his concealing the achievement—betraying inconceivable modesty—are not enough; and so the poet adds to this bouquet of virtues the flower of pardon, and acknowledgment of his enemy's bravery. In the reason he gives for this release without ransom, Shakespeare follows Holinshed. But we do not think this reason to be the right one. In reality this act of grace appears to us not to have proceeded from the "cherishing of such high deeds," but from diplomacy. Glendower and Mortimer were not yet vanquished, Hotspur's father was not overcome, a new rebellion was fermenting in York, and Henry, weakened by this battle, though victor, certainly had no greater interest than to make truce with the Scots for a while.

29.] COWL (ed. 1914) quotes Moorman as referring to Daniel's *Civile Warres* (1595), iv, 56, as the source of the phraseology of this line. [But the passage cited appears for the first time in the 1609 quarto of the *Civil Wars*.—ED.]

30. *taught*] MALONE (ed. 1790) reads *shewn* for *taught*, and comments: Thus the quarto of 1598. In that of 1599 *shewn* was arbitrarily changed to *taught*. . . . The repetition is much in our author's manner.—CAMP EDD. (1864): Capell's copy of Q₁ [in Trin. Coll., Camb.] has *taught*, and this is the reading of Malone's own copy, now in the Bodleian Library. Malone's error is due to his following Capell's note, in which *shewn* is said to be the reading of Q₄ and Ff in line 30, instead of in line 29.—COWL (ed. 1914): There is, I believe, no copy of Q₁ (1598) in the Bodleian. In Malone's copy of Q₂ (1599), which is in the Bodleian, there is a marginal collation of variants from Q₁, and there *shewn* is not recorded.

32, 33.] JOHNSON (ed. 1765): I suspect that these lines were rejected by Shakespeare.—CAPPELL (*Notes*, 1779): The reply of Prince John to his brother is inserted with some unwillingness: the folios have it not, and possibly by the author's direction, thinking that what the prince has to say might be better expressed in a bow than by such a jingling and weak couplet.—BOSWELL (Var. ed. 1821): I can see no reason for the rejection of these lines. Prince John

King Then this remains that we deuide our power,
 You fonne Iohn, and my coofen Westmerland 35
 Towards York thal bend, you with your deereft speed
 To meet Northumberland and the Prelate Scroope,
 Who as we heare are bufily in armes :
 My felfe and you fonne Harry will towards Wales, 39

34. *remaines*] *remaines*, Q₂₋₄, Cam.,
 Ktly, Huds 11, Wh. 11. *remaines*:
 (or *remains*.) Ff, +. *remains*,—Cap,
 et cet.

power,] *Power* Ff, et seq.

36 *Towards*] *Toward* Q₇Q₈

bend,] *bend* Q₄, et seq
 37 *the*] Om Pope, Theob, Han,
 Warb., Johns

39. *you*] Om F₂₋₄, Rowe i, T J.
my Rowe 11, Pope, Han

towards] *toward* Q₇Q₈

would naturally thank his brother for the kind delegation to him of so honorable an office—COLLIER (*Notes and Emend*, 1852): The variation [see Textual Notes on line 33] may induce the belief that the Corrector had access to some authority independent of any printed copy of the play.—SINGER (*Text of Sh Vindicated*, 1853): The "variation" induces no such belief; for the "Corrector" shows upon all occasions that he thought he could improve upon the language of Shakespeare. Not a few of the so-called emendations of the "Corrector" are adoptions of such readings as have been supplied by the successive editors from the earlier quartos. It would be wonderful truly if he should fortunately have hit upon the very copies which furnished these readings on all occasions. It leads to the conclusion that we owe these corrections to some comparatively recent hand, who adopted them from one of the variorum editions.—WHITE (ed 1859): These lines are plainly an interpolation, probably of the actor's who had the small part of Prince John, and who wished to have something to say in the "tag" of the piece.

34.] HARTLEY COLERIDGE (*Essays*, 1851, ii, 156): If we are to consider the "first part" as an entire play, King Henry's closing speech offends sadly against Aristotle, in a point where Aristotle's authority, sound in itself, has a jurisdiction general and not limited to the Greek stage. It is a conclusion in which nothing is concluded. . . . Had the last speech been omitted, the fault would have been less palpable, for the tragic interest of the play rests solely upon Hotspur, and closes with his death.

35-37.] Ax (*Rel of Sh to Hol.*, 1912, p. 57): The post of John of Lancaster is occupied in the *Chronicle* by Sir Robert Waterton (Hol., III, 26). "But the Earl of Westmoreland and Sir Robert Waterton, knight, had got an army on foot, and meant to meet Northumberland." Shakespeare adds a second enemy, the Archbishop, although he seems not to have stirred immediately after Shrewsbury. For while Holinshed says that the king was at York for some time after his victory, he does not mention the prelate at all. . . . Shakespeare mentions him thus early to prepare us for the part that he is to play in *II Henry IV*.

39, 40.] Ax (1912, p. 57): After the victory the king did not resolve to go to Wales, but "having set a stay in things about Shrewsbury, went straightway

To fight with Glendower, and the Earle of March,
 Rebellion in this land shall loofe his fway, 40
 Meeting the checke of fuch another day,
 And fince this bufineffe fo faire is done,
 Let vs not leaue till all our owne be won. *Exeunt* 44

FINIS.

41 *loose*] *lose* Q₂Q₃Q₇Q₈, Ff, et seq 44. *Let.. leaue*] *Let's not leave off*
 sway] *way* Q₆-s, Ff, Rowe. T. J.
 43 *so faire is*] *so far is* F₄, Rowe. Exeunt] Om. Q₆-s Flourish.
so far fair is Pope, Theob., Han, Exeunt. Cap.
 Warb., Johns, Var. '73. *is so* After 44. FINIS.] Om F₄, et seq.
fairly Cap.

to York." Only after the peace had been made with Northumberland, "the king, returning forth of Yorkshire, determined to go into Wales" (Hol., III, 27).

41. *sway*] COLLIER (ed. 1858): "Sway" has been corrupted into "way"; cf. *Henry VIII*, I, iii, 61: "Men of his sway should be most liberal," where "sway" is always reprinted erroneously "way."

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

THE TEXT

A. GENERAL DISCUSSION

CHAMBERS (*Wm Sh*, 1930, 1, 379): The successive Quartos and Folios of *I Henry IV* are regularly set up from each other, with the usual misprints and conjectural emendations. Nothing more than these justifies the "Newly Corrected" of the Q_2 title-page. The Cambridge editors thought that quartos earlier than Q_2 were probably consulted for F_1 , but the few cases in which F_1 seems to revert to these are all capable of explanation as conjectures. Profanity has, however, been excised from F_1 with exceptional thoroughness. The normal stage-directions of Q_1 are preserved by F_1 . Q_1 is therefore the sole authority for the text. This is somewhat rough metrically, owing partly to the difficulty of manipulating proper names, and partly to misprints, elisions, and the like, which editors might perhaps emend more freely than they do.

ADAMS (*Life of Sh.*, 1923, p. 538): In the case of five plays (*Richard II*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *I Henry IV*, *Titus Andronicus*, and *Much Ado*), though the quartos were based upon authentic copy, the editors [of the First Folio] made use not indeed of playhouse manuscripts but of the actors' special copies of these quartos which had been converted at the theatre into prompt-books. . . . In preparing their copy [the editors] seem to have purchased the most available editions of these quartos [Q_5 , the fifth edition, 1613, of *I Henry IV*], and after comparing them with the actors' prompt-books, to have introduced such corrections, alterations, and additions as they saw fit; and these collated quartos they placed in the hands of the compositors—*IBID.* (p. 513): [In *I Henry IV*] the dramatist had unwittingly given offence to Lord Cobham, and, after that nobleman made complaint, had altered the name of the fat knight from Oldcastle to Falstaff. This change proving inadequate, Shakespeare and his company sent the play to the press in order further to rectify the injury they had done to the Cobham family. The text was set up from authentic copy, possibly supplied by Shakespeare . . . That it was printed from the original draft is indicated by the survival of a word-play on the name Oldcastle (I, ii, 40); and that it was edited for the press is suggested by the descriptive stage-directions instead of the usually curt notations entered by the prompter.

GREG (*Prin. of Emend.*, 1928, p. 13): Even in *I Henry IV* there is always the possibility that a folio variant may be a fragment of an independent textual

tradition, and moreover one which an editor, working within a few years of the author's death and in close touch with his fellow actors, thought superior to that of the quarto. This is no ground why we should necessarily prefer the folio reading, but it is a ground for giving it respectful consideration.—[R. G. WHITE (ed. 1859, vi, 278) is the only scholar of note who has argued that the Folio text is superior to that of Q_1 . He admits that Q_1 was printed with unusual care, and that F_1 was printed from Q_6 , 1613, but asserts that the copy of the 1613 edition used by the printers of F_1 had "received the benefit of important erasures, omissions and alterations." He cites as evidence the following lines (see Textual Notes). I, iii, 128, III, ii, 154; V, iii, 11. This evidence is obviously inconclusive; but the passages cited may illustrate GREG's statement quoted above.—ED.]

[The quartos of 1622, 1632, and 1639 have no significance in the evolution of the text of the play. 1622 is set up from 1613, 1632 from 1622, etc. There is no connection between the text of the Folios and the text of these later Quartos. For a discussion of the Folios and of the early 18th century editions, see LOUNSBURY (1906), from whom the following comments are quoted.—ED.]—LOUNSBURY (*Text of Sh*, 1906, p. 69): There is substantial agreement that if some of the alterations of text in the Folio of 1632 (F_2) are for the better, the majority of them are for the worse. They may in a few instances have been based upon the authority of readings which the reviser had heard from the mouth of actors. . . . The edition of 1663 (F_3) was printed from the preceding Folio, occasionally correcting some of its errors, more often contributing new errors of its own. . . . In the Folio of 1685 (F_4) additional errors crept in. The spelling was somewhat modernized . . . (p. 71): As the 17th century drew to its close . . . Shakespeare was beginning to assume the character of a classic. . . . The feeling grew that as such he should receive something of the care and attention due to a classic. . . . To make a new edition of Shakespeare sell, it was imperative to do something toward reforming the text. . . . The playwright, NICHOLAS ROWE, was the man selected to perform this task. . . . Rowe professed to have done what he assuredly did not even try to do. In the dedication of his edition . . . [he asserted] that all he could do was to "compare the several editions and secure from them the true readings." This had been his endeavor, and one would infer from his words that he had been successful in carrying it out. His edition was based on the Fourth Folio (1685). . . . The emendations he made came rarely from original authorities. They were practically all his own. He corrected some obvious errors. He put forth some happy and some unhappy conjectures. Not only did he introduce some corrections which have been quietly accepted by all, he completed two things which before his time had been performed but partially. In the Folios the *Dramatis Personae* were given in only eight of the thirty-six plays. The division into acts and scenes was carried out in haphazard manner. . . . These defects Rowe remedied. . . . (p. 86): POPE said that [in preparing his edition] he had carefully collated the texts of the original copies: he did nothing of the kind. He said the various readings were fairly put in the margin: not once in fifty times was it done. He said he never indulged in private conjecture: he did it constantly and without notification to the reader. . . . (p. 94): In his edition he took the most unwarrantable lib-

erty which probably has ever been taken with the text of a great author. . . . (p. 108) It was the meter, not the matter, for which Pope specially cared. . . . It was an object which he kept steadily in view to remove irregularities, to reduce everything to the measured monotony of 18th century versification. To bring this about, words were inserted, words were thrown out, or the order of words was changed . . . (p. 110): It is a question whether the text of Shakespeare suffered more from Pope's indolence or from his industry. . . . (p. 155): In March 1726 appeared THEOBALD's *Shakespeare Restored*. . . . It is well within bounds to say that this treatise surpasses in interest and importance any single one of its numerous successors . . . (p. 157): In this volume appeared some of those emendations so peculiarly happy that they have been adopted almost universally. . . . (p. 170). No one pretends that Theobald was invariably right, [but] his changes were never wanton, they are always of a sort which are made by a man who has studied his subject. . . . (p. 444): The success of THEOBALD's edition, 1733, was immediate and pronounced. Its superiority to every edition which had preceded it was manifest.

[POPE (ed. 1723, *Preface*) is the first to comment on the accurate printing of the Quarto text of *I Henry IV*, but he follows the Folio in his edition.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765, IV, 197) says that the copy of 1599, 2. e., Q₂, is more correctly printed than any edition he has seen of a play written by Shakespeare; but he, too, follows the Folio—CAPELL (ed. 1768) is the first to base his text on Q₁, and comments on the text as follows: "The faults and errors of the quartos are all preserved in the folios, and others added to them; and what difference there is, is generally for the worse on the side of the folio editors. . . . The editions of the plays preceding the folios are the very basis of those we have there, . . . this is principally evident in *I and II Henry IV*."—MALONE is the first to demonstrate that the text of F₁ is taken from Q₅, and that Q₁ is alone of any authority. His argument follows.—ED.]—MALONE (ed. 1790, *Preface*, xii): It is well known that (unless the author corrects and revises his own work) as editions of books are multiplied, their errors are multiplied also. . . . A few instances of the gradual process of corruption will fully evince the truth of this assertion. In the original copy of *I Henry IV*, printed in 1598, in IV, iv, we find—"Who with them was a rated sinew too." In Q₄, 1608, the article being omitted by the negligence of the compositor, the line was printed thus: "Who with them was rated sinew too." The editor of the next quarto (Q₅, 1613), which was copied by the folio, instead of examining the first edition, amended the error, leaving the metre still imperfect, by reading—"Who with them was rated *firmly* too." So, in the same play, I, iii, 251; III, i, 15, 16, V, iv, 84; V, ii, 11, [see Textual Notes].—COLLIER (ed. 1842): The text is unquestionably found in its purest state in the Quarto of 1598. [See Collier's note on I, iii, 295.—ED.]—COWL (ed. 1914, ix.) The authoritative text is Q₁. . . . F₁ has no independent authority. Its editors based their text on a partly corrected copy of Q₅. Perhaps this copy had been expurgated for performance at Court. Certainly the expurgation of the Folio text of this play has been exceptionally thorough, profane expressions being rigorously suppressed or altered, sometimes at the expense of sense or metre. . . . It seems unlikely that the editors of F₁ had access to copies of Q₁₋₄. . . . for F₁ follows Q₅ in errors easy of correction by reference to the earlier quartos

B. THE EARLIEST PRINTING OF THE PLAY, *i.e.*, Q₀

A unique fragment of what is apparently the first edition of the play was discovered, and described, by Halliwell; and is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington. It is listed by Bartlett and Pollard (*Census*, 1916) as Item 121. I am indebted to Dr J Q Adams, Director of Research in the Folger Shakespeare Library, for permission to study this fragment, and especially for the use of his notes on it. In the following description these notes are indicated by the symbol (A)

Halliwell's comment, written on the fly-leaf of the bound fragment, and later printed in his *Calendar of Shakespearean Rarities* (2nd ed., 1891) is (in part) as follows

"There can be little doubt that [these leaves] are a portion of the first, and hitherto unknown, edition of *I Henry IV*, published by Wise in the early part of 1598. The edition of 1598, hitherto styled and known as the first, was no doubt printed later in the same year. I gather that this is the first, not only from the orthography of the word *Hystorie* in the head-line (the other reading *Historie*), but from the circumstance of the word *fat* in the last line of the fragment not being found in any other copy [see Textual Note on II, ii, 102.—Ed.] Omission is one of the commonest errors of our early printers . . . These leaves were found at Bristol, some years ago, in the binding of a copy of Thomas's *Rules of the Italian Grammar*, 4to, 1567."

The fragment consists of four leaves of Sig C, which, in Q₀, opens with Hotspur's "By heaven, methinks it were an easy leap" (Q₀, I, iii, 201) and ends with Poins's "How the *fat* rogue roar'd" (Q₀, II, ii, 102). [The right edges and bottoms of the leaves are uncut. Possibly the top was trimmed in the binding of the book for which the sheet was used (A).] A complete list of the variants from Q₁ is appended to this discussion. A comparison with a rotograph of the Devonshire-Huntington copy of Q₁ supports Halliwell's contention that Q₀ is a fragment of an earlier edition. The following statements are, I believe, demonstrable

1. Q₀ and Q₁ were set up by the same printing house. This is indicated by the same typographical peculiarities throughout both texts, identical font of type, [apparently the same width of type page (A)], in general the same spacing of lines in prose scenes; and, chiefly, by the use of similar peculiarly shaped ornaments which are used as brackets to set off the stage-direction in II, ii, 94, 95. [The typographical arrangement of the stage-direction is very unusual, almost bizarre, and is identical in both texts (A).]*

2. One quarto was set up from the other, and not from an independent MS. This is indicated by the fact that the catch-name, *Hot.*, for the speech beginning "By heauen" (I, iii, 201) is omitted in both texts, so that Hotspur's characteristic utterance appears as a continuation of Northumberland's preceding couplet; by the repetition of obviously bad punctuation (I, iii, 216b: "You, start away"; I, iii, 293, 294); [by the repetition of inadequate punctuation in long passages, e.g., I, iii, 279-281, II, i, 51-57 (A)]; and by the repetition

* Dr. John J. Elson, of the University of Tennessee, suggests that an argument for both editions having come from the same press is the occurrence in both of a ligatured "oo," not common in roman fonts, used interchangeably with "o o" in both editions.

of certain spellings and forms of words, e.g., II, 1, 63, hāgman. [From the external history of the play we infer that the actors themselves gave the play to the press. Naturally they would give their prompt-book, their only copy. If the first quarto (whether Q₀ or Q₁) were in print, the second would inevitably be set from the first, unless the first were a stolen or corrupt text. Since there is no evidence of this in the case of *I Henry IV*, it is obvious that one quarto must have been set up from the other. Typographical evidence fully confirms this conclusion. The two texts are identical in phraseology except for the omission of one word, "fat," in Q₁, II, 11, 102 (A)]

3. Q₀ was earlier than Q₁. The typesetter of Q₁ evidently had orders to save space when possible, in order to avoid the necessity of running into a new Signature. Q₁ finishes, neatly, on K₄, verso. Q₀ must have, or would have, run into Sig. L. The typesetter of Q₁ adds one line to each page-length. Further, he once runs two speeches into a single line (I, 111, 249, 250), thus saving a line, [once, at the beginning of II, 1, he omits the spacing before the initial stage-direction, thus saving another line (A)], and twice (II, 1, 91-93; II, 11, 29-31)* he compresses three prose lines into two, thus saving two lines more. Altogether, in the portion of the play covered by this fragment, twelve lines are saved. [The catch-names in Q₀ are more abbreviated in form: *Po*, *Pr* (in II, 11) seem to reproduce the form common in prompt-books, the expanded forms in Q₁ seem to indicate a text edited for readers (A).] The omission of the word *fat*, as Halliwell suggests, is further evidence of the later printing of Q₁. In I, 111, 237, 238 (note change from Q₀, comma, to Q₁, interrogation point) the typesetter would hardly ignore two interrogation points where they are obviously needed, if he were printing Q₀ from Q₁. [In II, 1, 13, 14, in his effort to gain space and get "London" into one line (as it is in Q₁), the typesetter not only used narrow quads between words, but reduced the spelling of "all" to "al", the same thing occurs several times (A)]

4. Dr. Adams feels that a proof-reader may possibly have been responsible for some of the changes in Q₁. On this point the evidence, I believe, is less conclusive. Dr. Adams cites the following passages as furnishing readings which might be attributed to a proof-reader. I, 111, 213a: Omission of period at end of incomplete sentence; I, 111, 229, 241, 246. Spelling "Bullingbrooke" twice corrected, but the earlier form once overlooked, I, 111, 282: Bad punctuation corrected; II, 11, 33: "my" changed to "mine"

Textual Variants in Q₀ and Q₁

TEXTUAL DISTRIBUTION

Q ₀ . Sig. Ci, recto I, 111, 201-235.	Q ₁ . Sig. Biv, verso I, 111, 180-215.
Sig. Ci, verso I, 111, 236-272.	Sig. Ci, recto I, 111, 216-254.
Sig. Cii, recto I, 111, 273-II, 1, 4.	Sig. Ci, verso I, 111, 255-290.
Sig. Cii, verso II, 1, 5-43	Sig. Cii, recto I, 111, 291-II, 1, 28
Sig. Ciii, recto II, 1, 43-83.	Sig. Cii, verso II, 1, 28-66.
Sig. Ciii, verso II, 1, 83-II, 11, 28.	Sig. Ciii, recto II, 1, 66-II, 11, 16.
Sig. Civ, recto II, 11, 29-69	Sig. Ciii, verso II, 11, 16-58.
Sig. Civ, verso II, 11, 70-102.	Sig. Civ, recto II, 11, 58-93.
	Sig. Civ, verso II, 11, 94-II, 111, 31

* In Q₁, the lines of the first passage end with *Ostler* and *knaue*, and of the second with *to the* and *travellers*.

RUNNING-TITLES

Q₀. *Hystorie*Q₁. *History*

[This variant occurs on verso pages only]

PHRASEOLOGY

Q₀ I, iii, 239 whipQ₁. whipt.

II, ii, 33 my owne

mine owne

II, ii, 102 fat rogue

rogue

SPELLING, TYPOGRAPHY, AND PUNCTUATION

I, iii	Q ₀	Q ₁	238.	owne.	owne?
202.	honor	honour	239	<i>Hot</i> (in-	<i>Hot</i> . (not in-
202.	palefac't	palefac'd		dented)	dented)
205.	honor	honour	239.	you?	you,
208.	halfe fac't	halfe fac't	239	fcourgd	fcourg'd
212a	cry	crie	242.	cal	call
212a.	mercy	mercie	244.	vnckle	vncle
212b.	<i>Wor</i> (in-	<i>Wor</i> (not in-	246.	Bulling-	Bullen-
	dented)	dented)		brooke	brooke
213a.	prifoners.	prifoners			(cf. 229)
213b.	<i>Ile</i>	<i>Ile</i>	249, 250.	[As two	[As one line.]
214.	<i>fhal</i>	<i>fhal</i>		lines]	
215.	<i>fhal</i>	<i>fhal</i>	252	proffer	profer
215.	not,	not.	255.	diuel	diuill
218a.	<i>fhal</i>	<i>fhal</i>	256.	tel	tell
218b	<i>I wil,</i>	<i>I will:</i>	258b.	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>
221.	<i>wil</i>	<i>will</i>	261.	onely	only (but cf.
226.	<i>ftil</i>	<i>ftill</i>			275, "one-
227.	<i>Heare</i>	<i>Heare</i>			ly ftaies")
228.	follemnly	folemnly	263.	<i>I fhal</i>	<i>I fhall</i>
229	Bulling-	Bullen-	264.	Wileafely	Wil eafely
	brooke	brooke	267.	Prelat	prelat
		(but Bull-	267.	wel belou'd	welbelou'd
		ingbrooke	275.	ftayes	ftaies
		in both, in	277.	well:	well.
		241)	281a.	ioyne	ioine
230.	prince	Prince	281b.	<i>fhal</i> ,	<i>fhal</i> .
233.	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>	282.	<i>Hot</i> ,	<i>Hot</i> .
235.	when	When	282.	well, aimd	well aimd
236.	<i>North.</i>	<i>Nor.</i> (but	284.	heades	heads
		identical	286.	alwayes	alwaies
		readings	288.	home,	home.
		in 249,	289.	alreadie	already
		<i>North.</i> ;	291.	reuengd	reueng'd
		278, <i>Nor.</i> ;	292.	<i>Wor.</i>	<i>Wor</i> !
		300, <i>Nor.</i>)	296.	powers	powres
237.	thou,	thou?	297.	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>
238.	tongue	toung	298.	owne	own

299.	vncertaintie	vncertainty	32. [35]	<i>I</i> fayth	<i>I</i> faith
300.	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>	33. [36]	<i>Gad· I</i>	<i>Gad. I</i>
302.	<i>Exeunt.</i>	<i>Exeunt</i>	34. [37]	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>
			34. [37]	mee	me
II, 1			34. [38]	marry	mar-/ry
s.d.	[Broad space before s.d. in Q ₀ does not appear in Q ₁ . Line is better cen- tered in Q ₁]		36. [39]	do	doe
			38. [41]	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>
			40 [43]	companie	company
			After 40		
s.d.	<i>hand</i>	<i>hand</i>	[44]	<i>Enter</i>	<i>Enter</i>
2.	Charles-	Charles	After 40.		
	waine	waine	[44]	<i>Chamber-</i>	<i>Chamber-</i>
4.	<i>Ost</i>	<i>Oft.</i>		<i>laine,</i>	<i>laine.</i>
*8. [9]	bottes	bots	45. [49]	layeft	laieft
8 [10]	tur-/ned	turned	46. [51]	<i>Cham:</i>	<i>Cham.</i>
10. [11]	<i>Car.</i>	<i>Car</i>	46. [51]	Gadfhil,	Gadfhill,
10. [11]	ioyed	ioied	47. [52]	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>
12 [13]	bee	be	47. [52]	ther's	ther's
12. [13]	villainous	villainons	47. [52]	wild	wilde
12. [13]	all	al	48. [54]	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>
12. [14]	Lon-/don	London	49. [54]	companie	company
13. [14]	Tench	Tench	51. [56]	alreadie	already
14. [15]	King	King	51. [56]	call	cal
16. [18]	Why,	Why	51. [57]	Butter	butter
16 [18]	Iordan	Iordane	51. [57]	they/will	they wil
16 [19]	then/we	then we	53 [58]	<i>Gad:</i>	<i>Gad.</i>
17. [19]	Chimney	chumney	55. [60]	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>
17. [20]	fleas/like	fleas like	56. [61]	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>
21. [24]	farre	far	56. [61]	Sainc	Saint
21. [24]	Croffe	croffe	58. [63]	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>
22. [25]	<i>Car.</i>	<i>Car</i>	59 [64]	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>
24. [27]	heade	head	59. [64]	Iohn	Iohn
24. [28]	deed	deede	60. [65]	he	hee
25 [28]	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>	61. [66]	Troyans	Troians
25. [28]	verie	very	61. [67]	fake/are	fake are
25. [28, 29]	villain	villaine	62. [68]	mat-/ters	matters
After 26.			63. [69]	all/whole	all whole
[29]	<i>Gadfhill:</i>	<i>Gadfhill.</i>	64. [70]	footland	footlande
28. [31]	<i>Car· I</i>	<i>Car. I</i>	64 [70]	fix-/pennie	fixpennie
29. [32]	<i>Gad: I</i>	<i>Gad I</i>	65. [71]	malt-/	maltworms
	preethe	prethe		worms	
31. [34]	<i>Car:</i>	<i>Car.</i>	66. [72]	& . . . &	and . . . and
31. [34]	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>	69. [75, 76]	continually	continuallie
31. [34]	trike	tricke	74. [81]	wee	we
			75. [82]	we haue	wee haue
			77. [84]	<i>Cham:</i>	<i>Cham.</i>
			77. [84]	faith	fayth
			77. [84]	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>
			79. [87]	me	mee

* The numbers in brackets indicate the lines as printed in this volume; e.g., "bots" appears in line 8 of Q₁, but in line 9 in the present text.—ED.

81 [89]	<i>Cham.</i>	<i>Cham</i>	31 [34]	Exchequer.	Exchequer:
82, 83 [91-93]	[As three lines in Q ₀ , ending Oft-/muddye/knaue]		33 [36]	<i>Pr</i>	<i>Prin</i>
			34. [38]	Hall	Hal (but cf 7, 17, 57) [7, 19, 64]
83 [92]	farewell	farewel	36. [40]	<i>Pr</i>	<i>Prin</i>
83 [93]	muddye	muddy	38 [42]	I	I
II, II			39 [44]	Sacke	lacke
s.d.	<i>Prince,</i>	<i>Prince,</i>	41. [46]	<i>Fal.</i>	<i>Falst</i>
	<i>Poynes</i>	<i>Poines</i>	41 [46]	I	I
s.d.	<i>Peto</i>	<i>Peto</i>	42 [47]	knowe	know
3.	<i>Pr.</i>	<i>Prin.</i>	42. [47]	voice Bar-	voice, Bar-
3	close	close		doll,	doll,
4.	<i>Fal.</i>	<i>Falst.</i>	43 [49]	ye . . yee	ye . . yee
5.	<i>Pr.</i>	<i>Prin.</i>	43. [49]	vizardes	vizards
5.	yee	ye	43 [50]	mony	money
5.	rafcall	rafcal	44 [51]	kinges	Kings
5. [6]	dofst/thou	dofst thou	46. [52]	<i>Fal</i>	<i>Falst</i>
7.	<i>Fal.</i>	<i>Falst.</i>	46 [52]	lie,	lie
7.	Poynes,	Poynes	46. [52, 53]	rogue	rogue
8.	<i>Pr:</i>	<i>Prin.</i>	46. [52, 53]	tauerne	Tauerne
8.	Ile	Ile	47 [54]	enough	inough
9. [10]	<i>Fal.</i>	<i>Falst.</i>	47. [54]	all.	all:
9. [10]	I	I	48. [55]	<i>Fal</i>	<i>Falst.</i>
9. [11]	rafcall	rafcal	49 [56]	<i>Pr.</i>	<i>Prin.</i>
10. [11]	know	knowe	49. [56]	Sirs,	Sirs
14. [16]	xxii:	xxii.	50 [57]	Poynes	Poines,
16. [17]	mee	me	50 [57]	will	wil
16. [18]	me	mee	52. [59]	<i>Peto.</i>	<i>Peto</i>
17. [19]	medicines	medicines,	54 [61]	<i>Fal.</i>	<i>Fal</i>
18. [20]	Bardol	Bardoll,	55. [62]	<i>Pr.</i>	<i>Prin.</i>
18. [20]	robbe	rob	56. [63]	<i>Falst.</i>	<i>Fal.</i>
19. [21]	deed	deede	58 [65]	<i>Pr.</i>	<i>Prin.</i>
21. [23]	Eight	eight	61. [69]	<i>Fast.</i>	<i>Fal.</i>
21. [23]	years	yeardes	62 [70]	<i>Pr</i>	<i>Prin.</i>
23. [25]	villaines	villaines	64. [72]	<i>Falst.</i>	<i>Fal.</i>
23. [25]	enough	inough	64. [72]	happieman	happie man
24. [26]	cannot	can not	64. [72]	be	bee
24. [26]	another.	another:	70. [78]	horefone	horefon
27. [29]	<i>Pr.</i>	<i>Prin.</i>	70. [78]	Caterpillers	Caterpillars
27. [29]	yee fatte	ye fat	73. [81]	ye . . . yee	ye . . . yee
27. [29]	lay	laie		. . . ye	. . . yee
27, 28. [29-31]	[Three lines in Q ₀ , ending to/trauay-/lers.]		74. [82]	chuffes	chuffes,
			74. [82]	woulde	would
28. [30]	grounde	ground	s.d.	<i>Prince</i>	<i>prince</i>
28. [31]	trauay-/lers	trauellers	s.d.	<i>Poynes</i>	<i>Poynes</i>
31. [34]	coyne	coine	77. [85]	<i>Pr.</i>	<i>Prin.</i>
			77. [85]	bounde	bound
			78. [86]	merrily	merilie

78. [87]	woulde	would	s d.	<i>prince</i>	<i>Prince</i>
79 [87]	weeke	week	s d	<i>Falstalffe</i>	<i>Falstalffe</i>
79. [88]	ieaft	ieft	89. [97]	al	all
83. [91]	prince	Prince	90 [99]	fellowe	fellow
83 [91]	Poynes	Poines	90. [99]	away	awaie
86 [94]	<i>Pr</i>	<i>Prin.</i>	91. [99]	Falstal ffe	Falstalffe
87 [95]	<i>Po</i>	<i>Poin.</i>	93 [102]	<i>Po</i>	<i>Poynes.</i>

C INDIVIDUAL COPIES OF THE FIRST FIVE QUARTOS

I The Quarto of 1598 (Q₁). Three copies are listed in Bartlett and Polard's *Census* (1916):

- 122. Brit. Mus. (Garrick's copy)
- 123. Huntington (Devonshire copy.)
- 124. Trin. Coll., Camb. (Capell's copy)

I have collated 122 and 124 with rotographs of 123, and have found only the following variants:

II, iv, 277. lions to, you (123) . . . lions, to you (122 & 124)

II, iv, 388. for Harrie, now (123) . . . for Harrie now, (122 & 124)

Many of the apparent differences in punctuation in the three copies are due, I believe, to pale impression or fading, frequent in 123 and occasional in 122 and 124.

The Griggs facsimile (so-called) of 123 is full of errors and should not be relied upon. In II, iv, 517, Griggs reads *be with the* for *be with me*, in III, ii, 55, *me person* for *my person*; in III, ii, 79, *sup-like* for *sun-like*, in III, iii, 13, *malle me* for *make me*, in III, iii, 14, *vefluous* for *vertuous*, in III, iii, 74, *such* for *rich*. For the long *s, f* frequently appears in the facsimile, so that we find *coofen* for *coosen*, and, in I, ii, 206, *soile* is printed for *foile*.

II. The Quarto of 1599 (Q₂). Eleven copies are listed in Bartlett and Polard, one of which, however (129, the Crichton-Stuart copy, not accessible for examination when the *Census* was made), is actually a mutilated copy of Q₂, with a title-page in pen and ink, from the title-page of Q₂. 133, a Huntington copy, is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library.

I have collated the following seven copies of Q₂, and have found no variants.*

- 125. Bodleian. (Malone's copy.)
- 127. Brit. Mus. (Steevens's copy.)
- 128. Brit. Mus. (Garrick's copy.)
- 130. Yale Eliz. Club. (Halliwell's copy.)
- 131. Folger. (Steevens-Roxburghe copy.)
- 133. Folger. (Kemble-Huntington copy.)
- 135. Trin. Coll., Camb. (Capell's copy.)

III. The Quarto of 1604 (Q₃). Two copies are listed in Bartlett and Polard, to which should now be added 129, Crichton-Stuart (see above, under Q₂), and the Downshire copy, bought by Mr. Folger at Sotheby's in March, 1926, and now in the Folger Shakespeare Library.

* Dr. Elson discovers one variant in the Folger copies: V, i, 134, copy 131, *aire*; copy 133, *air*. 130 reads *aire*.

I have collated all four copies, and have found but one variant.

- 129. Crichton-Stuart.
- 136. Bodleian. (Malone's copy.)
- 137. Trin Coll, Camb (Capell's copy.)
- 137 [A] Folger. (Downshire copy)

129 lacks the title-page, and the whole of Sig. A. 136 lacks C₁, 137 lacks A, B₁, D₁₁, D₁₁₁, K. 137[A] is the only perfect copy. The only variant is in II, iv, 178, where 137 reads *boare*, the others *bore*. Other apparent variants, in punctuation, seem to be due to fading

IV. The Quarto of 1608 (Q₄) Seven copies are listed in Bartlett and Pollard, to which should be added a copy, bought in 1923 by Mr. Folger from Quaritch, now in the Folger Shakespeare Library. I have collated the following:

- 138. Bodleian. (Steevens's copy.)
- 139 Brit. Mus (Halliwell's copy.)
- 140. Crichton-Stuart.
- 141. Folger. (Warwick copy.)
- 141[A] Folger.
- 144 Harvard. (Perkins-White copy)

141 is said to have K_{1v} in facsimile, but the text of this leaf is derived from the first folio, and not from the fourth, or any other, quarto. There are two distinct textual traditions represented in the various copies of this quarto. 138, 139, and 141 almost invariably agree, whereas 140 and 144 generally agree with each other and differ from the first group. 141[A] sometimes agrees with the first group and sometimes with the second. Apart from certain questionable differences in punctuation and typography, the following variants occur:

Sig. Cui.	II, ii, 7.	Poines, 138, 139, 141[A], 144	poines 140, 141.
Sig. Di.	II, iii, 47.	murmure 138, 139, 140, 141	mūmure 141[A], 144
	II, iii, 64.	Gilliams 138, 139, 141.	Gilliams 140, 141[A], 144
	II, iii, 67.	brought 138, 139, 141, 141[A].	brovght 140, 144.
Sig. Dii, verso.	II, iv, 68.	In Barbary 138, 139, 141.	barbary 140, 141[A], 144.
Sig. Diii.	II, iv, 77.	<i>Prinec.</i> 138, 139, 141.	<i>Pomes</i> 140, 141[A], 144.
	II, iv, 103.	lead 138, 139, 141.	leed 140, 141[A], 144.
Sig. Hi, verso.	IV, i, 55.	hope 138, 139, 141, 141[A].	hopes 140, 144.
	IV, i, 61	heaire 138, 139, 141, 141[A]	haire 140, 144.
	IV, i, 82.	shall, or 138, 139, 141, 141[A].	shall or 140, 144.
Sig. Hii, verso.	IV, ii, 19.	I, prest me none 138, 139, 141, 141[A].	I prest me none, 140, 144.
Sig. Hiii.	IV, ii, 41.	a 138, 139, 141, 141[A].	a 140, 144.

Sig. Hiii, verso	IV, ii, 75	guest 138, 139, 141, 141[A].	stuest 140, 144.
	IV, iii, 7.	heart 138, 139, 141, 141[A]	t, <i>m</i> heart, <i>in-</i> <i>verted</i> 140, 144.
Sig Ii, verso.	IV, iv, 38	heard 138, 139, 141, 141[A].	hard 140, 144.
	V, i, 4.	purposes 138.	purposes 139, 140, 141, 141[A], 144.

V. The Quarto of 1613 (Q₅) Ten copies are listed in Bartlett and Pollard, of which I have collated the following:

- 145 Bodleian. (Malone's copy.)
- 146 Brit Mus (Steevens's copy.)
- 147. Brit. Mus (Halliwell's copy)
- 148. Yale Eliz. Club. (Halliwell's copy.)
- 149. Folger. (Hoe copy.)
- 150. Folger. (Jennens copy)
- 153 N. Y. Pub Lib (Dyce's copy.)
- 154 Trin. Coll, Camb. (Capell's copy)

There are two distinct textual traditions represented in the various copies of this quarto In Sigs H_i-iv, there are twelve readings in which 145, 147, 148, and 154 agree and are superior to 146, 149, 150, and 153 These are:

H _i	IV, i, 21. letters beares	litters beares
	IV, i, 46 it. Were	it were
H _{ii} , verso.	IV, i, 126. cannot .	can [as in Q ₄]
	IV, ii, 8. all, I'le	.all I,le
H _{iii} .	IV, ii, 24. <i>Lazarus</i> .	Lazarus [as in Q ₄]
	IV, ii, 27. trade-falne	tradefalne [as in Q ₄]
	IV, ii, 44 <i>Dauintry</i>	<i>Dauinntry</i>
	IV, ii, 53 can tell you	can you
H _{iv} , verso.	IV, iii, 61. be Duke	the Duke [as in Q ₄]
	IV, iii, 79 edicts .	.edicts
	IV, iii, 80. lay	lie [as in Q ₄]
	IV, iii, 82. Countries .	. . Country [as in Q ₄]

There are four passages, earlier in the play, in which variants occur; but in these passages there is not the same consistency in the grouping of the copies. 150 and 153 agree with each other consistently in these passages, and differ from the common readings of 146 and 149; but the other four copies agree now with one pair and now with the other. These earlier variants are:

Civ.	II, ii, 63 our 145, 147, 148, your 146, 149 [as in Q ₄ and F ₁].	
	150, 153, 154.	
Dii.	II, iv, 28. pnny 145, 148, puny 146, 147, 149 [as in Q ₄ and F ₁].	
	150, 153, 154.	
Diii, verso.	II, iv, 111, the a 145	thē a 148, 150, 153, 154.
		then a 146, 147, 149 [as in Q ₄ and F ₁].

Giv, verso IV, i, 2, though 145, 147, thought 146, 148, 149, 154 [as in 150, 153 Q₄ and F₁].

The first folio text was obviously printed from a copy of Q₆ which was made up of corrected sheets throughout.

DATE OF COMPOSITION

[That the play was written as early as 1597 is shown by the following entry in the *Stationers' Register* "1597 [1598, new style], xxvto die februarij. Andrew Wyse Entred for his Copie vnder th handes of Master Dix: and master Warden Man a booke intituled The historye of HENRY the IIIJth with his battaile of Shrewsburye against HENRY HOTSPURRE of the Northe with the conceived mirthe of Sir JOHN FFALSTOFF."—MERES (*Palladis Tamia*, entered *Sta Reg*, Sept 7, 1598) As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines, so Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage; for Comedy, witness his ; for Tragedy, his *Richard the 2. Richard the 3 Henry the 4*. Michael Drayton . . is helde for a man of vertuos disposition . . which is almost miraculous among good wits in these declining and corrupt times, when there is nothing but roguery in villanous man . . [The last phrase quoted is from *I Henry IV*, just published, cf. II, iv, 109, 110—ED]

MALONE (Var ed. 1778, i, 297, 300): Written probably in 1597. Printed in 1598 . . . At that time, it is probable, the author had not conceived the idea of exhibiting Falstaff in a second drama, and therefore the play was not distinguished by the title *The First Part*. When the same piece was entered a year afterwards, on the 9th Jan., 1598/9, it was entitled *A Booke called the First Part of the Life and Reign of K Henry the Fourth, extending to the end of the first year of his reign*.—G. CHALMERS (*Suppl Apol.*, 1799, p 326): There are circumstances which speak with stronger voice that the play was written in 1596. The first scene opens with the king's reflections on his own health and the state of the nation. This passage plainly [?] alludes to the hostilities with Spain in 1596, and to the sailing in June of the expedition to Cadiz. . . . Falstaff, when concocting a robbery, remarks with a sneer that the poor abuses of the time want countenance [I, ii, 149]. While the military preparations were making in 1596, says Camden, "there were a parcel of loose fellows who went about the kingdom, with sham warrants, taking away by force plate, jewels, &c. . . . The carriers lamenting [II, i] the death of Robin the ostler, remark that "the poor fellow never joyed since the price of oats rose." The price rose to an uncommon height in 1596. . . . The impetuous Hotspur, grown impatient at the tediousness of Glendower, exclaims [III, i, 153-155]. Here is a stroke at the *Devils Incarnate* of Lodge, 1596, which have all appropriate names.—COLLIER (ed. 1842): I am inclined to fix the date in 1596.—VERPLANCK (*Sh. Plays*, 1847, i, 7): Mr. Halliwell has lately placed the date as early as 1593 [As Halliwell's arguments seem worthless, I have not included them.—ED.], Chalmers in 1596, and Malone in 1597. The external evidence

amounts to almost nothing. The internal indications of language and versification are decidedly against the earliest date . . . and as decidedly in support of the later, which makes the play contemporary with *The Merchant of Venice*

HUDSON (ed 1852) It can scarce be doubted that the original name of Falstaff was Oldcastle [see Appendix, pp 447 ff], so that we must suppose the writing of the play to have been long enough before the first entry at the Stationers' [Feb 25 1597/8] for the poet to see good cause for changing the name . . . Nevertheless there seems no strong reason for assigning the play to an earlier date than 1597—WARD (*Hist. Eng Dram Lit*, 1875; 2nd ed., 1899, II, 120): There remains the curious circumstance that in one passage of the 1600 quarto of *II Henry IV*, the abbreviation *Old* for *Oldcastle* was by mistake left standing as the prefix to one of Falstaff's speeches . . . This has been thought a conclusive proof of the supposition that *Part II* was written previously to the entry of *Part I* on the *Stationers' Register*, in which the fat knight is called Falstaff . . . Perhaps it is enough to say that the two parts were written in close succession, and that the change of name cannot long have preceded the writing of *Part II*

H. P. STOKES (*Chron. Ord. of Sh. Plays*, 1878): If the allusions cited by Chalmers have any weight, they would be not inappropriate to the year 1597, to which we assign the play . . . This date is supported by the following strange point . . . In V, iv, 40, 41, we read "the spirits Of *valiant* Shirley, Stafford, Blunt, are in my arms!" where the word *valiant* was perhaps inserted [to the injury of the metre] by the actor as a compliment to the celebrated Shirleys who were knighted by the Queen in 1597 . . . [Stokes's "strange point" would rather indicate that the play was written before the Shirleys were knighted, and that the word *valiant* was inserted later as a compliment to them, in spite of metrical complications.—Ed.] . . . I cannot help thinking that the following remarks refute the contention that *Part II* was written before *Part I* was printed: (1) The mention of Falstaff as "the fat knight hight Oldcastle" by Nat Field in 1618 would suggest that some of the theatres long retained the name: this would weaken the inference from the abbreviation *Old*. in *Part II*. (2) The entry in the *Register* does not say *Part I*, but when the second edition was called for in 1599—*Part II* having then appeared [on the stage]—it was called *Henry IV, Pt I*.

HALLIWELL (*Outlines of the Life of Sh*, 1874; 2nd ed, 1882, p 98): The appearance on the stage may be confidently assigned to the spring of 1597. . . . It was followed immediately, or a few months afterward, by the composition of *Part II*. It is recorded that both these plays were favorably received by the Queen . . . and they were probably amongst the dramas represented before that sovereign in the Christmas holidays of 1597-8.—J. Q. ADAMS (*Life of Sh*, 1923, p. 226) expresses a similar belief.—FLEAY (*Biog. Chron. of Eng. Drama*, 1891, II, 181): This play was published sooner after representation than usual, to show that Oldcastle had been replaced by Falstaff.—B. WENDELL (*W. Sh*, 1894, p. 163): The years 1597 and 1598 were those in which his dramatic work began to be published, the years when arms were granted to his father, the years when he began to buy land, the years when Meres's allusion

proves him to have become a recognized man of letters. . . . We may fairly conclude that *Henry IV* was at least among the plays which he was making when, after ten years of professional work, his power was beginning to bring him both fortune and reputation . . . This play, more than any other, marks the emergence of Shakespeare into full contemporary recognition.

GOLLANCZ (Temple ed., 1895, p vii): General considerations of style corroborate the pieces of external evidence that the play was written in 1596 or 1597. . . . *Henry IV* bears the same relation to *Richard III*, *John*, and *Richard II* that *The Merchant of Venice* does to the early comedies. . . . The simple plots give place to the more complex. . . . As far as the introduction of prose is concerned, the case of the present play is specially remarkable, the earlier historical pieces, following the example of Marlowe's *Edward II*, contained practically no prose at all . . . None of these early efforts produced a typically Shakespearean drama, in *Henry IV* Shakespeare found himself.

J. E. MORRIS (*Date of Henry IV*, *T. L. S.*, Jan 28, 1926): Sir John Smythe . . . took up the cause of impressed men who suffered so much at the hands of unscrupulous officers . . . He tried to get some of the Essex bands to mutiny, and was brought before the Star Chamber on June 19, 1596. . . . On September 12, 1596, the Council ordered 100 men to be levied in Northamptonshire for service in Ireland. The language used is quite unusual: her Majesty needs serviceable men, not the baser sort, she has chosen a captain of good family to lead them, so as to show the care that she has that they shall be used well. . . . Now is it mere coincidence that there was a mutiny against impressment, and a promise that men chosen should have good treatment, in 1596, and that a play bitterly attacking [?] methods of impressment [*I Henry IV*, IV, ii] may have been brought out that year? [Morris errs, as Chalmers did more than a century before him, in attempting to establish a definite date on the basis of references to contemporary conditions. The price of corn was high in the summer of 1596, and there were impressment scandals the same summer; but these, and other matters, would not have been forgotten by 1597. If Chalmers's argument from the price of corn has any significance, it would seem to show that the play was written some time *after* the summer of '96, for "Robin never joyed *since* the price of corn rose."—Ed.]

E. K. CHAMBERS (*Wm. Sh.*, 1930, i, 382): Possibly a desire to advertise the purging of the offence [*i.e.*, by the substitution of Falstaff for Oldcastle, and Peto and Bardolph for Russell and Harvey; see note on I, ii, 155] led to the publication of *I Henry IV* unusually soon after its production. This can hardly have been earlier than 1597. A few historical allusions, which have been held to a date later than 1596, are indeed unconvincing; but obviously the play was later than *Richard II*, and its relative maturity of style makes it reasonable to put it after *John*.

HOTSON (*Sh. vs. Shallow*, 1931, p. 111): If Shakespeare introduced unmistakable hits at William Gardiner into his *II Henry IV* and *Merry Wives*, he did

it during that justice's lifetime. . . Gardiner died Nov. 26, 1597. This date therefore gives us our later limit for the composition of *The Merry Wives*. For the earlier, we can hardly place it before Shakespeare's removal to Southwark and the quarrel of Gardiner and Wayte with Shakespeare and Langley, in October and November, 1596 . . . (p. 130): By combining our discoveries with the annals of Queen Elizabeth's Court and with the internal evidence of the comedy [*The Merry Wives*], we have been enabled to fix the date of the first production of *The Merry Wives* on April 23, 1597. And since it is generally agreed that *II Henry IV* preceded *The Merry Wives*, the two parts of *Henry IV* must be pushed back into the season of 1596-7

[HENRY N. PAUL, Esq., of Philadelphia, in a letter to me, dated January 10, 1935, presents the following interesting and plausible theory—ED.]—*The First Part of Henry IV* appeared upon the stage in the winter of 1596-7. Its success was immediate. A Court performance was ordered for Shrovetide and the Queen saw the play at Whitehall either on February 6 or February 8, 1596-7. Shakespeare started work at once upon a sequel. William Brooke Lord Cobham, who died March 6, 1596-7, was then Lord Chamberlain and he was offended by the misuse of the name of his ancestor Sir John Oldcastle, so that the play was temporarily stayed by him. On April 23, 1597, five new Knights of the Garter were chosen, including the Duke of Wurtemberg and Lord Hunsdon, who had by this time become Lord Chamberlain and who was the patron of Shakespeare's company. The installation of these Knights was appointed for May 24, 1597, at Windsor. Lord Hunsdon proposed to take his players to Windsor in his retinue for the installation, and the Queen bade him exhibit to the Knights assembled at Windsor for dinner in the great hall on the night before the installation a play showing the fat Knight (under some other name) in love, and also amusing the Knights by falsely announcing the unexpected arrival at Windsor of "the Duke the Stranger," an occurrence which would have thwarted the understanding which the Knights had with the Queen that the installation of this unpopular German Duke should be long delayed. Shakespeare chose "Falstaff" in place of "Oldcastle" because in *The First Part of Henry VI* he had written a scene showing how Sir John Fastolfe was deprived of his Garter. He immediately wrote in two weeks his original draft for *The Merry Wives*, the action of which takes place after Act IV, Scene III of *The Second Part of Henry IV*, which is just where Shakespeare was compelled to drop his work on the latter play in order to fulfill the Queen's command. The play was first privately rehearsed before the Queen at Whitehall preparatory to the Windsor performance, which she knew she would not see. A degenerate printing of this draft is the first Quarto of *The Merry Wives*. The draft was much improved by the author before the Windsor performance of May 23, 1597, and in the latter shape constitutes the Folio text. *The First Part of Henry IV* immediately returned to the stage with Oldcastle re-baptized Falstaff. The draft of the second part was not finished until some months later and did not reach the stage until the following winter.

[See also Stage History, Appendix, p. 476, HALLIWELL, ADAMS, and BALDWIN.]

SOURCES OF THE PLOT

- I. Summary—ADAMS
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- IV. Selection from HALL.
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- VIII. Comments on Shakespeare's Possible Use of HAYWARD.
- IX. Selections from *THE FAMOUS VICTORIES OF HENRY V.*
- X. Comments on Shakespeare's Use of *THE FAMOUS VICTORIES.*
- XI. Selections from PHAER.
- XII. An Early, Metrical, Play on Henry IV, by Shakespeare—MORGAN
- XIII. Comment on MORGAN's Theory
- XIV. The *Richard II* of the Egerton MS.

I. SUMMARY

ADAMS (*Life of Sh*, 1923, p. 225): In 1597 Shakespeare turned again to history, and picking up the thread where he left it at the end of *Richard II*, produced *I Henry IV*. For his material he went to his thumb-worn copy of Holinshed, and at the same time, it seems, read Samuel Daniel's poetic rendering of the events in his fourth book of *The Civil Wars*, 1595. He also availed himself of an old play entitled *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, containing the mad pranks of Prince Hal with his disreputable companions in Eastcheap. This ancient chronicle had been entered for publication in 1594, . . . although our earliest extant copy bears the date 1598. It had originally been performed by the Queen's Men before the death of Tarlton in 1588, as we learn from . . . [a] jest recorded of the famous clown (*Tarlton's Jests*, edited by J. O. Halliwell, 1844, p. 24). Shakespeare [used] *The Famous Victories* in connection with the more serious narratives in Holinshed's *Chronicle* and Daniel's *Civil Wars*, and drawing upon them all for material or inspiration, produced *Henry IV*.

II SELECTIONS FROM HOLINSHED'S *CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND*,
Second Edition, 1587

HOLINSHED (Anno 1399, p. 498): The duke of Lancaster, after that he had coasted alongst the shore a certeine time, & had got some intelligence how the peoples minds were affected towards him, landed about the
Act I, sc. iii, 242 ff. beginning of Iulie in Yorkshire, at a place sometime called Rauens-
IV, iii, 52 ff. pur, betwixt Hull and Bridlington; and with him not past three-
V, i, 30 ff. score persons, as some write: but he was so ioifullie recieued of the lords, knights, and gentlemen of those parts, that he found means (by their helpe) forthwith to assemble a great number of people, that were willing to take his part. The first that came to him, were the lords of

Lincolneshire, and other countries adioining; as the lords Willoughbie, Ros, Darcie, and Beaumont At his comming vnto Doncaster the earle of Northumberland, and his sonne sir Henrie Persie, wardens of the marches against Scotland, with the earle of Westmerland, came vnto him, where he sware vnto those lords that he would demand no more, but the lands that were to him descended by inheritance from his father, and in right of his wife Moreouer, he vndertooke to cause the paiement of taxes and tallages to be laid downe, & to bring the king to good gouernment . . . From Doncaster

cf. I, iii, haung now got a mightie armie about him, he marched forth
249 with with all speed through the countries, comming by Euesham vnto
V, i, 42. Berkeleie. . . .

The duke of Yorke, whome king Richard had left as gouernour of the realme in his absence, hearing that his nephue the duke of Lancaster was thus arriued, and had gathered an armie, he also assembled a puissant power . . . but all was in vaine. . . . The duke of Yorke therefore passing forth

I, iii, towards Wales to meet the king, at his comming forth of Ireland,
244 ff. was receiued into the castell of Berkeleie, and there remained till the comming thither of the duke of Lancaster . . .

(p 499). In this meane time, king Richard . . . made hast to returne into England. . . . But it fortun'd . . . the seas were so troubled by tempests and the winds blew so contrarie for anie passage, to come ouer forth

V, i, 52-54. of England to the king, remaining still in Ireland, that for the space of six weeks, he receiued no aduertisements from thence. . . . In the meane time . . . there was a brute spred amongst them [i e., in England], that the king was suerlie dead, . . .

(pp 499, 500): Sir Thomas Persie earle of Worcester, lord steward of the kings house, either being so commanded by the king, or else vpon displeasure (as some write) for that the king had proclaimed his brother the

V, i, 34-36. earle of Northumberland traitor, brake his white staffe, which is the representing signe and token of his office, and without delaie went to duke Henrie. . . .

(Anno 1400, p. 518): It was not inough that K Henrie was thus troubled now in the first yere of his reigne, with ciuill sedition, and the couert practises

I, i, 5-13. of Frenchmen; but that the Scots also tooke vpon them to make open warre against him . . .

In the kings absence, whylest he was forth of the realme in

III, i, Scotland against his enimies, the Welshmen tooke occasion to
62-65. rebell vnder the conduct of their capteine Owen Glendouer, dooing what mischeefe they could deuise, vnto their English neighbours. This Owen Glendouer was sonne to an esquier of Wales, named Griffith Vichan: he dwelled in the parish of Conwaie, in a place called Glindourwie, which is as much to saie in English, as The vallie by the side of the water of Dee. . . . He [Glendouer] was first set to studie the lawes of the realme, and became an vtter barrister, or an apprentice of the lawe, and

III, i, 120. serued king Richard at Flint castell, when he was taken by Henrie duke of Lancaster; though other haue written that he serued this king Henrie the fourth, before he came to attaine the crowne. . . .

(Anno 1401, p. 519): About the same time, Owen Glendouer and his Welshmen did much hurt to the kings subiects.

(Anno 1402, p. 520): Owen Glendouer, robbing and spoiling within the English borders, caused all the forces of the shire of Hereford to assemble together against them, vnder the conduct of Edmund Mortimer earle of March. But comming to trie the matter by battell, whether by treason or otherwise, so it fortunied, that the English power was discomfited, the earle taken prisoner, and aboue a thousand of his people slaine in the place. The shamefull villanie vsed by the Welshwomen towards the dead carcasses, was such, as honest eares would be ashamed to heare, and continent toongs to speake thereof. . . The king was not hastie to purchase

I, iii, the deliuerance of the earle March, because his title to the crowne
155-159. was well inough knowen, and therefore suffered him to remaine
IV, iii, in miserable prison, wishing both the said earle, and all other of
93-96. his linage out of this life, with God and his sancts in heauen, so
they had beene out of the waie, for then all had beene well inough.

. . . About mid of August, the king . . . went with a great power of men into Wales . . . but in effect he lost his labour; for Owen conueied himselfe out of the waie, into his knowen lurking places, and (as was thought) through art magike, he caused such foule weather of winds, tempest, raine, snow, and haile to be raised for the annoiance of the kings armie, that the like had not beene heard of, in such sort, that the king was constrained to returne home . . . The Scots vnder the leding of Patrike Hepborne . . . entring into England, were ouerthrowen at Nesbit. This battell was fought the two and twentieth of Iune, in this yeare of our Lord 1402.

Archembald earle Dowglas sore displeased in his mind for this
I, i, 50 ff. ouerthrow, procured a commission to inuade England, and that to his cost. . . . For at a place called Homildon, they were so fiercely assailed by the Englishmen, vnder the leading of the lord Persie, surnamed Henrie Hotspur, and George earle of March, that with violence of the English shot they were quite vanquished and put to flight, on the Rood daie in harvest, with a great slaughter made by the Englishmen. . . . There were slaine of men of estimation, sir Iohn Swinton, sir Adam Gordon, sir Iohn Leuiston, sir Alexander Ramsie of Dalehousie, and three and twentie knights, besides ten thousand of the commons: and of prisoners among other were these, Mordacke earle of Fife, son to the gouernour Archembald earle Dowglas, which in the fight lost one of his eies, Thomas earle of Murrey, Robert earle of Angus, and (as some writers haue) the earles of Atholl & Menteith, with fife hundred of meaner degrees.

(Anno 1403, pp. 521, 522): Edmund Mortimer earle of March, prisoner with Owen Glendouer, whether for irkesomnesse of cruell captiuitie, I, iii, 84, 85. or feare of death, or what other cause, it is vncerteine, agreed to take part with Owen, against the king of England, and tooke to wife the daughter of the said Owen. Strange wonders happened (as men reported) at the natiuitie of this man,* for the same night he was borne, all his fathers horssees in the stable were found to stand in bloud vp to the bellies. . . .

III, i, Henrie earle of Northumberland, with his brother Thomas
12-40. earle of Worcester, and his sonne the lord Henrie Persie, surnamed Hotspur,

* WRIGHT (ed. 1897, p. ix): For the portents which heralded the birth of

which were to king Henrie in the beginning of his reigne, both faithfull freends, and earnest aiders, began now to enuie his wealth and felicitie; and especiallie they were greeued, because the king demanded of the earle and his sonne such Scottish prisoners as were taken at Homeldon and Nesbit: for, of all the captiues which were taken in the conflicts foughten in those two places, there was deliuered to the kings possession onelie Mordake earle of Fife, the duke of Albanies sonne, though the king did diuers and sundrie times require deliuerance

of the residue, and that with great threatnings: wherewith the
I, i, 92-99. Persies being sore offended, for that they claimed them as their owne proper prisoners, and their peculiar preies, by the counsell of the lord Thomas Persie earle of Worcester, whose studie was euer (as some write) to procure malice, and set things in a broile, came to the king vnto Windsore (vpon a purpose to prooue him) and there required of him, that either

by ransome or otherwise, he would cause to be deliuered out of
I, i, 97. prison Edmund Mortimer earle of March, their cousine germane,
I, iii, 79 ff. whome (as they reported) Owen Glendouer kept in filthie prison, shakled with irons, onelie for that he tooke his part, and was to him faithfull and true.

The king began not a little to muse at this request, and not without cause: for in deed it touched him somewhat neere, sith this Edmund was sonne to Roger earle of March, sonne to the ladie Philip, daughter of Lionell duke of Clarence, the third sonne of king Edward the third, which Edmund

at king Richards going into Ireland, was proclaimed heere apparant
I, iii, 145-157. to the crowne and realme, whose aunt called Elianor, the lord Henrie Persie had married; and therefore king Henrie could not well heare, that anie man should be earnest about the aduancement of that linage. The

king when he had studied on the matter, made answer, that the
I, iii, 80-92, earle of March was not taken prisoner for his cause, nor in his
113-117. seruice, but willinglie suffered himselfe to be taken, because he would not withstand the attempts of Owen Glendouer, and his complices, & therefore he would neither ransome him, nor releuee him.

The Persies with this answer and fraudulent excuse were not a little fumed, insomuch that Henrie Hotspur said openlie: Behold, the heire of the relme is robbed of his right, and yet the robber with his owne will not redeeme him.

So in this furie the Persies departed, minding nothing more than
I, iii, 283 ff. to depose king Henrie from the high type of his roialtie, and to place in his seat their cousine Edmund earle of March, whom they did not onlie deliuer out of captiuitie, but also (to the high displeasure of king Henrie) entered in league with the foresaid Owen Glendouer. Heere-

with, they by their deputies in the house of the archdeacon of
III, i, 70-78. Bangor, diuided the realme amongst them, causing a tripartite indenture to be made and sealed with their seales, by the coue-

Glendouer, Shakespeare was indebted to a mistake of Holinshed's. . . . In Walsingham's narrative, which is the source of Holinshed's, it is doubtful to whom the expression "*hujus nativitatis*" refers, as "*dicti Oweni*" is the immediate antecedent. But in the Monk of Evesham's *Life of Richard II* (ed. Hearne, p. 179) and in the *Eulogium* (ed. Haydon, iii, 398) we find "*hujus Edmundi*," making it clear that the reference is to *Mortimer*, not to Glendouer.

nants whereof, all England from Seuerne and Trent, south and eastward, was assigned to the earle of March all Wales, & the lands beyond Seuerne westward, were appointed to Owen Glendouer: and all the remnant from Trent northward, to the lord Persie

This was doone (as some haue said) through a foolish credit guen to a vaine prophesie, as though king Henrie was the moldwarpe, cursed of
 III, 1, Gods owne mouth, and they three were the dragon, the lion,
 146-150. and the wolfe, which should diuide this realme betweene them
 Such is the deuotion (saith Hall) and not diuination of those blind and fantastically dreames of the Welsh prophesiers King Henrie not knowing of this new confederacie, and nothing lesse minding than that which after happened, gathered a great armie to go againe into Wales,
 I, iii, whereof the earle of Northumberland and his sonne were aduer-
 259-271. tised by the earle of Worcester, and with all diligence raised all the power they could make, and sent to the Scots which before were taken prisoners at Homeldon, for aid of men, promising to the earle of Dowglas the towne of Berwike, and a part of Northumberland, and to other Scottish lords, great lordships and seigniories, if they obtained the vpper hand. The Scots in hope of gaine, and desirous to be reuenged of their old greefes, came to the earle with a great companie well appointed

The Persies to make their part seeme good, deuised certaine articles, by the aduise of Richard Scroope, archbishop of Yorke, brother to the lord Scroope, whome king Henrie had caused to be beheaded at Bristow. These articles being shewed to diuerse noblemen, and other states of the realme, moued them to fauour their purpose, in so much that manie of them did not

II, iii, 1 ff. onelie promise to the Persies aid and succour by words, but also by writings and seales confirmed the same Howbeit when the matter came to triall, the most part of the confederates abandoned them, and at the daie of the conflict left them alone. Thus . . . Henrie Persie . . . assembled an armie. . . Incontinentlie his vnkle Thomas Persie earle of Worcester, that had the gouernement of the prince of Wales, who as then laie at London in secret manner,* conueied himselfe out of the princes house, and comming to Stafford (where he met his nephue) they increased
 II, iv, their power by all waies and meanes they could deuise. The
 332, 333. earle of Northumberland himselfe was not with them, but being
 IV, i, 17-44. sicke, had promised vpon his amendement to repaire vnto them (as some write), with all conuenient speed.

These noble men, to make their conspiracie to seeme excusable, sent letters abroad, wherein was contained, that their gathering of an armie tended to none

IV, iii, 92, other end, but onlie for the safegard of their owne persons, and
 101-105. to put some better gouernment in the commonwealth. For whereas taxes and tallages were daillie leuied, vnder pretense to be imploied in defense of the realme, the same were vaine wasted. . .

(Anno 1403, p. 522): Resolued to go forwards with their enterprise, they

* WRIGHT (1897, p. viii): Holinshed in his two editions punctuates these words, "at London in secret manner, conueied &c." The transposition of the comma, "at London, in secret manner conueied &c.," which is necessary to the sense, is due to Mr. Boswell-Stone.

marched towards Shrewesburie, vpon hope to be aided (as men III, i, 81-86. thought) by Owen Glendouer and his Welshmen, publishing abroad . . . that king Richard was aliue . . .

King Henrie aduertised of the proceedings of the Persies, foorthwith gathered about him such power as he might make, and being earnestlie called vpon by the Scot, the earle of March, to make hast and giue battell to his enimies, before their power by delaing of time should still too much increase, he passed forward with such speed, that he was in sight of his enimies, lieng in campe neere to Shrewesburie, before they were in doubt of anie such thing, for the Persies thought that he would haue staid at Burton vpon Trent. . . .

By reason of the kings sudden comming in this sort, they staid from assaulting the towne of Shrewesburie, which enterprise they were readie at that instant to haue taken in hand, and foorthwith the lord Persie (as a capteine of high courage) began to exhort the capteines and souldiers to prepare themselues to battell, sith the matter was growen to that point that by no meanes it could be auoided, so that (said he) this daie shall either bring vs all to aduancement & honor, or else if it shall chance vs to be ouercome, shall deliuer vs from the kings spitefull malice and cruell disdaine for plaieng the men (as we ought to doo) better it is to die in battell for the commonwealths cause, than through cowardlike feare to prolong life, which after shall be taken from vs, by sentence of the enimie

(Anno 1403, p. 523): Herevpon, the whole armie, being in number about fourteene thousand chosen men, promised to stand with him so long as life lasted. There were with the Persies as chiefeines of this armie, the earle of Dowglas a Scottish man, the baron of Kinderton, sir Hugh Browne, and sir Richard Vernon knights, with duerse other stout and right valant capteins. Now when the two armies were incamped, the one against the other, the earle of Worcester and the lord Persie with their complices sent the articles by Thomas Carton, and Thomas Saluain esquiers to king Cf. IV, iii, 52 ff. Henrie, vnder their handes and seales, which articles in effect charged him with manifest perurie, in that (contrarie to his oth receiued vpon the euangelists at Doncaster, when he first entred the realme after his exile) he had taken vpon him the crowne and roiall dignitie, imprisoned king Richard, caused him to resigne his title, and finallie to be murdered Duerse other matters they laid to his charge, as leuieng of taxes and tallages, contrarie to his promise, infringing of lawes & customes of the realme, and suffering the earle of March to remaine in prison, without traouelling to haue him deliuered. . . .

King Henrie after he had read their articles, with the defiance which they annexed to the same, answered the esquiers, that he was readie V, i, 110-112. with dint of sword and fierce battell to prooue their quarrell false. . . . The next daie in the morning earlie, being the euen of Marie Magdalene, they set their battells in order on both sides, and now whilst the warriors looked when the token of battell should be giuen, the IV, iii, 41-51. abbat of Shrewesburie, and one of the clearks of the priuie seale, were sent from the king vnto the Persies, to offer them pardon, V, i, 106-108. if they would come to any reasonable agreement. By their persuasions, the lord Henrie Persie began to giue eare vnto the kings

offers, & so sent with them his vnclie the earle of Worcestre, to declare vnto the king the causes of those troubles, and to require some effectuall reformation in the same

IV, iii,
110, 111. It was reported for a truth, that now when the king had condescended vnto all that was resonable at his hands to be required, and seemed to humble himselfe more than was meet for his estate, the earle of Worcestre (vpon his returne to his nephue) made relation cleane contrarie to that the king had said, in such sort that he set his nephues hart more in displeasure towards the king, than euer it was before, druing him by that meanes to fight whether he would or not: then suddenlie blew the trumpets, the kings part crieng S. George vpon them, the aduersaries cried *Esperance Persie*, and so the two armies furiously ioined . . .

The Scots (as some write) which had the fore ward on the Persies side, intending to be reuenged of their old displeasures doone to them by the English nation, set so fiercelie on the kings fore ward, led by the earle of V, iii, 7. Stafford, that they made the same draw backe, and had almost broken their aduersaries arraie. The Welshmen also which before had laine lurking in the woods, mounteines, and marshes, hearing of this battell toward, came to the aid of the Persies, and refreshed the wearied people with new succours

. . . Here the lord Henrie Persie, and the earle Dowglas, a right stout and hardie capteine, not regarding the shot of the kings battell, nor the close order of the ranks, pressing forward together bent their whole forces V, iv, 25-42. towards the kings person, comming vpon him with speares and swords so fiercelie, that the earle of March, the Scot, perceiuing their purpose, withdrew the king from that side of the field (as some write) for his great benefit and safegard (as it appeared) for they gaue such a violent onset vpon them that stood about the kings standard, that slaieng V, iii,
11-14. his standard-bearer sir Walter Blunt, and ouerthrowing the standard, they made slaughter of all those that stood about it, as the earle of Stafford, that daie made by the king constable of the realme, and diuerse other.

The prince that daie holpe his father like a lustie yong gentleman: for although he was hurt in the face with an arrow, so that diuerse noble men that V, iv, 39-43. were about him, would haue conueied him forth of the field, yet V, iv, 1-14. he would not suffer them so to doo, least his departure from amongst his men might happilie haue stricken some feare into their harts: and so without regard of his hurt, he continued with his men, & neuer ceased, either to fight where the battell was most hot, or to incourage his men where it seemed most need. The battell lasted three long houres, with indifferent fortune on both parts, till at length, the king crieng saint George victorie, brake the arraie of his enimies, and aduentured so farre, that (as some write) the earle Dowglas strake him downe, & at that instant slue sir Walter Blunt, and three other, apparelled in the kings sute and clothing, saieng: I maruell to see so many V, iii,
11-14. kings thus suddenlie arise one in the necke of an other. The king in deed was raised, & did that daie manie a noble feat of armes, for as it is written, he slue that daie with his owne hands six and thirtie persons of his enimies. The other on his part incouraged by his doings,

fought valiantlie, and slue the lord Persie, called sir Henrie Hotspurre To
 V, iv, 77 ff. conclude, the kings enimies were vanquished, and put to flight,
 V, v, 17-31. in which flight, the earle of Dowglas, for hast, falling from the
 crag of an hie mounteine, brake one of his cullions, and was
 taken, and for his valiantnesse, of the king frankelie and freele deliuered.

There was also taken the earle of Worcester, the procuror and setter forth
 of all this mischeefe, sir Richard Vernon, and the baron of Kinderton, with
 diuerse other. There were slaine vpon the kings part, beside
 V, v, 6-8. the earle of Stafford, to the number of ten knights, sir Hugh
 Cf. V, iv, Shorlie, sir Iohn Clifton, sir Iohn Cokaine, sir Nicholas Gausell,
 41-46. sir Walter Blunt. . . . This battell was fought on Marie Mag-
 dalene euen, being saturdaye. Vpon the mondaie folowing, the
 V, v, 14. earle of Worcester, the baron of Kinderton, and sir Richard
 Vernon knights, were condemned and beheaded. The earles head was sent to
 London, there to be set on the bridge.

(Anno 1412, pp. 538, 539): Whilest these things were a dooing in France, the
 lord Henrie prince of Wales got knowledge that certeine of his fathers seruants
 were busie to giue informations against him, whereby discord might arise

betwixt him and his father; for they put into the kings head, not
 III, ii. onele what euill rule (according to the course of youth) the prince
 kept to the offense of manie, but also what great resort of people
 came to his house. . . . These tales brought no small suspicion into the kings
 head, least his sonne would presume to vsurpe the crowne, through which
 suspicious gelousie, it was perceiued that he fauoured not his sonne, as in times
 past he had doone. . . .

And to cleare himselfe . . . [the prince] came to court with such a number of
 noble men as the like had beene sildome seene. . . . Thus were the father and
 the sonne reconciled, betwixt whom the said pickthanks had sowne diuision,
 insomuch that the sonne vpon a vehement conceit of vnkindnesse

III, ii, 25. sproong in the father, was in the waie to be worne out of fauour.
 . . . Indeed he was youthfullie giuen, growne to audacitie, and
 had chosen him companions agreeable to his age, with whome he spent the time
 in such recreations, exercises, and delights as he fansied. But yet (it should
 seeme by the report of some writers) that his behauiour was not offenseiue or at
 least tending to the damage of anie bodie; sith he had a care to auoid dooing of
 wrong, and to tender his affections within the tract of vertue. . . .

(Anno 1413, p. 543). . . . Once to hie offense of the king his father he had
 with his fist striken the cheefe iustice for sending one of his min-
 III, ii, ions (vpon desert) to prison. . . . The king after expelled him
 32, 33. out of his priuie councell, banisht him the court, and made the
 duke of Clarence (his younger brother) president of councell in his stead.

III. COMMENTS ON SHAKESPEARE'S USE OF HOLINSHED

J. C. COLLINS (*Studies in Sh.*, 1904, p. 259): In *Henry IV* the poet's obligation
 to Holinshed is confined simply to the meagre outline of the purely historical
 portions. For the pathetic character of the king and for his position as under
 the Nemesis for the crime committed in the preceding drama; for the character
 of Prince Hal, beyond the mere tradition of youthful irregularities; for the
 characters of Hotspur, Glendower, and Lady Percy; for the comic characters

and the comic scenes, he had not even a hint in the chronicles—Cowl (ed. 1914, p. xiii) There is no warrant in Holinshed for the introduction of . . . Prince John of Lancaster, who was born in 1390. . . . Shakespeare's purpose is obvious. He needed the younger, staid brother as a foil to the wild, if heroic, Prince Hal. So, Lady Percy and Lady Mortimer are introduced into the action for purely dramatic purposes. Their rôles are slight, but they serve to grace the play with touches of tenderness. Lady Percy's conversations with her husband supply opportunities for bringing out traits in the character of Hotspur. . . . In the first scene the king announces his purpose to lead a crusade to Jerusalem. Shakespeare here already begins to diverge from Holinshed, who assigns this project to the last year of Henry's reign. . . . Shakespeare makes the news of the battle of Holmedon arrive immediately after the news of Mortimer's defeat at the skirmish at Pilleth in Wales (I, 1). This is another instance of Shakespeare's subordination of fact to dramatic exigencies, for Holinshed correctly assigns the defeat at Pilleth to June 22, 1402, and the Battle of Holmedon to September 14, 1402. It is possible that Shakespeare confused Holmedon with another border battle, at Nisbet Moor in Northumberland, which actually took place on the same day as the fight at Pilleth. . . . The interview between the prince and his father in III, ii, is based on a passage in Holinshed. . . . Shakespeare antedates it by several years. As the dramatic balance of the play depends largely on the rivalry of Prince Henry and Hotspur, Shakespeare was obliged to advance somewhat the age of the former and to represent the middle-aged Hotspur as a mere youth. . . . Born in August, 1387, Prince Henry was at the time the play opens fourteen. . . . Hotspur was born in May, 1364. It is true that, young as he was, Prince Henry was present at the Battle of Shrewsbury where he did yeoman service. . . . Holinshed ascribes the victory at Shrewsbury to the prowess of the king, but in the play the father, as warrior, is overshadowed by the son. The prince's challenge to Hotspur to meet him in single combat (V, i, 83 ff) seems to have no historical warrant. . . . It is unknown by whose hand Percy fell. The prince's rescue of the king has no foundation in Holinshed.

IV. SELECTION FROM HALL'S *CHRONICLE OF THE UNION OF THE TWO NOBLE
AND ILLUSTRATE FAMILIES OF LANCASTRE AND YORKE*,
1550, fol. 16, verso

[The following extract from Hall, if compared with the passage taken from it in Holinshed [III, 20], will indicate the relation which Shakespeare's play bears to Hall. I have found no passage in *I Henry IV* which is taken directly from Hall.—ED.]

"Owen Glendor, a squire of Wales, . . . made warre on lorde Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche, and in his owne lordship of Wigmore, where in a conflict he slewe many of therles men, and toke hym prisoner, and fetyeryng hym in chaynes cast hym in a depe and miserable dongeon. The kyng was requyred to purchase his deluyurance by dyuerse of the nobilitie, but he could not heare on that syde, rather he would and wished all his linage in heuen. For then his title had been out of all doubt & question, and so vpon this cause as you heare, after ensued great sedicion."

V SELECTIONS FROM *THE FIRST FOWRE BOOKES OF THE CUILE WARS
BETWEEN THE TWO HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORKE*

By Samuel Daniel . . . London, 1595

[The following selections are taken from the Harvard University copy of the 1595 quarto. In the 1601 folio, and in Grosart's edition (in which a facsimile of the title-page of the 1595 quarto is prefixed to the 1601 text) there are extensive changes and amplifications. The numbering of books and stanzas therefore differs in the two principal texts. P. Short printed both the 1595 quarto of *The Cuiul Wars* and the 1598 quarto of *I Henry IV*. This probably accounts for certain similarities in spelling. The two works open in similar strain, and there are scattered passages throughout *The Cuiul Wars* which are perhaps echoed in *I Henry IV*; but Shakespeare's debt to Daniel is confined chiefly to Book III, stanzas 86 to 114 (Book IV, stanzas 15 ff., of the 1601 text).—ED.]

BOOK I.

I

I sing the ciuil warra, tumultuous broyles,
And bloody factions of a mighty land.
Whose people hauty, proud with forain spoyles,
Vpon themselues turne backe their conquering hand: .

[Book I, stanzas 35 ff., presents a picture of King Richard similar to Shakespeare's characterization of him in *Richard II* and in *I Henry IV*, III, 11. In II, 57, Daniel uses the phrase "Base-pickthanke Flattery," which is perhaps echoed in *I Henry IV*, III, 11, 25. Daniel frequently stresses the idea of Nemesis, which King Henry dwells on in III, 11, 4-7.]

BOOK III.

86

And yet new *Hydraes* lo, new heades appeare
T'afflict that peace reputed then so sure,
And gaue him much to do, and much to feare,
And long and daungerous tumults did procure,
And those euen of his chieffest followers were
Of whom he might presume him most secure,
Who whether not so grac'd or so preferd
As they expected, these new factions stird.

87

The *Percyes* were the men, men of great might,
Strong in alliance, and in courage strong
That thus conspire, vnder pretence to right
The crooked courses they had suffered long:
Whether their conscience vrgd them or despight,
Or that they saw the part they tooke was wrong,
Or that ambition hereto did them call,
Or others enuide grace, or rather all.

88

What cause soeuer were, strong was their plot,
 Their parties great. meanes good, th'occasion fit:
 Their practice close, their faith suspected not,
 Their states far off and they of wary wit:
 Who with large promises draw in the Scot
 To ayde their cause, he likes, and yeeldes to it,
 Not for the loue of them or for their good,
 But glad hereby of meanes to shed our bloud.

89

Owen
 Glendor. Then ioyne they with the *Welsh*, who fitly traind
 And all in armes vnder a mightie head
 Great *Glendowr*, who long warr'd, and much attaind,
 Sharp conflicts made, and many vanquished:
 With whom was *Edmond Earle of March* retaind
 Being first his prisoner, now confedered,
 A man the king much fear'd, and well he might
 Least he should looke whether his Crown stood right

90

Rsch and For *Richard*, for the quiet of the state,
 Before he tooke those *Irish* warres in hand
 About succession doth deliberate,
 And finding how the certaine right did stand,
 With full consent this man did ordinate
 The heyre apparent in the crowne and land:
 Then iudge if this the king might nerely touch,
 Although his might were smal, his right being much.

91

With these the *Percyes* them confederate,
 And as three heades they league in one intent,
 And instituting a Triumvirate
 Do part the land in triple gouernment:
 Deuiding thus among themselues the state,
 The *Percyes* should rule all the *North* from *Trent*
 And *Glendowr Wales*: the *Earle of March* should bee
 Lord of the *South* from *Trent*; and thus they gree.

92

Then those two helpes which still such actors find
 Pretence of common good, the kings disgrace
 Doth fit their course, and draw the vulgar mind
 To further them and aide them in this case:
 The king they accusd for cruell, and vnkind
 That did the state, and crowne, and all deface;
 A periurde man that held all faith in skorne,
 Whose trusted othes had others made forsworne.

93

Besides the odious detestable act
Of that late murdered king they aggrauate,
Making it his that so had will'd the fact
That he the doers did remunerate:
And then such taxes daily doth exact
That were against the orders of the state,
And with all these or worse they him assaile
Who late of others with the like preuaile.

94

Thus doth contentious proud mortality
Afflict each other and itselſe torment;
And thus o thou mind-tortring misery
Restles ambition, borne in discontent,
Turn'st and retossest with iniquity
The vnconstant courses frailty did inuent:
And fowlst faire order and defilst the earth
Fostring vp warre, father of bloud and dearth.

95

Great seemd the cause, and greatly to, did ad
The peoples loue thereto these crimes rehearst,
That manie gathered to the troupes they had
And many more do flocke from costs disperst.
But when the king had heard these newes so bad,
Th'vnlookt for dangerous toyle more nearly perst;
For bēt t'wards *Wales* t'appease those tumults there,
H'is for'st duert his course, and them forbear.

96

Not to giue time vnto th'increasing rage
And gathering fury, forth he hastes with speed,
Lest more delay or giuing longer age
To th'euill growne, it might the cure exceed:
All his best men at armes, and leaders sage
All he prepar'd he could, and all did need;
For to a mighty worke thou goest o king,
To such a field that power to power shall bring.

97

There shall young *Hotespur* with a fury lead
Meete with thy forward sonne as fierce as he:
There warlike *Worster* long experienced
In forraine armes, shall come t'incounter thee:
There *Dowglas* to thy *Stafford* shall make head:
There *Vernon* for thy valiant *Blunt* shalbe:
There shalt thou find a doubtfull bloody day,
Though sicknesse keepe *Northumberland* away.

*The son
to the
Earle of
Northū-
berland.*

98

Who yet reseru'd, though after quit for this,
 Another tempest on thy head to raise,
 As if still wrong reuenging *Nemesis*
 Did meane t'afflict all thy continuall dayes
 And yet this field he happely might misse
 For thy great good, and therefore well he staies:
 What might his force haue done being ioynd thereto
 When that already gaue so much to do?

99

The swift approch and vnexpected speed
 The king had made vpon this new-raisd force
 In th'vnconfirmed troupes much feare did breed,
 Vntimely hindring their intended course,
 The ioyning with the *Welsh* they had decreed
 Was hereby stopt, which made their part the worse,
Northumberland with forces from the *North*
 Expected to be there, was not set forth

100

And yet vndaunted *Hotspur* seeing the king
 So nere approch'd, leauing the worke in hand
 With forward speed his forces marshalling,
 Sets forth his farther comming to withstand:
 And with a cheerfull voice incouraging
 By his great spirit his well imboldened band,
 Bringes a strong host of firme resolved might,
 And plac'd his troupes before the king in sight

101

This day (saith he) ô faithfull valiaunt frendes,
 What euer it doth giue, shall glorie giue:
 This day with honor frees our state, or endes
 Our misery with fame, that still shall liue,
 And do but thinke how well this day he spendes
 That spendes his bloud his countrey to relieue:
 Our holie cause, our freedome, and our right,
 Sufficient are to moue good mindes to fight.

102

Besides th'assured hope of victory
 That wee may euen promise on our side
 Against this weake-constrained companie,
 Whom force & feare, not will, and loue doth guide
 Against a prince whose foule impiety
 The heauens do hate, the earth cannot abide,
 Our number being no lesse, our courage more,
 What need we doubt if we but worke therefore.

103

This said, and thus resolu'd euen bent to charge
 Vpon the king, who well their order viewd
 And carefull noted all the forme at large
 Of their proceeding, and their multitude.
 And deeming better if he could discharge
 The day with safetie, and some peace conclude,
 Great proffers sendes of pardon, and of grace
 If they would yeeld, and quietnes imbrace.

104

But this refusd, the king with wrath incensd
 Rage against fury doth with speed prepare:
 And ô saith he, though I could haue dispensd
 With this daies bloud, which I haue sought to spare
 That greater glory might haue recompensd
 The forward worth of these that so much dare,
 That we might honor had by th'ouerthrown
 That th'wounds we make, might not haue bin our own

105

Yet since that other mens iniquity
 Calles on the sword of wrath against my will,
 And that themselues exact this cruelty,
 And I constrained am this bloud to spill.
 Then on my maisters, on couragiously
 True-harted subiects against traitors ill,
 And spare them not who seeke to spoile vs all,
 Whose fowle confused end soone see you shall.

106

Straight moues with equall motion equall rage
 The like incensed armies vnto bloud,
 One to defend, another side to wage
 Foule ciuill war, both vowes their quarrell good:
 Ah too much heate to bloud doth nowe inrage
 Both who the deed prouokes and who withstood,
 That valor here is vice, here manhood sin,
 The forward'st hands doth ô least honor win.

107

But now begin these fury-mouing soundes
 The notes of wrath that musicke brought from hell,
 The ratling drums which trumpets voice cōfoundes,
 The cryes, th'incouragements, the shouting shrill;
 That all about the beaten ayre reboundes,
 Thundring confused, murmurs horrible,
 To rob all sence except the sence to fight,
 Well handes may worke, the mind hath lost his sight.

108

O war! begot in pride and luxury,
 The child of wrath and of dissention,
 Horrible good, mischiefe necessarie,
 The fowle reformer of confusion,
 Vniust-iust scourge of our iniquitie,
 Cruell recurer of corruption:
 O that these sin-sicke states in need should stand
 To be let bloud with such a boystrous hand!

109

*The Prince
 of Wales.*

And ô how well thou hadst been spar'd this day
 Had not wrong counsaild *Percy* bene peruers,
 Whose yong vndanger'd hand now rash makes way
 Vpon the sharpest fronts of the most fierce
 Where now an equall fury thrusts to stay
 And rebeat-backe that force and his disperse,
 Then these assaile, then those chace backe againe,
 Till staid with new-made hils of bodies slaine.

110

There lo that new-appearing glorious starre
 Wonder of Armes, the terror of the field
 Young *Henrie*, laboring where the stoutest are,
 And euen the stoutest forces backe to yeild,
 There is that hand boldned to bloud and warre
 That must the sword in woundrous actions weild:
 But better hadst thou leard with others bloud
 A lesse expence to vs, to thee more good.

111

*Which was
 sir Walter
 Blunt.*

Hadst thou not there lent present speedy ayd
 To thy indaungerde father nerely tyrde,
 Whom fierce incountring *Douglas* overlaid,
 That day had there his troublous life expirde:
 Heroycall Couragious *Blunt* araid
 In habite like as was the king attirde
 And deemd for him, excusd that fate with his,
 For he had what his Lord did hardly misse.

112

*Another
 Blunt which
 was the
 kings Stand-
 ard bearer.*

For thought a king he would not now disgrace
 The person then supposd, but princelike shewes
 Glorious effects of worth that fit his place,
 And fighting dyes, and dying ouerthrowes:
 Another of that forward name and race
 In that hotte worke his valiant life bestowes,
 Who bare the standard of the king that day,
 Whose colours ouerthrowne did much dismaie.

113

And deare it cost, and o much bloud is shed
 To purchase thee this loosing victory
 O trauayld king: yet hast thou conquered
 A doubtfull day, a mightie enemy:
 But o what woundes, what famous worth lyes dead!
 That makes the winner looke with sorrowing eye,
Sir Hugh Magnanimous *Stafford* lost that much had wrought,
Shorly. And valiant *Shorly* who great glory gote.

114

Such wracke of others bloud thou didst behold
 O furious *Hotspur*, ere thou lost thine owne!
 Which now once lost that heate in thine waxt cold,
 And soone became thy Armie ouerthrowne;
 And o that this great spirit, this courage bold,
 Had in some good cause bene rightly showne!
 So had not we thus violently then
 Haue termd that rage, which valor should haue ben.

VI. COMMENT ON SHAKESPEARE'S USE OF DANIEL

MOORMAN (*Sh Jahrbuch*, 1904) traces the curiously parallel literary careers of Shakespeare and Daniel, and proceeds (pp 77-81) to discuss in detail the influence of Daniel's *Ciuile Wars* on *I Henry IV*. Shakespeare displays a marked partiality for Prince Henry—his hero, his ideal man of action—and in regarding him as such he does not hesitate to modify Holinshed's version of the prince's conduct at the Battle of Shrewsbury in such a way as to bring into greater prominence his chivalry and heroism. . . . It is interesting to note that in introducing these changes into the story of the battle, Shakespeare does not stand alone; Daniel, who was almost as much in love with Prince Henry as Shakespeare, anticipates him at almost every point. Thus he makes the prince the rescuer of his father from the hands of Douglas (st. 111). He further departs from Holinshed, and agrees with Shakespeare, in making the prince and Hotspur encounter one another in single combat. He does not make Hotspur fall by the prince's hand, nor does he refer to the combat in the description of the battle, but among the stanzas which precede the actual description is the following [cf. st. 97]. In suggesting that Shakespeare may have drawn the idea of the single combat of his rival Harries from the first two verses of this stanza, something more may be noticed. Daniel's Hotspur is "young Hotspur," whereas the Hotspur of the chroniclers was senior to Henry IV himself. . . . Two more points on which Daniel and Shakespeare are in agreement with each other may be noted. In his account of the Battle of Shrewsbury Holinshed writes: "The Welshmen which had lain lurking in the woods . . . came to the aid of the Percies, &c." Hall and Grafton say the same thing in almost the same words. Shakespeare (*IV*, i, 124-126) represents Glendower's forces as absent from the battle. Here again he is in complete agreement with Daniel (st. 99). Lastly we may notice how in his conception of the political import of the play, Shakespeare is at one with Daniel.

Throughout both parts of *Henry IV* we see the working of a righteous Nemesis. . . . Shakespeare invites us to see in the troubles which beset Henry IV the righteous punishment inflicted upon him for his share in the revolution which deposed Richard and set the crown on his own head. . . . The king sees the hand of Nemesis in the person of his son (III, ii, 4-11) . . . Now this Nemesis-idea is as much before the mind of Daniel as of Shakespeare (cf. st. 98).

VII SIR JOHN HAYWARD'S *LIFE OF KING HENRY IV*, PUBLISHED 1599

[Hayward, a friend of the Earl of Essex, was imprisoned by Queen Elizabeth for his apparent defence of the usurpation of the throne by Henry, in his *Life of King Henry IV*. The *Life* deals chiefly with the reign, abdication, and death of Richard, and comes to an abrupt conclusion in the early years of Henry's reign. Shakespeare's connection with Essex makes it not impossible that he had seen the *Life* in MS—Ed.]

HAYWARD (1599, ed. of 1642, p. 302): The Welshmen . . . beganne to breake into the borders of Herefordshire . . . against whom Lord Edmund Mortimer Earle of March, who for feare of King Henry had withdrawne himselfe, . . . assembled all the Gentlemen of the Countrey, and meeting with Act I, sc. i. the Welchmen they joyned together a sharpe and cruell conflict . . . The English lost of their company about a thousand men who sold their lives at such a price that when manhood had done the hardest against them, certaine mannish, or rather devilish, women exercised a vaine revenge upon their dead bodies in cutting off their privy parts and their noses, whereof the one they stuffed in their mouths and pressed the other betweene their buttocks . . . In this conflict the Earle of March was taken prisoner. . . . The King was solicited by many Noble men to use some meanes for his deliverance, but he would not heare on that eare; hee could I, iii, 79-92. rather have wished him and his two sisters in Heaven, for then the onely blemish to his title had beene out of the way . . . (p. 7): King Henry was very courteous and familiar respectively towards all men, whereby hee procured great reputation and regard, especially with those of the meaner sort. for high humilities take such deepe roote in the mindes of the multitude, that they are more strongly drawne by III, ii, 50-54. unprofitable curtesies then by churlish benefits. . . . (p. 214): King Henry upon the day of his coronation caused to bee playmed that hee claymed the kingdome of England, first by right of conquest; secondly, because King Richard had resigned his estate and designed him for his successour; lastly, because hee was of blood royall, and next heyre I, iii, 145- male unto King Richard. *Haeres malus* indeed (quoth Edmund Mortimer) and so is the Pyrate to the Merchant . . . This 157. Edmund was sonne to Roger Mortimer, who was not long before slaine in Ireland, and had beene openly declared heyre apparent to the Crowne.

VIII. COMMENTS ON SHAKESPEARE'S POSSIBLE USE OF HAYWARD

ALBRIGHT (*P.M.L.A.*, 1927, p. 712): The characterization of Henry IV in Shakespeare's *Richard II* is very like that by Hayward in its emphasis on cer-

tain traits, and even in some bits of phrasing. These traits are not stressed by Shakespeare in the Henry plays, where he has a new hero in Henry V and shifts his interpretation of the character of Henry IV from that of an affable, courteous, popular hero to that of a dignified, impressive, but almost haughty monarch . . . It has been noted that, except for Daniel, none of the chroniclers hitherto connected with Shakespeare's play suggests the inevitability of the troubles to come upon Henry because of the unjust methods of his usurpation. Any dramatist is, of course, capable of inventing such a motivation, but Hayward explicitly provides it in spite of the fact that his sympathies are with the usurper.—KUHLE (*Stud. in Philol.*, 1928, p. 312): Since the relation, if any, between Shakespeare and Hayward is matter of first importance, it may be well to state what the latter (under cross-examination) actually said. He "began to write this history about a year before it was published [*i.e.*, in 1598], but had intended it a dozen years before, though he had acquainted no man therewith" (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1598-1601, 540). . . . Miss Albright has overlooked an important alternative . . . that Hayward borrowed from Shakespeare. . . . In this connection another statement made by Hayward at his trial becomes decidedly puzzling: "As for the words spoken by Richard II, that princes must not rule without limitation, &c., affirms that to be a true opinion . . . had this from a book written three years since [*i.e.*, 1598], but cannot remember the author." Not only did Shakespeare's *I Henry IV* appear that year, but his *Richard II* that year passed through two editions. . . . Did Hayward borrow from Shakespeare? In view of the great popularity of Shakespeare's histories at the time Hayward was engaged on his work, this is a possibility that cannot be overlooked. Particularly is this true since the unhistorical parts in Hayward—those portions which brought him into disrepute—are also found in Shakespeare. Hayward, on this matter, has another suspicious remark. When charged with making Henry IV popular, and therefore unauthentic, he defended himself by saying that he "found in Hall and others that he was of popular behaviour, but for the particulars he took the liberty of the *best writers*." . . . Certainly, in 1598, there were others besides Meres who thought *Richard II* and *Henry IV* "most excellent." . . . The question whether Hayward borrowed from Shakespeare may not be all-important, what is of considerable significance, however, is that Shakespeare in 1598 is guilty of an unhistorical conception of the character of Henry IV, a point of view that is to rouse the anger of the authorities the following year, in Hayward's *Henry IV*.—COWL (*Sources*, 1929) contends that "a collation of the *Parts of Henry IV* with Hayward's *Life* supplies grounds for believing that Shakespeare had read, in MS, Hayward's work." Specimens of the evidence are as follows: "(10) (a) Hayward, pp. 69, 70: 'And thus by this means the duke landed . . . at *Rauenspur*. . . . *Presently* after his arrival, there resorted to him Lord Henrie Percie Earle of Northumberland . . . and many other personages of honour, whose company encreased reputation to the cause. . . . *And first they took of him an oath.*' Cf. *I Henry IV*, IV, iii, 59-77. (b) Holinshed, III, 498: 'At his comming vnto *Doncaster*, the earle of Northumberland and his sonne . . . came vnto him; when he sware that he would, &c.' Cf. *I Henry IV*, V, i, 41, 42. Shakespeare's inconsistency may be explained by the fact that he was following Hayward in the first of these passages and Holinshed in the second. (11) In IV, iii, 60, 61, Shake-

spere follows Hayward rather than Holinshed. Nowhere does the latter suggest that Hereford returned 'but to be Duke of Lancaster.' On the contrary, Holinshed says that the nobles . . . who 'required Duke Henrie whom they now called Duke of Lancaster to conveie himself to England' promised their aid 'if he, expelling K. Richard, . . . would take the sceptre.' Later the duke swore at Doncaster 'that he would demand no more but the lands that were to him descended, &c' [This argument, presented by Cowl under (10) and (11), is stronger than any other that he offers; but the evidence is certainly not conclusive. All the details are to be found in Holinshed, and Shakespeare's "inconsistency" may arise simply from his rearrangement of the details—Ed.] (13) Hayward, p. 70: 'Then the common people desperate vpon *new desires*, . . . *headlong* to matters of *innouation*, flocked to these noblemen, . . . some vpon a wanton leuity and *vaïne desire of change*, others setting their chief hopes vppon a general disturbance.' Cf. *I Henry IV*, V, i, 74-78

IX SELECTIONS FROM *THE FAMOUS VICTORIES OF HENRY THE FIFTH*, 1594

[The play opens as follows:]

Enter the yong Prince, Ned, and Tom

Sig. A2.

Henry the fifth.

Come away *Ned* and *Tom*.

Both. Here my Lord.

Henr. 5. Come away my Lads:

Tell me sirs, how much gold haue you got?

Ned. Faith my Lord, I haue got fife hundred pound.

Hen. 5. But tell me *Tom*, how much hast thou got?

Tom. Faith my Lord, some foure hundred pound.

Hen. 5. Foure hundred pounds, brauely spoken Lads.

But tell me sirs, thinke you not that it was a villainous part of me to rob my fathers Receuvers?

Ned. Why no my Lord, it was but a tricke of youth.

Hen. 5. Faith *Ned* thou sayest true.

But tell me sirs, whereabouts are we?

Tom. My Lord, we are now about a mile off *London*.

Hen. 5. But sirs, I maruell that sir *Iohn Old-castle*

Comes not away: Sounds see where he comes.

Enters Iockey.

How now *Iockey*, what newes with thee?

Iockey. Faith my Lord, such newes as passeth,

For the Towne of *Deifort* is risen,

With hue and crie after your man,

Which parted from vs the last night,

And has set vpon, and hath robd a poore Carrier.

Hen. 5. Sownes, the vilaine that was wont to spie
Out our booties.

Iock. I my Lord, euen the very same.

Hen. 5. Now base minded rascal to rob a poore carrier,
Wel it skils not, ile saue the base vilaines life:

Sig. A2 ver.

I, I may: but tel me *Iockey*, wherabout be the Receiuers?

Ioc Faith my Lord, they are hard by,
But the best is, we are a horse backe and they be a foote,
So we may escape them.

Hen. 5 Wel, I[f] the vilaines come, let me alone with them
But tel me *Iockey*, how much gots thou from the knaues?
For I am sure I got something, for one of the vilaines
So belamd me about the shoulders,
As I shal feele it this moneth.

Iock Faith my Lord, I haue got a hundred pound.

Hen. 5. A hundred pound, now brauely spoken *Iockey*:
But come sirs, laie al your money before me,
Now by heauen here is a braue shewe:
But as I am true Gentleman, I wil haue the halfe
Of this spent to night, but sirs take vp your bags,
Here comes the Receiuers, let me alone.

Enters two Receiuers

One Alas good fellow, what shal we do?
I dare neuer go home to the Court, for I shal be hangd.
But looke, here is the yong Prince, what shal we doo?

Hen. 5. How now you vilaines, what are you?

One Recei. Speake you to him.

Other. No I pray, speake you to him.

Hen. 5. Why how now you rascals, why speak you not?

One Forsooth we be. Pray speake you to him.

Hen. 5 Sowns, vilains speak, or ile cut off your heads.

Other. Forsooth he can tel the tale better then I.

One. Forsooth we be your fathers Receiuers.

Hen. 5. Are you my fathers Receiuers?

Then I hope ye haue brought me some money.

One. Money, Alas sir we be robd.

Hen. 5. Robd, how many were there of them?

One Marry sir, there were foure of them:

And one of them had sir *Iohn Old-Castles* bay Hobbie,
And your blacke Nag.

Hen. 5. Gogs wounds how like you this *Iockey*?
Blood you vilaines: my father robd of his money abroad,
And we robd in our stables.

But tell me, how many were of them?

One recei. If it please you, there were foure of them,
And there was one about the bignesse of you:
But I am sure I so belamd him about the shoulders,
That he wil feele it this month.

Hen. 5. Gogs wounds you lamd them faierly,
So that they haue carried away your money.

But come sirs, what shall we do with the vilaines?

Both recei. I beseech your grace, be good to vs.

Ned. I pray you my Lord forgiue them this once.

[*Henr. 5.*] Well stand vp and get you gone,

Sig. A3.

And looke that you speake not a word of it,
For if there be, sownes ile hang you and all your kin.

Exit Purseuant

Hen 5 Now sirs, how like you this?
Was not this brauely done?
For now the vilaines dare not speake a word of it,
I haue so feared them with words.
Now whither shall we goe?

All Why my Lord, you know our old hostes
At *Feuersham*.

Hen 5. Our hostes at *Feuersham*, blood what shal we do there?
We haue a thousand pound about vs,
And we shall go to a pettie Ale-house
No, no you know the olde Tauerne in Eastcheape,
There is good wine besides, there is a pretie wench
That can talke well, for I delight as much in their toongs,
As any part about them

Sig. A3 ver.

All. We are readie to waite vpon your grace.
Hen 5. Gogs wounds wait, we will go altogether,
We are all fellowes, I tell you sirs, and the King
My father were dead, we would be all Kings,
Therefore come away

Ned Gogs wounds, brauely spoken *Harry*.

[There follows a scene between night-watchmen, John Cobler, Robin Pewterer, and Lawrence Costermonger, of which the following dialogue is part.]

Law Neighbor, what newes heare you of ye young Prince?
John. Marry neighbor, I heare say, he is a toward yong Prince,
For if he met any by the hie way,
He will not let to talke with him,
I dare not call him theefe, but sure he is one of these taking fellowes.
Law Indeed neighbour I heare say he is as liuely
A young Prince as euer was.

John. I, and I heare say, if he vse it long,
His father will cut him off from the Crowne:

.....

Enter Dericke rousing.

Sig. A4.

Dericke. Who, who there, who there?

Exit Dericke.

Enter Robin.

Robin. O neighbors, what meane you to sleepe,
And such ado in the streetes?

Ambo. How now neighbor, whats the matter?

Enter Dericke againe.

Dericke. Who there, who there, who there?

Cobler. Why what ailst thou? here is no horses.

Dericke. O alas man, I am robd, who there, who there?

Robin Hold him neighbor *Cobler*.

Robin. Why I see thou art a plaine Clowne.

.....

Cobler. Nay but heare ye sir, you seeme to be an honest Fellow, and we are poore men, and now tis night:
And we would be loth to haue any thing adoo,
Therefore I pray thee put it vp.

Sig. A4 ver

Der First, thou saiest true, I am an honest fellow,
And a proper hansom fellow too,
And you seeme to be poore men, therefore I care not greatly,
Nay, I am quickly pacified:
But and you chance to spie the theefe,
I pray you laie hold on him.

Robin Yes that we wil, I warrant you

Der Tis a wonderful thing to see how glad the knaue
Is, now I haue forgiuen him.

John. Neighbors do ye looke about you?
How now, who's there?

Enter the Theefe.

Theefe Here is a good fellow, I pray you which is the
Way to the old Tauerne in Eastcheape?

Der. Whoope hollo, now Gads Hill, knowest thou me?

Theef. I know thee for an Asse

Der And I know thee for a taking fellow,
Upon Gads hill in *Kent*:
A bots light vpon ye

.

John. My friend, what make you abroad now?
It is too late to walke now.

Theef. It is not too late for true men to walke.

Law. We know thee not to be a true man.

.

Cob. Come, come, lets haue him away.

Theefe. Why what haue I done?

Robin. Thou hast robd a poore fellow,
And taken away his goods from him.

Sig. B1.

Theefe. I neuer sawe him before.

Der. Maisters who comes here?

Enter the Vintners boy.

Boy. How now good man *Cobler*?

Cob. How now *Robin*, what makes thou abroad
At this time of night?

Boy. Marrie I haue beene at the Counter,
I can tell such newes as neuer you haue heard the like.

Cobler. What is that *Robin*, what is the matter?

Boy. Why this night about two houres ago, there came the young Prince,
and three or foure more of his companions, and called for wine good store, and
then they sent for a noyse of Musitians, and were very merry for the space of
an houre, then whether their Musicke liked them not, or whether they had
drunke too much Wine or no, I cannot tell, but our pots flue against the wals,
and then they drew their swordes, and went into the streete and fought, and

some tooke one part, & some tooke another, but for the space of halfe an houre, there was such a bloodie fray as passeth, and none coude part them vntill such time as the Maior and Sheriffe were sent for, and then at the last with much adoo, they tooke them, and so the yong Prince was carried to the Counter, and then about one houre after, there came a Messenger from the Court in all haste from the King, for my Lord Maior and the Sheriffe, but for what cause I know not

Theefe. What meane you to doe with me?

Cobler. We mean to carry you to the prison, and there to remaine till the Sessions day.

Theef. Then I pray you let me go to the prison where Sig. B1 ver.
my maister is

Cob. Nay thou must go to ye country prison, to newgate,
Therefore come away.

Enter Henry the fourth, with the Earle of Exeter, and the Lord of Oxford.

Enter the Maior and the Sheriffe.

K. Hen. 4. Now my good Lord Maior of London,
The cause of my sending for you at this time, is to tel you of a matter which I haue learned of my Councell: Herein I vnderstand, that you haue committed my sonne to prison without our leaue and license. What although he be a rude youth, and likely to giue occasion, yet you might haue considered that he is a Prince, and my sonne, and not to be halled to prison by euery subiect.

Maior. May it please your Maestie to gue vs leaue to tell our tale?

King. Hen. 4. Or else God forbid, otherwise you might thinke me an vnequall Judge, hauing more affection to my sonne, then to any rightfull iudgement

Maior. Then if it please your Maestie, this night betwixt two and three of the clocke in the morning, my Lord the yong Prince with a very disordred companie, came to the old Tauerne in Eastcheape, and whether it was that their Musicke liked them not, or whether they were ouercome with wine, I know not, but they drew their swords, and into the Sig. B2.
streete they went, and some tooke my Lord the yong Princes part,
and some tooke the other

Hen. 4. Stand aside vntill we haue further deliberated on your answer.
Exit Maior.

Hen. 4. Ah Harry, Harry, now thrice accursed Harry,
That hath gotten a sonne, which with greefe
Will end his fathers dayes.
O my sonne, a Prince thou art, I a Prince indeed,
And to deserue imprisonment,
And well haue they done, and like faithfull subiects:
Discharge them and let them go.

[The next episode is the trial of "Theefe" (Gadshill) before the Lord Chief Justice Part of the dialogue follows.]

Clearke What is thy name? Sig. B2 ver.

Theef. What need you to aske, and haue it in writing.

Clearke Is not thy name *Cutbert Cutter*?

Theefe What the Diuell need you ask, and know it so well

Cleark Why then *Cutbert Cutter*, I indite thee by the name of *Cutbert Cutter*, for robbing a poore carrier the 20 day of May last past, . . . for setting vpon a poore Carrier vpon Gads hill in *Kent*, and hauing beaten and wounded the said Carrier, and taken his goods from him.

Der. Oh maisters stay there, nay lets neuer belie the man, for he hath not beaten and wounded me also, but hee hath beaten and wounded my packe, and hath taken the great rase of Ginger, that bouncing Besse with the iolly buttocks should haue had, that greeues me most.

Iudge. Well, what sayest thou, art thou guiltie, or not guiltie?

Theefe. Not guiltie, my Lord.

Iudge. By whom wilt thou be tride?

Theefe. By my Lord the young Prince, or by my selfe whether Sig. B3.
you will.

[There follows the episode of Prince Hal's quarrel with the Lord Chief Justice which is referred to in *II Henry IV*. The Chief Justice, refusing to hand Gadshill over to the Prince, is struck by the latter: "He giueth him a boxe on the eare" Whereupon the Chief Justice commits the Prince to the Fleet.]

Enter Dericke and Iohn Cobler.

Sig. B4.

Der. Sownds maisters, heres adoo,

When Princes must go to prison:

Why *Iohn*, didst euer see the like?

Iohn. O *Dericke*, trust me, I neuer saw the like.

Der. Why *Iohn* thou maist see what princes be in choller,
A Iudge a boxe on the eare, Ile tel thee *Iohn*, O *Iohn*,
I would not haue done it for twentie shillings

Iohn No nor I, there had bene no way but one with vs,
We should haue bene hangde.

Der. Faith *Iohn*, Ile tel thee what, thou shalt be my
Lord chiefe Iustice, and thou shalt sit in the chaire,
And ile be the yong prince, and hit thee a boxe on the eare,
And then thou shalt say, to teach you what prerogatiues
Meane, I commit you to the Fleete.

[A "play extempore," between Dericke and John Cobler, ensues; in which the humor consists largely in the stupid Dericke's inability to remember that he is only play-acting and is not actually being sent to the Fleet Dericke at length determines to give up his career as carrier and enter John's service as a cobbler.]

Iohn. Why thou wilt eate me out of doores. Sig. B4 ver.

Der. Oh *Iohn*, no *Iohn*, I am none of these great slouching fellowes, that deuoure these great peeces of beefe and brewes, alasse a trifle serues me, a Woodcocke, a Chicken, or a Capons legge, or any such little thing serues me.

.

Enter the young Prince, with Ned and Tom.

Sig. C1.

Hen. 5 Come away sirs, Gogs wounds *Ned*,
Didst thou not see what a boxe on the eare
I tooke my Lord chiefe Iustice?

Tom By gogs blood it did me good to see it,
It made his teeth iarre in his head

Enter sir Iohn Old-Castle.

Hen. 5 How now sir *Iohn Old-Castle*,
What newes with you?

Ioh. Old I am glad to see your grace at libertie,
I was come I, to visit you in prison

Hen. 5. To visit me, didst thou not know that I am a Princes son, why
tis inough for me to looke into a prison, though I come not in my selfe, but
heres such adoo now adayes, heres prisoning, heres hanging, whipping, and the
duel and all: but I tel you sirs, when I am King, we will haue no such things,
but my lads, if the old king my father were dead, we would be all kings

Ioh. Old. Hee is a good olde man, God take him to his mercy the sooner.

Hen. 5 But *Ned*, so soone as I am King, the first thing
I wil do, shal be to put my Lord chief Iustice out of office,
And thou shalt be my Lord chiefe Iustice of England

Ned Shall I be Lord chiefe Iustice?

By gogs wounds, ile be the brauest Lord chiefe Iustice
That euer was in England

Hen. 5. Then *Ned*, ile turne all these prisons into fence Schooles, and I
will endue thee with them, with landes to maintaine them with-
all: then I wil haue a bout with my Lord chiefe Iustice, thou Sig. C1 ver.
shalt hang none but picke purses and horse stealers, and such
base minded villaines, but that fellow that will stand by the high way side
courageously with his sword and buckler and take a purse, that fellow giue him
commendations, beside that, send him to me and I will giue him an annuall
pension out of my Exchequer, to maintaine him all the dayes of his life.

Ioh. Nobly spoken *Harry*, we shall neuer haue a mery world til the old
king be dead.

Ned. But whither are ye going now?

Hen. 5. To the Court, for I heare say, my father lies verie sicke.

Tom. But I doubt he wil not die

Hen. 5 Yet will I goe thither, for the breath shal be no sooner out of
his mouth, but I wil clap the Crowne on my head.

Porter. What a rapping keep you at the Kings Court gate?

Hen. 5 Heres one that must speake with the King. Sig. C2.

Por. The King is verie sick, and none must speake with him.

Hen. 5. No you rascall, do you not know me?

Por. You are my Lord the young Prince.

Hen. 5. Then goe and tell my father, that I must and will speake with
him.

Ned. Shall I cut off his head?

Hen. 5. No, no, though I would helpe you in other places, yet I haue
nothing to doo here, what you are in my fathers Court.

Ned. I will write him in my Tables, for so soone as I am made Lord chiefe Iustice, I wil put him out of his Office.

The Trumpet sounds.

Hen. 5 Gogs wounds sirs, the King comes,
Lets all stand aside.

Enter the King, with the Lord of Exeter.

Hen. 4. And is it true my Lord, that my sonne is alreadie sent to the Fleete? now truly that man is more fitter to rule the Realme then I, for by no meanes could I rule my sonne, and he by one word hath caused him to be ruled. Oh my sonne, my sonne, no sooner out of one prison, but into an other, I had thought once whiles I had liued, to haue seene this noble Realme of England flourish by thee my sonne, but now I see it goes to ruine and decaie.

He wepeth

Enters Lord of Oxford.

Ox. And please your grace, here is my Lord your sonne,
That commeth to speake with you,
He saith, he must and wil speake with you

Hen. 4. Who my sonne *Harry*?

Oxf. I and please your Maestie.

Hen. 4 I know wherefore he commeth,
But looke that none come with him.

Oxf A verie disordered company, and such as make Sig C2 ver.
Verie ill rule in your Maesties house.

Hen. 4. Well let him come,
But looke that none come with him.

He goeth

Oxf. And please your grace,
My Lord the King, sends for you.

Hen. 5. Come away sirs, lets go all together.

Oxf. And please your grace, none must go with you

Hen. 5. Why I must needs haue them with me,
Otherwise I can do my father no countenance,
Therefore come away.

Oxf. The King your father commaunds
There should none come.

Hen. 5. Well sirs then be gone,
And prouide me three Noyse of Musicians.

Exeunt knights.

Enters the Prince with a dagger in his hand.

Hen. 4. Come my sonne, come on a Gods name,
I know wherefore thy comming is,
Oh my sonne, my sonne, what cause hath euer bene,
That thou shouldst forsake me, and follow this vilde and
Reprobate company, which abuseth youth so manifestly:
Oh my sonne, thou knowest that these thy doings
Wil end thy fathers dayes.

He weepes.

Hen. 5. My cōscience accuseth me, most soueraign Lord, and wel-

beloued father, to answere first to the last point, That is, whereas you coniecture that this hand and this dagger shall be arme Sig. C₃ against your life no, know my beloued father, far be the thoughts of your sonne, sonne said I, an vnworthie sonne for so good a father but farre be the thoughts of any such pretended mischiefe and I most humbly render it to your Maesties hand, and lue my Lord and soueraigne for euer and with your dagger arme show like vengeance vpon the bodie of that your sonne, I was about [to] say and dare not, ah woe is me therefore, that your wilde slaue, tis not the Crowne that I come for, sweete father, because I am vnworthie, and those vilde & reprobate company I abandon, & vtterly abolish their company for euer

Pardō me, sweet father, pardon me: good my Lord of *Exeter* speak for me pardon me, pardō good father, not a word ah he wil not speak one word A *Harry*, now thrice vnhappy *Harry*. But what shal I do? I wil go take me into some solitarie place, and there lament my sinfull life, and when I haue done, I wil laie me downe and die

Exit.

Hen. 4 Call him againe, call my sonne againe

Hen. 5. And doth my father call me again? now *Harry*, Happie be the time that thy father calleth thee againe.

Hen. 4. Stand vp my son, and do not think thy father, But at the request of thee my sonne, I wil pardon thee, And God blesse thee, and make thee his seruant.

Hen. 5. Thanks good my Lord, & no doubt but this day, Euen this day, I am borne new againe.

[The remaining two-thirds of the play deals with matters not included in *I Henry IV.*]

X. COMMENTS ON SHAKESPEARE'S USE OF *THE FAMOUS VICTORIES*

POLLARD and WILSON (*T L S.*, 1919, p. 18): *Henry V*, as well as the two parts of *Henry IV*, owes incidents in the plot to one, or perhaps two, old Queen's plays, now preserved in a shortened form by *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, entered on the *Stationers' Register* in May, 1594. As a Queen's play this must go back to 1591 or earlier, and that Shakespeare's company also had a *Henry V* play in 1591 is made probable both by the fact that in the latter part of the year an English force was helping Henry of Navarre to besiege Rouen, and by the beginning of *I Henry VI* (acted in an early form in February, 1592) which almost demands an earlier play celebrating the victories of the king whose death the opening scene laments.—WARD (*Rev. Eng. Stud.*, 1928, p. 270): Critics are nearly unanimous in saying that Shakespeare's debt to *The Famous Victories* does not extend beyond taking a hint or two here and there. In a sense this is true. Not a single line has been adopted verbatim by Shakespeare. Moreover both have a common source—the *Chronicles* of Hall and Holinshed. . . . But in a less specific way . . . it is no exaggeration to say that Shakespeare owed an immense debt to the older play. I propose to examine this debt under three headings: (1) *The Combination of History and Comedy*: In only three of his historical plays has Shakespeare interwoven history and comedy in roughly

alternating scenes. These three comprise the trilogy *I & II Henry IV* and *Henry V*. This interweaving of history and comedy is one of the most striking features of *The Famous Victories*. Out of its 22 scenes 9 are definitely comic, and the fact that they are numbers 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 12, 18, and 21 shows how the comic thread is interwoven. . . . (2) *The Period Covered by The Famous Victories and the Trilogy*. They cover exactly the same period. . . . The *Victories* opens with the prince's escapade at Gadshill and closes with the French king giving the hand of his daughter to Henry V. The second scene in the Trilogy (*I Henry IV*, I, ii) depicts the Gadshill robbery being planned, and the last scene (*Henry V*, V, ii) concludes with Henry V accepting the hand of the French princess. This is the more curious as the details of the Gadshill robbery are non-historical, and Shakespeare has followed the *Victories* in these details with remarkable fidelity. In both cases the assailants are the prince and three of his wild companions, the victims are two of the King's Receivers, and the amount of booty is one thousand pounds. (3) *The Characters*. It is significant that four of the non-historical characters are not only common to both in name but are playing the same parts. (a) Sir John Oldcastle is one of the prince's companions in the *Victories*. Falstaff in *Henry IV* was first called Oldcastle. (b) Ned in the *Victories* becomes Ned Poins in the Trilogy. (c) The Thief, alias Gadshill, becomes Gadshill in *I Henry IV*. (d) Robin Pewterer is one of the artizans in the comic scenes of the *Victories*. In *I Henry IV*, II, 1, the 2nd Carrier addresses the 1st Carrier as "neighbour Mugs". Shakespeare must have had Robin Pewterer in mind. . . . The favorite haunt of the prince, the old tavern in Eastcheap, is common to both. . . . The father and son burlesque in *I Henry IV*, II, iv, is anticipated by a similar burlesque in the *Victories* by Dericke and John Cobler.

XI. THOMAS PHAER. *HOW OWEN GLENDOWER . . . TOOKE UPON HIM
TO BE PRINCE OF WALES*

Printed in *The Mirrour for Magistrates*, 1559

[It is possible that Shakespeare was familiar with Phaer's work; see note on III, i, 146-150. Phaer was also the author of *A Ballad on the Robbery at Gadshill*, entered on the *Stationers' Register* in 1558, and known to WARTON (*Hist. Eng. Poetry*, 1774, iv, 223). The following are representative selections from Phaer's *Glendower*.]

10.

For Henry the fourth did then vsvrpe the crowne,
Despoyled the king, with Mortimer the heyre
For which his subiects soght to put him downe,
And I, while fortune offred me so fayre,
Did what I might his honour to appayre:
And tooke on me to be the prince of Wales,
Entiste thereto by many of Merlynes tales.*

* HERFORD (ed. 1900; note on III, i, 147, *Merlin*): Merlin is not mentioned by Holinshed.

12.

See lucke, I tooke lord Raynold Gray of Rythen,
 And him enforst my daughter to espouse,
 And so vnransoumed I held him still, and sythen
 In Wigmore land through battayle rigorous
 I caught the right heyre of crowned house,
 The earle of March, sir Edmund Mortimer,
 And in a dungeon kept him prisoner

19.

Immediately after fell a ioly iarre
 Betweene the king, and Percie's worthy blouds,
 Which grue at last vnto a deadly warre .

20.

The king woulde haue the ransome of such Scots
 As these the Percies tane had in the field. . .

21.

The Percies deemde it meeter for the king
 To haue redeemde theyr cosin Mortimer,
 Who in his quarrel all his power did bring
 To fight with mee, that tooke him prisoner,
 Than of their pray to rob his souldier:
 And therefore willed him see some meane were founde,
 To quite hym forth whom I kept vily bounde.

22

Because the king mishked theyr request,
 They came themselues and did accomde with mee,
 Complayning how the kingdome was opprest
 By Henry's rule: wherefore wee did agree
 To plucke him downe, and part the realme in three
 The north part theyrs, Wales wholly to bee mine,
 The rest, to rest to th'earle of March's line.

23.

And for to set vs thereon more agog,
 A prophet came (a vengeance take them all)
 Affirming Henry to be Gogmagog,
 Whom Merline doth a mouldwarp euer call,
 Accurst of God, that must be kept in thrall
 By a wolfe, a dragon, and a lion strong,
 Which should deuide his kingdome them among.

XII. A POSSIBLE EARLIER, METRICAL, PLAY ON HENRY IV, BY SHAKESPEARE

[A. E. MORGAN (*Some Problems*, 1924) ably defends the theses that the version of *Henry IV* in which Falstaff appeared as Oldcastle (see note on I, ii, 49, *old . . . castle*) was radically different from the play as we have it, was probably almost wholly metrical, and was derived, not from *The Famous Victories*, but

from a still older play on which *The Famous Victories* also was based. A summary of Morgan's argument follows.—Ed.]

1. In *I Henry IV* Shakespeare broke away from his earlier manner of writing historical plays, seriously and in verse form, and with one bound achieved rich comedy with a large proportion of prose. It is not impossible to imagine so abrupt an alteration of method, but it would be easier to imagine the change as being made more gradually.

2. In *I Henry IV* (II, iv) occurs the father-and-son burlesque acted by Falstaff and the prince, in *The Famous Victories* there is a similar burlesque, by Dericke and John Cobler, of the scene in which Harry boxes the ear of the Chief Justice. It is noticeable that in *I Henry IV* there are two such playlets, the rôles of father and son being taken alternately by Falstaff and Harry. In *The Famous Victories* there is only one burlesque. It would appear, however, as if the rôles were to be changed and the play repeated:

(Dericke.) *Exit. And straight enters again.* Oh Iohn,

Come, come out of thy chair, why what a clown weart thou,
to let me hit thee a box on the eare . . .

But the episode ends abruptly. What seems probable is that *The F.V.* is a rehandling of an older play that contained a double burlesque. *The F.V.*, a ruthlessly cut down version, retains the first and a suggestion of the second Shakespeare, handling the same material, made use of the whole.

3. In *The F.V.* the name of the thief is Cuthbert Cutter, but Dericke addresses him as *Gads Hill*, and as *Gads*. It is hardly likely that these two references gave Shakespeare the name for one of his thieves, it is more likely that in the parent play there was a Gadshill, borrowed by both Shakespeare and the author of *The Famous Victories*. . . In *I H. IV*, II, ii, 47, Gadshill is "our setter", in *The F.V.*, the Thief is described as "the vilaine that was wont to spie out our booties."

4. In *The F.V.* the Prince's boon companions, Ned, Tom, and Oldcastle, are called knights. In the stage-directions at the beginning of *II H. IV*, II, ii, Sir John Russell's name appears where Bardolph's name should stand. Were there three knights in the common original, Sir John Oldcastle, Sir John Russell, and Sir * * * ?

5. Shakespeare preserves Oldcastle's name, but the band of boon companions is rearranged. Poins stands in a peculiar position of familiarity. In *The F.V.* Oldcastle shows a certain acerbity to Ned: there was clearly no love lost between Falstaff and Ned Poins. . . . It would seem that Shakespeare, in his first version, had seized upon Sir John Russell. When he came to revise, he degraded Russell into a low follower of Falstaff's, Bardolph; but by accident he left a trace of his original. In *II Henry IV*, as we have mentioned, Bardolph retains a trace of gentility in the stage-directions of II, ii: in *I H. IV*, I, ii, 155, where Poins refers (in Qq and Ff) to Falstalf, Harvey Rossill, and Gadshill, there is another trace of Bardolph's knightly prototype. Lastly, in *I H. IV*, II, iv, 158 ff., three speeches are assigned in Qq to Ross. [see Textual Notes] which, in my view, should be given to Bardolph and not to Gadshill [see note on II, iv, 157-165]. There was a John Russell contemporary with Oldcastle and Prince Henry, who held a position of trust in the household of the prince's brother, Humphrey of Gloucester. It seems

then as if the reference in *The F.V.* to three "knights" may be accounted for most easily by the theory that the author was working on an older play

6. Detailed evidence is presented to show that *The F.V.* is an abridgment. At first sight it seems to be written in verse, but on further examination it seems to be prose, with a good deal of verse embedded in it. Of the total of 1579 lines, about 250 are verse. A few traces of rime may be found. What does this mean if not that the play was a roughly shortened form of a verse play? Further signs of abridgment are [Sig. A₃] *Exit Pursuant*, when we have seen no such person, [Sig. A₄ verso] confusion as to the identity of the thief, the confusion of time with regard to the brawl in which the prince and his company take part is past solution, as are the times and reasons for the two arrests and releases of the prince, [Sig. C₃] there is a reconciliation between king and prince, but a later speech of Harry's implies subsequent backsliding, and we are not shown in the interval anything to support this

7. There is good reason to believe that *The F.V.* was not in existence until after the death of Tarlton, the clown, in 1588, yet in *Tarlton's Jestes* (Hazlitt: *Shakespeare's Jest-Books*, II, 218) there is the following passage. "At the Bull at Bishop's-gate was a play of Henry V, wherein the judge was to take a box on the eare; and because he was absent that should take the blow, Tarlton himselfe tooke upon him to play the same judge besides his owne part of the clowne." Daniel, in his Introduction to *The F.V.*, whilst thinking it probable that the *Henry V* here mentioned was our *F.V.*, remarks that it was physically impossible for Tarlton to double the parts of Dericke and Chief Justice. My suggestion is that the reference is to the older version of the play which we posit. We have already seen that in the parent version the burlesque play was duplicated with rôles interchanged. The writer of the Jest Book is perhaps describing in his muddled way this situation.

8. In Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse*, 1592, we read "What a glorious thing it is to have Henrie the fifth represented on the stage leading the French king prisoner and forcing both him and the Dolphin to sweare fealty." This passage is strikingly reminiscent of an episode in *F.V.* [Sig. G₁, verso], but in this scene the king does not swear fealty. This may be a mistake by Nashe, or it may be that he is reporting what took place in the old play.

9. From Henslowe's *Diary* (ed. Greg, I, 27) we learn that a new play called *harey the V* was acted by the Lord Admiral's men at the Rose on Nov. 28, 1595, and subsequently thirteen times before July 15, 1596. In *The Stationers' Register* is an entry on May 14, 1594, for "a booke intituled *The famous victories of HENRYE the FFYFT*, etc." Here is a difficulty: the book is entered in May, 1594, and the play first acted in November, 1595. In 1594 the Queen's men "broke and went into the contrey." Dr. Greg thinks that at this time they possibly came to a definite end. We may presume that being on the verge of dissolution, they would dispose of all realizable assets. Dr. Greg's suggestion is that they sold the MS. to Creede the printer while they were in London in 1594, but the Admiral's men appropriated and revised the play and stayed the publication until 1598, when Creede printed it from the original. The first known edition of *The Famous Victories* is dated 1598. This suggestion does not get over the difficulty that the play was new in 1595 and referred to in 1592, and evidence that Tarlton, who died in 1588, acted in it.

If, however, we follow the internal evidence already cited, and believe that there were two plays, the difficulties vanish. Let us call the original play *Henry V* (a)

10. We know that three plays—*Friar Bacon*, *Jew of Malta*, and *Ranger's Comedy*—were in the hands of the Queen's men in 1594 and afterward formed part of the repertory of the Admiral's men. Having acquired some of the play-books of the Queen's men, the Admiral's men might easily learn that Creede had bought *Henry V* (a), and they may have persuaded him to part with his acquisition. They would then proceed to revise it, and this revised they produced as a new play in 1595. It continues as part of their repertory as late as 1598. In the inventories of the Admiral's men for 1598 there are five references to properties for a play in which Henry V and the Dauphin figure. Let us call this play *Henry V* (b). *The Famous Victories* is too poor a thing to have been in the repertory of so reputable a company. It must be a reconstruction, from memory, effected by the remnants of the Queen's men after they had sold their good MS. If so, *Henry V* (b) must be a version distinct from *The Famous Victories*, and now lost; and Creede must have got hold of the later reconstructed text made by the remnants of the Queen's men, and published it under his original registration of May, 1594.

11. At some point of time the MS. of either *Henry V* (a) or *Henry V* (b) must have passed from the Admiral's men to the Chamberlain's men. There it fell to the lot of Shakespeare to rehandle it and produce his version of the Henry V story. How that transference took place cannot be said. Perhaps a clue is to be found in the fact that the two companies were acting together at Newington Butts in 1594. We have now reached the point where the MS. came into Shakespeare's hands. What did he do with it? I agree with those who surmise that Shakespeare's *Henry IV* as we have it today is different from what it was when he first wrote it. An examination of the two parts of the play reveals clearly many marks of rehandling. The rehandling is different in character in the verse and prose elements. In the verse portions the most obvious phenomenon is curtailment, of which there are two kinds of sign: disturbance in the regularity of the verse, and obvious gaps and inconsistencies in the narrative.

Signs of Curtailment in the Verse Portions of I Henry IV

12. [See notes, under Morgan's name, on I, i, 55-57, I, i, 62 ff., III, ii, 93, and IV, i, 75.—ED.] In V, i, 22-29, signs of curtailment are evident. The king has just rebuked Worcester for kindling civil war, and at line 22 Worcester is clearly about to state a case in his own defence, probably at some length. Instead, we find a truncated verse, followed by a dramatically inadequate personal statement of four lines. Even these four lines seem to be pruned. Line 25 looks very much as if it were made up of two loose ends of a cut. The irregular meter, a capital letter in *For*, and the absence of pointing after *houres*, taken cumulatively, are striking. [Morgan is misled, as to the pointing of this line, by one of the many errors in the Griggs Facsimile (so-called) of the Devonshire-Huntington copy of Q₁. My photostat of this copy of Q₁ shows a faint period after *houres*; but the period is very clear in both the other extant copies of Q₁. See also note, under Morgan's name, on V, i, 101-103.—ED.]

Signs of Rehandling the Comic Scenes of I Henry IV

13 Let us try to imagine what took place when the old play, *Henry V* (a), came into Shakespeare's hands. The play he utilised and transformed was wholly or mainly in verse, and had a comic plot attaching to Prince Hal and his companions. He proceeds to rewrite the play, preserving certain elements of his model . . . Still the old habits cling, and the play is written mainly in verse, with the serious, historical, element preponderating. The play is successful, but Shakespeare thinks it might be better still if he gave himself more freedom in the direction of comedy. Then came the trouble over Oldcastle [See Appendix, p. 447 —Ed.] Shakespeare had thus a double stimulus to revise, and accordingly about 1597 or 1598 he rehandled the play. The version of *I Henry IV* that we know is a play of normal length. Therefore if the verse portions were curtailed, as we have striven to show, there must probably have been a proportionate increase in the prose element . . . What evidence that the play was written originally in verse might we expect to find? We should not be surprised to find traces of verse buried in the comic prose. We do find them. We should expect such relics to be bunched together in certain parts of the plot, *i.e.*, the parts transferred from the verse play; and we should look for other sections free from such fragments, sections added in the process of final extension. This is precisely what we do find. . . . The most noticeable example is the highway-robbery part of the plot, which is one of the principal episodes borrowed from the old play and is actually the part richest in its contribution of buried verse . . . The maturest comedy centers in Falstaff. We should therefore expect that if the comedy belonged to two dates, the parts rich in typical Falstaffian character humour belonged to the later period, and we should be surprised to find much verse imbedded in them. In actual fact they are relatively free from such relics . . . A comic scene is likely to end with a small episode to serve as link with the following historical narrative. This would have been necessary in Shakespeare's verse play. If, in revising, he adds to the comedy by inserting a new scene, we should find no trace of verse; if he extends an existing comic scene we shall expect him to preserve the end of it with its essential link, and we shall look for a preponderance of verse fragments at the end of such scenes. That, again, is precisely what we find. Examples follow:

14 Act I, scene ii, the first comic scene, opens with rare fooling and flashing of wit, and the first [94] lines show little except unequivocal prose.

At line [95] we have what is apparently a verse. It is noteworthy that this is the introduction of the Gadshill-robbery plot. We continue to find verse cropping up [*e.g.*, the first eight words of line 96 are metrically arranged.—Ed.]. Lines 119-122 may be arranged as follows: "My lads, to morrow morning, by foure a clocke / Early at Gadshill, there are pilgrims going / To Canturburie with rich offerings, / And traders riding to London with fat purses." . . . The next ensuing link essential to the incidents of the scene is Falstaff's departure [lines 149-152]: "Farewell, you shall find me in Eastcheap. / *Prim.* Farewell. The latter spring, farewell Alhallowne summer." At line [155] occurs one of the most important links with the old play. If this line has any significance, the names must have been transferred from the old play in which Falstaff was called Oldcastle; and it is very significant that if *Oldcastle* is read for

Falstaff here, we get a line of verse [*i. e.*, a line composed of the four proper names—*Ed*] In the next twenty-eight lines three verses occur, and the final passage of the scene, an obvious link with the historical part of the play, is consistent verse throughout.

15. Act II, scene 1, the next comic scene, opens with an incident clearly reminiscent of *The Famous Victories*, with a verbal contact at line [23] where the Carrier says he has "two razes of ginger, etc." Yet the opening part of this scene is unmistakable prose. It is conversation between very simple rustic folk, and is the kind of prose one expects to find in an early play that is otherwise in verse. It stands alone in character in this play. But as soon as Gadshill enters, verse is found [lines 34-37]:

I Car. Nay, by God, soft,
I knowe a tricke worth two of that I faith
Gad I pray thee lend me thine
II Car. I, when, canst tell?"

There is strong suspicion of verse in the Chamberlain's speech, lines [52-55]: "Theres . . . Kent / Hath . . . golde / I . . . company / Last . . . Auditor." Other examples are lines [61, 62] "I know . . . Nicholas / As . . . may.", and line [81] "She will, she will, Iustice hath liquord her."

16. Act II, scene ii, which contains the robbery episode, is especially interesting. The first [26] lines, mostly taken up with *Falstaff's* long complaint in his best humorous vein, is, as we should expect, unequivocal prose. At the very end of the speech is a possible verse: "Whew, / A plague vpon you all, giue mee my horse." The manner of printing lends colour to the possibility of the long preceding part of the speech having been inserted in the later version. In the latter part of the scene, when the robbery is being enacted, verse crops out frequently. *Bardolph's* speech [lines 49, 50] contains what may be a fragment. "Theres . . . hill." The prince speaks what is apparently verse just below, lines [56-58]: "Sirs, / You . . . lane / Ned . . . scape / From . . . us." The travellers have only two speeches [lines 74, 75, and 80], and both have the appearance of verse. Then follows *Falstaff* with "Hang . . . vn-done / No . . . here." [Note that Capell and Walker both anticipated Morgan in dividing lines 74-84 into verse.—*Ed*] The penultimate speech of the scene is printed as prose in *Q₁*, but it is so obviously seven lines of verse that it has been thus printed by editors following Pope. There are two very significant points about this passage. First it would seem improbable that *Q₁* would print prose if the copy had been in verse form. It can hardly be contended that the passage is metrical by accident. The inference is that an attempt was made to mask the metrical quality. If that was so, it bears out the larger theory that other comic parts were altered from verse to prose. The second point is the irregularity of line [99]: "Awaie good Ned, Falstaffe sweates to death." It has frequently been pointed out that *Oldcastle* in place of *Falstaffe* would regularize the metre.

17. Act II, scene iv. In the first part of the scene there is excellent fooling; but there is no incident connected with the plot. It is therefore natural, according to our hypothesis, that for the first [156] lines there should be no sign of verse. At line [157] begins the passage, already discussed, in which three speeches are assigned, in *Q₁*, to *Ross*. We have now reached the after-

math of the robbery. *Ex hypothesi*, Rossill, or Russell, was a character in Shakespeare's early verse play, and it is confirmatory of our theory that as soon as *Ross* begins to speak there should be a strong flavour of verse [Morgan divides lines 157-162 metrically. In this somewhat crucial case, his rearrangement of prose into verse is not very convincing—Ed.] The prince begins [at line 173] to speak in verse Cf. also lines 189, 190, 193, 194. In another speech of Falstaff's there is a possible fragment [lines 203, 204]: "three misbegotten knaues in Kendall greene." More convincing is the next speech of the prince [lines 207-210]. The prince's next speech [lines 213-215] has a suspicious ring. Again the prince begins and ends a speech [lines 222-224] with verse. But much more striking is the longer speech beginning at line [232]:

"*Po.* Marke iacke

Prin. We two saw you foure set on foure,
And bound them and were maisters of their wealth.
Marke now how a plaine tale shall put you downe,
Then did wee two set on you foure, and with
A worde, outfack't you from your prize, & haue it,
Yea, & can shew it you here in the house:
And Falstalffe, you carried your guts away
As nimbly, with as quicke dexteritie,
& roard for mercy, & stil run and roard,
As euer I heard bul-calf. What a slaue
Art thou to hacke thy sworde as thou hast done?"

It will be noticed that the line containing Falstaff's name is not metrical. Again read *Oldcastle* for *Falstaff*, and a verse appears. There is a very striking contrast between Falstaff's speeches at lines [159 and 169]. In the former he addresses the prince with unwonted deference, when he pushes in to defend himself with the rest, putting himself on a level with Ross. and Peto. It is the only occasion in *I Henry IV* on which he calls the prince "my Lord," although that is the form by which Oldcastle usually addresses him in *The Famous Victories*. But at line [169] he is once again the old Jack, treating Hal with the familiarity to which we are accustomed. Is not this further evidence in support of our theory with regard to Rossill? We have here a passage [lines 142-206] in which, I believe, we can detect three strata of dramatic evolution: (1) a story told by all the runaways, including Rossill and a rudimentary, deferential Oldcastle, in verse; (2) the story as first developed by Shakespeare, and still in verse of which fragments remain; (3) the last version, which is in prose and in which Falstaff rises to the topmost pitch of comedy.

18. The next episode to consider is that of the burlesque father-and-son playlets. Here there are disturbing cross-currents. If anywhere, we should expect verse fragments here, for this passage is probably derived, as has been suggested, from the original *Henry V* (a). Sure enough we find such remnants of verse at the beginning of the episode: "Shall I: content. This chaire shall be my state," [line 352]; "And I will do it in king Cambises vaine," [line 360]; and lines 364-371. Then a most curious thing happens. The last two speeches of Falstaff are printed in Q₁ as verse. This is particularly remarkable in the case of line 371, as it is immediately followed by a long speech, still Fal-

staff's, which from the arrangement of the print in *Q*₁ has the appearance of being a new speech. In style, also, it is new: the Cambises vein is suddenly abandoned and Falstaff launches out into a ridiculously Euphuistic style. My belief is that the first Shakespearean version had a verse burlesque in the "King Cambises vein," a style which would be extravagant in a metrical play, but when the play underwent revision, and the comic element was put into prose, Shakespeare had the happy inspiration of substituting a Euphuistic burlesque. [It should, however, be admitted that in this *prose* burlesque there are certain passages which might be pressed into service as "fragments of verse" quite as convincingly as, for example, lines 157-162, see above. Such passages are line 373, "But also how thou art accompanied," and lines 378-381—Ed.] This would have been a natural thing to do, for the Euphuistic vein stood in the same relation to normal prose as the Cambises vein did to normal blank verse.

19 The scene [II, iv] ends with the visit of the sheriff and the picking of Falstaff's pockets. The former episode is recognized by modern editors, as well as by *Q*₁, as containing an appreciable amount of verse. After printing lines [475-495] as verse, modern editors revert to prose form [but see Textual Note on 496, 497—Ed.], yet more verse can be found in lines [496-499]. [In line 498] read *Oldcastle* again for *Falstaff*, and good verse emerges.

20 Act III, scene iii is interesting for the distribution of its verse-fragments. There are 41 lines of fossil verse in the whole scene. Of these, 19 occur in the first [164] lines, and 22 in the last [31]. The tendency for concentration of verse relics at the end of a scene is thus clearly marked. It is also noteworthy that the most considerable sequence of possible verse in the early part of the scene should refer to the robbery, i. e., lines [34-37]:

"But thou art altogether giuen ouer:
And wert indeede but for the light in thy face,
The sonne of vtter darkenesse. When thou ranst
Vp Gadshill in the night to catch my horse,"

21 In the last act the problem changes. In the case of V, i, there seems to be evidence that *Oldcastle* did not appear at all in this scene in the earlier version, and that the scene ended at what is line 120 of our play. But true to his intention of increasing the comic element in the revised play, Shakespeare decided to give Falstaff a more prominent position. The prose passage at the end of V, i has all the appearances of being an addition, and contains practically no signs of verse. Having decided on this comic addendum, Shakespeare must introduce Falstaff, so that he and Hal may conveniently be left on the stage when the king goes out at line 120. This supposition is corroborated by the unusual stage-direction printed marginally at line 120. It is curious to find both *Exeunt* and *Manent*. May one surmise that *Exeunt* originally closed the scene, and that the *Manent* was scribbled in to support an addition? To give colour to this device Shakespeare makes Falstaff intrude with one (highly improper) speech in the early part of the scene, at line 28. It is not in verse, nor is the prince's severe reply.

22. There is one piece of external evidence that *Henry IV* underwent revision. It is slender, but as it is the only evidence of the kind it should be cited. In the *Henslowe Papers* (ed. Greg, W. W., pp. 57, 58) is printed a letter

(date assigned by Greg, with query, June 4, 1601) from Samuel Rowley to Henslowe, with a note by John Day. On the verso are the following lines in Day's hand

"brother they were too nebers of our state
yet both infected wth a strong disease
& mortal sicknes proud ambytion
wch being ranck and villanously neare
had they not been prevented might have proved
fatall & dangerouse then synce scornfull death
hath like a skillfull artist cured that feare
wch might have proved so hurtefull to or selves
let vs Commit in sad and mournfull sound
there worthes to fame there bodyes to the ground
for the dead percy bore a gallant mynd
Jngland has my prayers left behind."

Dr. Warner's comment (quoted, *ibid*) is as follows: "Lines spoken apparently by Henry, Prince of Wales, to his brother John, over the dead body of Hotspur; cf. Shakespeare's *I Henry IV*, V, 1v There is a difficulty, however, with regard to the second of the 'two neighbours of our state,' since the Earl of Worcester, who would seem to be intended, did not die in the battle, but was executed afterwards" These verses do not bear marks of Shakespeare's manner as displayed in *I Henry IV*, but they might conceivably have been written by him at an earlier date. The existence of the lines is not without significance. They are clearly dramatic, and they do not fit into the one known play on the theme with which they appear to deal. It may therefore be inferred that another play, or version of the same play differently treated, did exist, and supplied Day with these lines Our main hypothesis implies two earlier plays on Henry IV, not reckoning *The Famous Victories*, though it does not imply that both included Hotspur. On the whole it is improbable that the hypothetical *Henry V* (a) dealt with the Percy rebellion, as it would have contained more than enough historical material without it. The Oldcastle version of *Henry IV* almost certainly did deal with the death of Hotspur. If so, the existence of twelve lines of dramatic verse dealing with this theme in somewhat different fashion from that found in *I Henry IV*, and of a quality not incompatible with Shakespeare's earlier manner, is an additional, though slight, piece of evidence that *Henry IV* underwent considerable change. If we believe that Shakespeare's Oldcastle version was derived not directly from *Henry V* (a) but from an intermediate version, we have another possible origin for these lines.

23. My belief, then, is (a) that an early Henry V play, or plays, existed in 1588; (b) that this play, or plays, was the original of *The Famous Victories* and of Shakespeare's first play on the Henry V theme; (Note: Perhaps the Oldcastle version of Shakespeare's play was called *Henry V* or *Harry V*. Richard James in a letter (c. 1625) says that "in Shakespeare's first shew of Harrie the fift, the person with which he undertook to play a buffoon was not Falstaff, but Oldcastle."); (c) that both parts of *Henry IV*, as we know them, are revised versions of earlier Shakespearean forms; (d) that in the early form there was less comic element; (e) that the comic element was mainly in verse; (f)

that at revision the historical element was abridged; (g) that in the early version Oldcastle was a pale foreshadowing of the richly humorous Falstaff.

[Further evidence of an earlier version is offered by J. M. Purcell (*N. & Q.*, June 1, 1935), as follows:]

In Gabriel Harvey's *Four Letters* (1592, p. 74, ed. 1923) "Yet neuer childe so delighted in his ratling bably [bauble], as some old Lads of the Castell haue sported themselues with their rappinge bable", cf. *I Henry IV*, I, ii. *Ibid.* (p. 54): "gowty Duels, and buckram Giants . . . hypocritical hoat spurres." "Gouty devils and buckram giants" suggest a reference to fat Falstaff and the rogues in buckram. "Hypocritical hot spurs" refers of course to Hotspur. No example before 1596 of the phrase "hot spur" with the meaning rash, hasty, is listed in the *N. E. D.*, and only one example of "hot spur" with any other meaning is given between 1460 and 1590, and that is from Holinshed. But there are three examples, not including Harvey's, between 1592 and 1600. It is more likely that a play would have given popularity to a word than would the obscure use of it by Holinshed, Nashe, or Harvey . . . That Harvey may have picked up these phrases from a non-Shakespearean *Henry IV* is plausible, and if he did so, we can now date approximately the older play. . . If Harvey's source is a non-Shakespearean play, then it is probable that the comic element and the character of Hotspur in Shakespeare's play owe something to the older play.

XIII. COMMENT ON MORGAN'S THEORY OF AN EARLIER SHAKESPEAREAN VERSION

ROBERTSON (*Sh. Canon*, 1922-30, iii, 180): All the reasons for connecting Marlowe with a pre-Shakespearean play on Henry V go to suggest that he would have had a hand in the early Henry IV play which Professor Morgan so clearly shows to have underlain the existing text.—CHAMBERS (*Wm. Sh.*, 1930, i, 381): Morgan thinks that . . . both parts have been abridged. His evidence for this consists mainly of short lines. So far as *Part I* is concerned, the explanation is quite superfluous. . . . I cannot accept Morgan's further view that the prose scenes have been rewritten from an earlier metrical version, at the time when Shakespeare substituted Falstaff for Oldcastle . . . (i, 233). Revision, according to Professor Wilson [in the New Cambridge edition of *Love's Labour's Lost*], sometimes took the form of rewriting verse scenes in prose, and of this traces remain in the presence of lines still recognizable as verse. "Verse-fossils" he calls them. I do not think that these rhythms have any such significance. They are a constant feature of Shakespeare's prose. They are most frequent in the comedies of his mid-career, such as *As You Like It* and *Twelfth Night*. But there are many also in *Coriolanus* and *Winter's Tale*, and no play is altogether without them. Often they form single line speeches, and here it may be uncertain whether prose or verse is intended. But they also occur sporadically in the middle of speeches, and sometimes in groups. Professor Wilson is far from noticing them all. The number might be much increased if, with Professor A. E. Morgan, one took into account not only regular decasyllabic rhythms, but others which could be carried as such in a blank verse passage by substituting a verse intonation for a prose one and allowing for trisyllabic feet. These, however, when they come in a prose passage, do not really read as anything but prose. A dramatic value is sometimes involved.

The rhythm corresponds to a rise in the emotional scale of utterance . . . More generally, a writer, who makes habitual transitions between prose and verse, may naturally have had the instinct that the use of a rather rhythmical type of prose served to bridge the line of demarcation. [Many of the examples of "verse-fossils" cited by Morgan are adequately accounted for by this argument of Chambers. I do not feel, however, that Chambers has overthrown the main contention of Morgan.—Ed]

XIV THE RICHARD II OF THE EGERTON MS

ELSON, JOHN J. (*Stud. in Philol.*, Apr., 1935, pp. 177-188) discusses the influence of the Elizabethan play of Richard II (MS Egerton 1994, Brit Mus) on Shakespeare's *Richard II* and *I Henry IV*. He finds, among others, the following links and resemblances: 1 The Lord Chief Justice Tresilian of *Richard II* anticipates Falstaff in seeking out persons to exploit. In sending out blank charters for tax levies Tresilian directs his emissaries to force them upon

"All landed men, freeholders, farmers, grashers [graziers]
Or any else that have abillitye." (1 *Richard II*, 1149, 50)

Cf. Falstaff's method in raising his army (*I Henry IV*, IV, 1).

2 Tresilian's gang of charter servers sets an ambush for these affluent persons. Cf. the language of the scene in *Richard II* with the language of the Gadshill robbery scene in *I Henry IV*, (II, 1).

"The ritch *chuffes* beginne to flocke out oth towne" (I 1527)

"heere be rich *horsesones*" (I. 1542)

"*Jesu* receave my soule" (I 1609)

"Heere ye *bacon fead* puding eaters" (I. 1615)

"We can but be *undone*" (I. 1622)

"No, ye *catterpillars*," (I. 1637)

3 Miscellaneous parallels in wording:

"Ile have these verses sunge to ther faces by one of my schooleboyes, wherin Ile tickell them all *ifaith*." (1 *Richard II*, 1659, 60). Cf. "An I have not ballads made on you all and sung to filthy tunes, let a cup of sack be my poison" (*I Henry IV*, II, 1) and "Nay, Ile tickle ye for a young prince, *i'faith*" (*I Henry IV*, II, 1v)

GENERAL CRITICISM

DRYDEN (*Of Dram Poesie*, 1668, p. 19): The Historical Plays of Shakespeare are rather so many chronicles of kings, or the business many times of thirty or forty Years, cramp't into a representation of two hours and a half, which is not to imitate nature, but rather to draw her in miniature, to look upon her through the wrong end of a perspective and receive her Images not only much less but infinitely more imperfect than the life: this, instead of making a Play delightful, makes it ridiculous.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765, *Preface*): Shakespeare's histories, being neither tragedies nor comedies, are not subject to any of their laws; nothing more is necessary than that the changes of action be so prepared as to be understood, that the incidents be various and affecting, and the characters consistent, natural, and distinct. No other unity is intended. . . .

(*IBID.*, iv, 355): None of his plays are more read than the first and second parts of Henry IV. Perhaps no author has ever in two plays afforded so much delight. The great events are interesting, for the fate of kingdoms depends upon them, the slighter occurrences are diverting, and, except one or two, sufficiently probable, the incidents are multiplied with wonderful fertility of invention, and the characters diversified with the utmost nicety of discernment and the profoundest skill in the nature of man.—MRS MONTAGU (*Writing and Genius of Sh*, 1769). Our author is so little under the discipline of art that we are apt to ascribe his happiest successes . . . to chance. But I cannot help thinking that there is more of contrivance and care in his execution of this play than in almost any he has written. It is a more regular drama than his other historical plays. . . . It is indeed liable to those objections which are made to tragedy-comedy. But, if the pedantry of learning could ever recede from dogmatical rules, I think that this play instead of being condemned for being of that species would obtain favour for the species itself. . . . From some peculiar circumstances relating to the characters in this piece, we may perhaps find a sort of apology for the motley mixture thrown into it . . . Many stories still subsisted of the wild adventures of the Prince of Wales and his idle companions. His subsequent reformation and conquests in France rendered him a very popular character. It was a delicate affair to expose the follies of Henry V. . . . Their enormity would have been greatly heightened if they had appeared in a piece entirely serious and full of dignity and decorum. How happily therefore was the character of Falstaff introduced, whose wit and festivity in some measure excuse the prince. . . . The scene between the prince and Francis is low and ridiculous, and seems one of the chief indecorums of the piece; at the same time the attentive spectator will find that the purpose of it is to show him Henry studying human nature in all her variety of tempers and faculties.—MRS INCHBALD (*Remarks; Act. Version*, 1817): This is a play which all men admire and which most women dislike. Many revolting expressions in the comic parts, much boisterous courage in the graver scenes, together with Falstaff's unwieldy person, offend every female auditor; and whilst a facetious Prince of Wales is employed taking purses on the highway, a lady would rather see him stealing hearts at a ball. The great Percy pays some attention to his wife, but more to his horse; and, as the king was a rebel before he mounted the throne, and all women are naturally loyal, they shudder at a crowned head leagued with a traitor's heart. With all these plausible objections, infinite entertainment and instruction may be obtained from this drama even by the most delicate readers.

COLERIDGE (*Lectures*, 1818): The two parts of *Henry IV* form a species of themselves, which may be named the mixed drama. The distinction does not depend on the mere quantity of historical events in the play compared with the fictions; for there is as much history in *Macbeth* as in *Richard*, but in the relation of the history to the plot. In the purely historical plays, the history forms the plot; in the mixed, it directs it; in the rest, it subserves it.—SINGER (1826): The historical dramas of Shakespeare have indeed become the popular history. . . . No plays were ever more read, nor does the inimitable, all-powerful, genius of the poet ever shine out more than in the two parts of *Henry IV*.—DUPORT (*Essais*, 1828): This play is merely an historical tableau

whose different parts bear no relation to each other. There is no character who dominates the action and focusses the attention. It is anarchy of construction . . . The tragic part is cold, wandering, indecisive, the comic part, though wholly out of the spirit of the play, deserves sometimes to be ranked with the great achievements of a Regnard or even of a Molière. It is full of a fresh gaiety, and one finds in Falstaff a character admirably drawn and justly celebrated. The greatness is often marred by a deluge of vulgar jokes and insults, but this is not regarded as a capital offence by other nations as it is with us.—T. CAMPBELL (*Remarks*, 1838, ed. of 1846, p. 59) This piece may challenge the world to produce another more original and rich in characters . . . The interest of the first, and better, part of *Henry IV* is no doubt derived from its characters rather than from its incidents, not that the latter are either thin or confused; they are, on the contrary, clear, rapid, and full, but the action is more indebted to its agents than to its own movement, for as to the mere issue of events, I think we cannot be said to feel a palpitating anxiety for success on either side.

ULRICI (*Sh. Dram. Art.*, 1839, translation of 1876, II, 243). The comic, unhistorical portions are so strikingly elaborate that the question as to their justification becomes a vital point. . . . Shakespeare did not intend merely to enrich scanty historical material by a free, poetical addition . . . It was as little his intention merely to give a broader foil to the character of Prince Henry. That he might have accomplished by smaller means. . . . It can also hardly have been his intention merely to give a representation of the nature of honor and of man's different ideas in regard to it, and he was surely not introducing the Falstaff episode merely to contrast the representatives of the idea of honor—the prince and Percy—with Falstaff, the negative counterpart, the caricature of honor and knighthood. For it is evident that none of the other characters stand in any sort of relation to the idea of honor . . . It seems to me that the Falstaff episode bears unmistakably an ironical character; it is a parody on the historical situation. . . . (p. 245): Falstaff himself is the personified parody on the corrupt state of the chivalry and vassalry of the day. The striving for outward power, for possessions and dominion, is in reality no less immoral than Falstaff's low theory of happiness, and his thirst for money and estates. . . . His boastful, blustering bravery is an excellent parody on the character of Hotspur, on the proud Douglas, and on the vain and grandiloquent Glendower; his comic cautiousness, a parody on the character of old Northumberland; his great talent in dissembling, a parody on the personal character of the king whom he represents in so amusing a manner in II, iv. . . . The campaign of Falstaff and his fellows against the travelling merchants is the focus of the wit of *Part I*, but it is likewise the focus of the withering travesty on the hollow, immoral dispute which turns on the defence of unlawfully acquired property. . . . The scenes at the close of *Part I*, where Falstaff appears at a council of war, and as the conqueror of Percy, are direct parodies on the war itself. . . . It is evident, therefore, that the oft-repeated complaint that the play is wanting in unity, is unfounded.—GERVINUS (*Sh. Comment.*, 1849, Bunnètt's translation, 6th ed., p. 299): In the series of historical plays, Shakespeare takes the same leap in this piece as in the series of love plays he does in *Romeo and Juliet*. But the effect must have been incomparably greater, for

Romeo and Juliet is a work the enjoyment of which was limited to those who possessed refinement of feeling, but in *Henry IV* the richest entertainment was afforded to spectators of every class. . . . The genius of a nation has never appeared on any stage in such bright cheerfulness, and in such quiet modesty, as in these plays (p. 301). From *Henry IV*'s rule we learn that royal zeal for duty may maintain usurped position, but cannot atone for injustice committed . . . (p. 321) King Henry has it in his heart to preserve the royal honor he has acquired to himself and his house . . . He looks upon honor externally, and refers it only to rank and position, morality has nothing to do with his love of honor, appearance only is to be saved, and his honor maintained in the eyes of the world. The honor after which Percy aspires he wishes to deserve by action and by moral worth. . . . Different again is Prince Henry's relation to honor. He is animated by the same ambition as Percy, but it could never rise to that morbid thirst as in Percy because it is of a more profound nature. It is not pride but noble self-reliance which drives him forward . . . To all these Falstaff stands as a contrast . . . A respect for the opinion of others and a need of self-esteem are foreign to him —MONTÉGUT (ed. 1868, p. 226): More than any other of Shakespeare's plays, *Henry IV* is a living gallery of human beings of another age. Whoever wishes to see the Middle Ages, and their contrasts in race and characters, has but to read this admirable work . . . The body of conspirators contains three different types belonging to three races. Hotspur the great Anglo-Norman lord, with his faults as well as his qualities, Glendower, a marvel of ethnographical accuracy, and Douglas, the true Highland Scot.

R. SIMPSON (*Poet. Use of Stage*, 1874, p. 411). In both parts of *Henry IV* the salient event is the Rebellion in the North. They could not have been played on the stage without reminding the audience of the rising of 1569. . . . In *Henry's* day there were three risings in the north. . . . These three the poet reduces to two . . . By his manipulation the two are made in one respect like the two wars in King John—the first secular, the second ecclesiastical. . . . It was supposed all through Elizabeth's reign that double treasonable movement like this was going on. . . . Shakespeare fills up the story with so many details that we might suppose him to have worked up materials he had gathered in London from some one who had a part in the rebellion of '69. One of the Percies, Sir Charles, was settled at Dumbleton in Gloucestershire, and in a letter of 1601 speaks familiarly of himself as Justice Shallow. This man, who refers to these very plays, may have furnished some of the matter.

WHITE (*Stud. in Sh*, 1886, p. 30): This history, take it all in all, is the completest, although far from being the highest, exhibition of Shakespeare's varied powers as poet and dramatist. No other play shows his faculties at the same time in such number and at such a height.—ELTON (ed. 1889, p. xvii): It looks as if Shakespeare were taking a holiday from the contemplation of the profound and the sinister. Never again is he so content with delightfully portraying the broad outer world; never again is he so little *innig*; never again does he work so little in his own final manner, and so much in the manner of Scott; and never again, we are forced to add, is he so little inspired. We find plenty of verse rich and irresistible. . . . There is plenty of Shakespeare's stirring battle-

accent. But of verse such as Lear's "When we are born we cry that we are come To this great stage of fools;" . . . there is in this play very little, only perhaps in Hotspur's dying words "And thought's the slave of life, &c." Poetry like this, to which is reserved the highest praise of all, takes us by the mind alone, and to such poetry the mind responds most fully at the moments of the highest scope.—DOWDEN (*Int to Sh*, 1893, ed. 1895, p. 67) From comedy Shakespeare returned to history; from Italy to England. In the two parts of *Henry IV* and *Henry V* he brought his series of English historical plays to a close. The progress is great from *Richard II* and *John*. The dramatist has almost escaped from the trammels of rhyme, and he has learnt all the advantages of alternating verse with prose. He knows how to ally historical drama with comedy, now not merely by an occasional scene but by the presence of a great humorous personage. The royal Bolingbroke is at once a majestic and a pathetic figure. But he is almost overshadowed by the ample figure of King Falstaff on his tavern throne.

WENDELL (*Wm. Sh*, 1894, p. 164). More than any of the plays we have considered hitherto, *Henry IV* is completely plausible. One puts it down with a sense that one has been in contact with actual life. . . . The play has two parts throughout: the first deals with such actually historical matter as became familiar in the earlier Chronicle-histories; the second is an independent comedy of manners. These two parts are united by little more than the figure of the prince—to say the character of the prince would be misleading, for his conduct and speeches in the historical scenes differ completely from his conduct and speeches in the comic. The historical part preserves with little change the long declamatory speeches, and the highly-conventionalized incident, of the chronicle-histories, the comic part is almost literal in its humorous presentation of low London life. . . . The surprising thing is that the incongruity troubles us no more than the incongruity of real life. . . . Inimitably human as Falstaff's scenes seem to a reader, they are not composed in a manner which could be effectively presented on the modern stage. Like the scenes where the king figures, they are rather a series of long speeches, not interwoven but strung together, than a strictly dramatic composition. In our time they lend themselves more readily to reading than to acting. The infrequency of Falstaff on the modern stage is probably due not so much to the fact that few can act him, as to the fact that in order to beactable under our present dramatic conditions, his lines would have to be rewritten. From end to end, in short, *Henry IV* is composed not as a modern play, but as a typical Chronicle-history. What makes it so plausible, then, is not that it discards old conventions. Nobody anywhere is more rhetorical than the king; Hotspur dies as blatantly as John of Gaunt; even Falstaff himself, and the prince, declaim with a disregard of action as complete as Mercutio's when he introduces his lyric description of Queen Mab. In mere form *Henry IV* is as conventional as it can be. What makes it seem otherwise is that here, as in *The Merchant of Venice*, these obsolete conventions are used, with the confidence of full technical mastery, to express conceptions of human character which throughout are consistently vital. In our sense of this great feat of creative imagination, we never stop to consider the means by which it is accomplished. . . . Ultimately, then, the lasting difference of effect between *The Merchant of Venice* and *Henry*

IV resolves itself into the accidental difference between their subjects. What the living people in *The Merchant of Venice* do, proves on consideration childishly incredible, what the living people do in *Henry IV* is substantially historical. It is the fundamental truth of Chronicle-history combining with Shakespeare's intense power of creative imagination, already declared in fantastic comedy, which makes *Henry IV* a new thing in literature.

BOAS (*Sh. & his Predecessors*, 1896, p. 261). The unity of the play does not lie in incident nor in political tendency, but in the relation of the leading personages to certain elementary principles of life and action. What is their idea of "honour" and its value? This is the chief touchstone by which the various characters are tried. As the embodiment of Shakespeare's own view stands Prince Henry, with Falstaff in glaring opposition.—BRANDES (*Wm Sh.*, 1896, p. 175). The play in which Shakespeare first attains his great and overwhelming individuality . . . Its dramatic structure is somewhat loose . . . but, as a poetical creation, it is one of the great masterpieces of the world's literature, at once heroic and burlesque, thrilling and side-splitting. And these contrasted elements are not, as in Hugo's dramas, brought into hard and fast rhetorical antithesis, but move and mingle with all the freedom of life.—G. B. SHAW (*Dram. Opinions*, 1906, p. 426). Everything that charm of style, rich humour, and vivid and natural characterization can do for a play are badly wanted by *Henry IV*, which has neither the romantic beauty of Shakespeare's earlier plays nor the tragic greatness of the later ones. There is neither subtlety nor (for Shakespeare) much poetry in the presentation of the characters. They are labelled and described and insisted upon with the roughest directness, and their reality and their humour could alone save them from the unpopularity of their unlovableness and the tedium of their obviousness. Fortunately they offer capital opportunities for interesting acting.

HERFORD (ed. 1899, p. 251): A deep gulf separates this trilogy [*I* and *II* *Henry IV* and *Henry V*], in manner and matter, from all the previous Histories, even from *Richard II*, which looks so like a prelude to it. *Richard III*, *Richard II*, and *John* are almost devoid of prose. Of *Henry IV* and *Henry V* nearly one-half is prose (in *I Henry IV*, 1464 out of 3170 lines); and this external difference rests upon differences in dramatic method by no means wholly due to the less passionate and tragic quality of the subject. *Richard II* moves throughout among courtly persons; if for a moment we are suffered to hear the *vox populi* (as in *IV*, i), it speaks pathetically, in blank verse, like the rest. Yet Richard, no less than Hal, had given occasion for scenes in the Eastcheap vein of humour and realism which flowed with such marvellous freedom in 1597-8. Characteristically enough it is only in the later play that Shakespeare draws the picture of the "skipping king" (*I Henry IV*, III, ii, 60 ff.). The quality of the verse is even more decisive. In the most intense and dramatic situations of *Richard II* it rarely escapes a suggestion of liting rhetoric, wanton and self-indulgent sweetness, highly poetised and somewhat abstract ornateness by which the lyric Shakespeare had won renown. In *Henry IV* this manner is no longer Shakespeare's own, but only the dramatically expressive utterance of lyrical natures like Glendower, who had "framed to the harp many an English

ditty lovely well," and his daughter, whose beautiful love-lyric, interpreted by Glendower, was admired and imitated by later dramatists. Here we have for the first time the mature dramatic verse of Shakespeare with its wonderful capacity for wedding itself with the character of each speaker and the matter of each speech, so that it seems as natural a vehicle for Hotspur, vowing that he "Had rather live with cheese and garlic in a windmill," as for the king's solemn expostulations, or Vernon's dazzling description of young Harry. The plot-structure, finally, shows a radically changed appreciation of the dramatic elements of history. [The earlier Histories] carry us through crimes and follies to a ruin weighted by Nemesis. . . . In *Henry IV* the interest is not criminal but heroic. . . . The guilt of the House of Lancaster, though confessed, falls into the background as a dramatic motif, and Henry V, no longer the head of a usurping house, but the "star of England," reigns by title of merit. . . . (p. 254) The political movements of Henry's reign, as told by Shakespeare's standard authorities, Holinshed and Hall, offered little salient material for the dramatist. Nevertheless it is here that he most decisively abandons the boldly reconstructive methods of Marlowe, here that he unfolds with most consummate power his own method, of creating character and detail within the limits of a general fidelity to recorded fact. His most direct divergences from the tale of the chroniclers amount to little more than compressions of isolated and scattered events. But he supplements their tale and interprets their silence with a prodigal magnificence of invention unapproached in the other Histories. Hence *Henry IV* presents analogies to the group of brilliant Comedies with which it is nearly contemporary, not only in the wealth of comic genius, but in the points at which this is exercised. The historic matter, like the serious story in *Twelfth Night* or *Much Ado*, is taken over without substantial change, while within its meshes plays a lambent humour which, ostensibly subordinate and by the way, in reality reveals the finer significance of the derived story itself, and forms, as literature, the crowning glory of the whole.

RALEIGH (*Shakes.*, 1907, p. 180): Shakespeare's Comedy, timidly at first but at last triumphantly, intruded upon his History; his vision of reality was widened to include in a single perspective courts and taverns, kings and highwaymen, diplomatic conferences, street brawls, and the humours of low life. He gave us the measure of his own magnanimity in the two parts of *Henry IV*, a play of incomparable ease and variety and mastery.—TUCKER BROOKE (*Tud. Dram.*, 1911, p. 333). It may very reasonably be questioned whether, when Shakespeare undertook, about 1596 or 1597, to follow up his study, in Richard II and Bolingbroke, of two imperfect and antagonistic monarchic types by a delineation of his ideal prince, he had any idea of devoting more than a single play to that prince's preparation for sovereignty and another to his triumphant reign. The second part of *Henry IV* seems to be an originally unpremeditated addition, occasioned by the enormous effectiveness of the by-figure of Falstaff. This genial character must have expanded in its development far beyond the limits first intended for it, and thus necessitated the splitting of the political matter of Henry IV's reign, in itself hardly sufficient for a single drama, into two plays. . . . Virtually everything necessary to fit the *Henry IV* plays for their original purpose as preliminary to a drama on the reign of Henry

V is accomplished in *Part I* . . . The play needs only scenes indicating the king's death and the dismissal of Falstaff to stand forth as we may suspect it was first designed, perfect in itself and a full induction to the treatment of the hero's triumphant reign . . . There will hardly be found a critic to wish for one play of Henry IV instead of two . . . Falstaff is as great a favorite with the universal modern public as he seems to have been with Shakespeare and Queen Elizabeth . . . But it is necessary to consider the degree in which this most tremendous of comic figures probably affected Shakespeare's treatment of history, in order to gauge the intention of the political scenes in *Henry IV* and to understand the reason for his abrupt cutting off in the pure history play of *Henry V* . . . Had Falstaff been dealt with as summarily as Mercutio in *Romeo and Juliet*, the trilogy we are considering would have lost immeasurably in human interest, but surely it would have gained in homogeneity.

F. W. CHANDLER (ed. 1911): In *I Henry IV* Shakespeare breaks from the dramatic type of chronicle-play cultivated by Marlowe, and turns to develop out of the earlier epic-type, common before Marlowe, something that is both epic and dramatic, both serious and comic . . . The result is a rich and complex piece, superior to the old epic-chronicle in power, and to the newer dramatic-chronicle in charm. . . . The comedy is no longer either the traditional jesting of clowns or the romantic mistakes of high-born lovers: instead, it is the comedy of low-life actually observed.—F. E. PIERCE (*Int. to Sh.*, 1910, p. 99): The three stories, of Hotspur, the king, and the Falstaff group, though partially united by their common connection with Prince Hal, do not blend together as perfectly as the different plots in *The Merchant of Venice*, and there is some truth in the idea that the play has four heroes instead of one.—BRANDER MATTHEWS (*Sh. as Playwright*, 1913, p. 117): The two parts of *Henry IV*, even if they mark a retrogression [from *Romeo and Juliet*] in constructive energy, reveal an indisputable advance in power of character-creation. Perhaps Shakespeare chose to return to the lax liberty of the chronicle-play because he felt that he needed its large freedom to display the huge bulk of his greatest comic character. The Elizabethan drama had inherited from the Mediaeval the habit of commingling with lofty characters a group of rude fellows of the baser sort, whose share in the action often seems to us frankly incongruous . . . The sheep-stealing of Mak, for example, is injected into the Mystery Play at the very moment when the shepherds are watching their flocks by night, just before the glad tidings of the birth of Him whose coming was to change the fate of the world. From the frequency with which Shakespeare went back to the chronicle-play, we may assume that he felt assured that his audiences would relish its swift alternations of fun and fighting, and also that they were of Teutonic descent, never demanding the close unity of construction which the inheritors of Latin tradition are trained to expect. . . . (p. 126): Dekker and Jonson, sworn realists though they were, have not more significantly suggested the low-life of London with a more Hogarth-like fidelity to the fact. Shakespeare here discloses his ability to seize these lowly and sordid creatures and to etch their sorry characteristics with an artistic appreciation and an artistic sobriety that Dickens was not to attain.

QUILLER-COUCH (*Sh.'s Workmanship*, 1917, p. 115): When we note how no

sooner is Falstaff introduced than he takes charge and establishes himself as the real hero of the play, . . . why then, as we go on to read Scott, Dumas, Thackeray, or any other great historical novelist, we cannot miss to observe how powerful an innovation Shakespeare made [His use of Falstaff] *has set up a permanent artistic principle in the treatment of history by fiction*, the principle that, in drama or novel of this kind, your best protagonists, and the minor characters you can best treat with liveliness as with philosophy, are not those concerning whose sayings and doings you are circumscribed by known fact and documentary evidence, but rather some invented men or women upon whose actions and destinies you can make great historical events play at will.

E. K. CHAMBERS (*Sh., a Survey*, 1925, p. 118): In *Henry IV* chronicle-history becomes little more than a tapestried hanging, dimly wrought with horsemen and footmen, in their alarms and excursions, which serves as a background to groups of living personages, conceived in quite another spirit and belonging to a very different order of reality. . . . Not since Chaucer painted, one by one, his pilgrims as they issued beneath the low archway of the Tabard, had literature designed to put upon record so ample a breadth of the varied web of English society. Here . . . carriers grumble, . . . a leisurely country-gentleman talks with his bailiff, . . . and in the narrow passages of an Eastcheap tavern, drawers bustle to and fro, scoring pints of bastard in the Half-Moon. . . . In its turn all this revel of local colour and rapidly-shifting detail becomes the setting of a single great comic figure, and thereby the plays attain the unity which their intermediate position in the cycle which begins with *Richard II* and ends with *Henry V* makes it difficult for them to accomplish in any other way. Instead of the dynamic unity of an emotional issue set and resolved in the course of the action, they have the static unity of a pervading humorous personality.

R. A. LAW (*Stud. in Philol.*, 1927): That each of the two plays of *Henry IV* lacks unity of plot-structure has been asserted or tacitly assumed by many Shakespearean critics. . . . It is my object to show that each play is carefully planned as an organic unit. . . . *I Henry IV* is built up around a conflict between protagonist and antagonist, Prince Hal and Percy, which culminates at the battle of Shrewsbury. To this battle, which marks the one meeting between the two Harries, the first scene of the play definitely looks forward, and we are frequently reminded of the conflict in every act. . . . In I, i, is not only the beginning of the Percy conspiracy, but the names of all but one of the leaders in the future Battle of Shrewsbury [are mentioned in the conversation between the king and Westmoreland]. The one missing name is mentioned by the king when he laments the striking contrast between young Percy and his own riotous Harry. . . . Most of Act I is pure exposition, but protagonist and antagonist are twice sharply contrasted. . . . Throughout Act II we have contrasted the life of the two Harries. III, i . . . foreshadows the defeat of the conspirators, owing to Hotspur's impatience. By contrast III, ii represents Hal's reconciliation with his father. . . . This scene contains the turning point of the play in the self-discipline exercised by the protagonist, resulting in his resolution to overcome his enemies, both real [*sic*] and spiritual. . . .

Every scene looks forward to the battle of Shrewsbury, where the two Harries are to meet.

STOLL (*Poets and Playwrights*, 1930, p. 33): The greatest success in "history" that Shakespeare attained was in *I Henry IV*. Here is to be found his liveliest and most richly-colored picture of tavern and country; here is to be found Falstaff, and Falstaff at his best; and here, in Hotspur, and in young Harry roused to emulation, are to be found a pair of Shakespeare's most radiant figures of English youth and chivalry. But the main thing is that the two elements, serious and comic, hold together better here than in *Henry V*. The Prince of Wales still belongs to both worlds; and both worlds, the court and the Boar's Head, are made to reflect or echo one another. At court, Henry IV complains of his son's debauchery; . . . at the Boar's Head, the actual scene between king and prince is enacted by the prince and Falstaff in burlesque, and then the alarm of war breaks in upon that haunt of jollity, and brings it and the court together, driving the motley crew to Shrewsbury.

CHARACTERS—FALSTAFF

DRYDEN (*Of Dram Poesie*, 1668, p. 34): The best of Comical Characters, Falstaff. . . . He is not properly one Humour, but a Miscellany of Humours. . . . That wherein he is singular is his wit, or those things he says, *praeter expectatum*, unexpected by the audience, his quick evasions when you imagine him surpriz'd, which as they are extremely diverting of themselves, so receive a great addition from his person; for the very sight of such an unwieldy old debauch'd Fellow is Comedy alone.—IBID (*Pref. to Troilus*, 1679): Falstaff is a liar, and a Coward, a Glutton, and a Buffoon.—SEADWELL (*Pref. to Sullen Lovers*, 1668). I never saw one [Humour character] except that of Falstaff that was comparable to any of Jonson's considerable Humours.—SHEFFIELD (*Essay on Poetry*, 1682, p. 16): But Falstaff seems inimitable yet.—COLLIER (*Short View*, 1698, p. 126): Shakespeare's Sir John . . . appears Loyal, and Stout. . . . He is represented Lewd, but not Little. . . . (p. 154): We may observe the admir'd Falstaff goes off in disappointment. . . . The Pleasure he gave would not excuse him. The Poet was not so partial as to let his Humour compound for his Lewdness.—DENNIS (1702, *Dedication to Comical Gallant*): In *The Merry Wives* Falstaff everywhere acts, and the action is more regular and more in compass than in the first part of *Harry the Fourth*. 'Tis true what he says in *Harry the Fourth* is admirable, but action at last is the business of the stage. . . . Though several of the characters are indeed obsolete, yet that of Falstaff will always be new.

ROWE (*Account of Life & Writings of Sh*, 1709): Falstaff is allowed by everybody to be a masterpiece; the character is always well-sustained, though drawn out into the length of three plays. . . . If there be any fault in the draught he has made of this lewd old fellow, it is that tho' he has made him a thief, lying, cowardly, vainglorious, and in short every way vicious, yet he has given him so much wit as to make him almost too agreeable.—ADDISON (*Spectator*, 47,

1711): A Man is not qualified for a Butt, who has not a good deal of wit and vivacity, even in the ridiculous side of his Character. A stupid Butt is only fit for the Conversation of Ordinary People. Men of Wit require one that will give them Play, and bestir himself in the absurd Part of his Behaviour. A Butt with these Accomplishments frequently gets the Laugh of his side, and turns the Ridicule on him that attacks him Sir John Falstaff was a Hero of this Species

CORBYN MORRIS (*Essay on Wit, &c*, 1744). The most agreeable representations appear, not where HUMOUR and WIT separately exist, but where they are united together in the same fabric, where Humour is the groundwork, and Wit, happily spread, quickens the whole with embellishments. This is the excellency of the character of Sir John Falstaff; the groundwork is Humour, or the representation of a bragging and vaunting coward. However, this alone would only have exposed the knight to the derision of the company . . . but here the inimitable Wit of Sir John comes in to his support, and gives a new Rise and Lustre to his character For the sake of his Wit, you forgive his Cowardice, or rather, are fond of his Cowardice for the occasions it gives to his Wit. . . At the first entrance of the knight, your good humour and tendency to mirth are excited by his jolly appearance and corpulency, and when you see him immediately set up for *enterprise* and *activity*, with his evident weight and unwieldiness, you are eager to watch him to the end of his adventures. All the while as you accompany him forwards, he heightens your relish for his future disasters by his happy opinion of his own sufficiency; so that at last when he falls into a scrape, your expectation is exquisitely gratified When in the midst of his misfortunes, instead of being utterly demolished and sunk, he rises again by the superior force of his *Wit*, and begins a new course with fresh spirit and alacrity, it excites you the more to renew the chase. . . Again the genteel *Quality* of Sir John is of great use in supporting his character: it prevents his sinking too low after several misfortunes. You allow him, in consequence of his rank and seniority, the privilege to dictate and take the lead, and to rebuke others on many occasions. The good sense which he possesses comes also to his aid. . . . He possesses generosity, cheerfulness, alacrity, invention, frolic and fancy superior to all other men. . . . He is happy himself and makes you happy. He has no fierceness, reserve, malice, or peevishness lurking in his heart. . . . He is the most delightful swaggerer in all nature. You must love him for your own sake; at the same time you cannot but love him for his own talents. He has nothing to disgust you and everything to give you joy.

J. UFTON (*Crit Observ.*, 1746): Though Falstaff is a fardle of low vices, a liar, a coward, a thief; yet his good humour makes him a pleasant companion — W. GUTHRIE (*Essay on Tragedy*, 1747): Shakespeare is not so much the imitator of nature as her master. . . . Nature never designed that a complication of the meanest, most execrable, most infamous qualities should form so agreeable a composition that we think Harry the fifth makes a conquest of himself when he discards Falstaff. . . . There is not a spectator who does not in Falstaff's humour forget, nay even love, his vices.

GOLDSMITH (*Dissert on Falstaff*, 1765, p. 157): The character of old Falstaff, even with all his faults, gives me more consolation than all the most studied efforts of wisdom. I here behold an agreeable old fellow, forgetting age, and shewing me the way to be young at sixty-five. Sure, I am well able to be as merry, though not so comical, as he—Is it not in my power to have, though not so much wit, at least as much vivacity?—Age, care, wisdom, reflection, be gone—I give you to the winds. Let's have t'other bottle here's to the memory of Shakespeare, Falstaff, and all the merry men of Eastcheap!

DR. JOHNSON (ed. 1765, iv, 356): But Falstaff, unimitated, unimitable Falstaff, how shall I describe thee? Thou compound of sense and vice, of sense which may be admired but not esteemed, of vice which may be despised but hardly detested. Falstaff is a character loaded with faults, and with those faults which naturally produce contempt. He is a thief, and a glutton, a coward, and a boaster, always ready to cheat the weak and prey upon the poor, to terrify the timorous and insult the defenceless. At once obsequious and malignant, he satirizes in their absence those whom he lives by flattering. He is familiar with the prince only as an agent of vice, but of this familiarity he is so proud as not only to be supercilious and haughty with common men, but to think his interest of importance to the duke of Lancaster. Yet the man thus corrupt, thus despicable, makes himself necessary to the prince that despises him, by the most pleasing of all qualities, perpetual gaiety, by an unfailing power of exciting laughter, which is the more freely indulged, as his wit is not of the splendid or ambitious kind, but consists in easy escapes and sallies of levity, which make sport but raise no envy. It must be observed that he is stained with no enormous or sanguinary crimes, so that his licentiousness is not so offensive but that it may be borne for his mirth. The moral to be drawn from this representation is, that no man is more dangerous than he that with a will to corrupt, hath the power to please; and that neither wit nor honesty ought to think themselves safe with such a companion, when they see Henry seduced by Falstaff.

MRS. MONTAGU (*Writing and Genius of Sh.*, 1769): The professed wit, either in life or on the stage, is usually severe and satirical. But mirth is the source of Falstaff's wit. He seems rather to invite you to partake of his merriment than to attend to his jest. . . . He joins the finesse of wit with the drollery of humour. Humour is a kind of grotesque wit, shaped and coloured by the disposition of the person in whom it resides. . . . Gluttony, corpulency, and cowardice are the peculiarities of Falstaff's composition, and render him ridiculous without folly. . . . We must everywhere allow his wit is just, his humour genuine, and his character perfectly original.—KENRICK (*Relioli Courteous*, 1774): I have been charged with grossly mistaking my author [in an unpublished lecture on *I Henry IV*] in clearing the character of Falstaff of imputed malignity of disposition, and in describing him as a harmless, inoffensive, jocular creature. . . . That he is jocular is universally admitted; but that he is harmless and inoffensive, is neither what I, nor I believe anybody else, ever suggested. I have neither palliated his meanness nor extenuated his vices, but left him in full possession of his character for gluttony, lying, cowardice, and theft.—H. WALPOLE (*Letter*, 1776, Dec. 3): I hold a perfect comedy to be the perfection

of human composition, and believe firmly that fifty Iliads and Aeneids could be written sooner than such a character as Falstaff

MAURICE MORGANN (*Essay on Falstaff*, 1777): The ideas which I have formed concerning the Courage and Military Character of the Dramatic Sir John Falstaff are so different from those which I find generally to prevail, that I shall take the liberty of stating my sentiments . . . I avow then that I do not clearly discern that Sir John deserves to bear the character of an absolute coward, or, in other words, that I do not conceive Shakespeare ever meant to make Cowardice an essential part of his constitution . . . It must in the first place be admitted that the appearances [of cowardice] are singularly strong and striking. . . We hear him called coward by his most intimate companions We see him, on occasion of the robbery at Gadshill, in the very act of running away, and we behold him, on another occasion of more honourable obligation, in open daylight, in battle, and acting in his profession as soldier, escaping from Douglas by counterfeiting death . . . And we find him on the former occasion betrayed into those lies and braggadocios which are the usual concomitants of cowardice in pretenders to valour. These are not only strong circumstances, but they are thrust forward, prest upon our notice, as the subject of our mirth, as the great business of the scene.

[The author then proceeds to draw a distinction between the *Understanding* and the *Impression* of a reader. Understanding takes cognizance of *actions* only, and from these *infers* motives and character, but our impressions are formed by more intangible, hidden elements]

I presume to declare it as my opinion that Cowardice *is not the impression* which the whole character of Falstaff is calculated to make on the minds of an unprejudiced audience. . . . The reader would wonder extremely to find either Parolles [*All's Well that Ends Well*] or Bobadil [Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*] possess himself in danger: what then can be the cause that we are not surprised at the gaiety and ease of Falstaff under the most trying circumstances; and that we never think of charging Shakespeare with departing, on this account, from truth and coherence of character Perhaps, after all, the *real* character of Falstaff may be different from his *apparent* one; and possibly this difference may be the true point of humour in the character, and the source of our laughter and delight.

It may be proper, then, to take a short view of all the parts of Falstaff's character, and then proceed to discover what *Impressions* as to Courage or Cowardice he made on the persons of the drama. To me it appears that the leading quality in his character, and that from which all the rest take their colour, is a high degree of wit and humour, accompanied with great natural vigour and alacrity of mind. [These qualities] made him highly acceptable to society, so acceptable as to make it seem unnecessary for him to acquire any other virtue. He seems by nature to have had a mind free of malice or any evil principle; but he never took the trouble of acquiring any good one. . . . He had from nature, I presume to say, a spirit of boldness and enterprise, which, in a Military age, tho' employment was only occasional, kept him above contempt, secured him an honourable reception among the great, and suited best both his particular mode of humour and of vice. Thus living in society and in taverns, indulging himself in every debauchery, he seems to have set all

sober reputation at defiance, and finding eternal resources in his wit, he borrows, shifts, defrauds, and even robs, without dishonour. Laughter and approbation attend his greatest excesses . . .

But to remember our question—Is Falstaff a constitutional coward? With respect to every [other] infirmity, we must take him as at the period in which he is represented to us. If we see him dissipated, fat—it is enough, we have nothing to do with his youth, when he might perhaps have been modest, chaste, and “not an eagle’s talon in the waist.” But constitutional Courage extends to a man’s whole life, makes a part of his nature, and is not to be taken up or deserted like a mere moral quality. That courage which is founded in nature and constitution, I presume to say that Falstaff possessed, but I am ready to allow that the *principle* [of courage], so far as it refers to reputation only, began with every other quality to lose its hold on him in old age, that is at the time of life in which he is represented to us, a period approaching to seventy. The truth is that he had drollery enough to support himself in credit without the point of honour, and had address enough to make even the preservation of his life a point of drollery. I allude, though something prematurely, to his fictitious death at Shrewsbury. This incident bears the external marks of cowardice: it is aggravated to the spectators by the idle tricks of the Player, who practises all the attitudes of fear . . . There is no hint for this mummery in the play. Whatever there may be of dishonour in Falstaff’s *conduct*, he neither does or says anything on this occasion which indicates terror or disorder of mind. On the contrary this very act is proof of his having his wits about him . . . He had but one choice; he was obliged to pass through the ceremony of dying either in jest or in earnest . . . Life might be a jest, but he could see no joke in dying . . . He saw the point of honour, as well as everything else, in ridiculous lights, and began to renounce its tyranny. But I am in advance, and must retreat for more advantage.

Let us examine, as a source of authentic information, what impressions Sir John had made on the characters of the drama, and in what estimation he is supposed to stand with mankind in general as to personal courage. We will begin by inquiring what impression the very vulgar had of Falstaff . . . Hostess Quickly employs two officers to arrest him [*II Henry IV*, II, 1]—“Alas the day,” says the Hostess, “take heed of him, he cares not what mischief he doth; if his weapon be out, he will foin like any devil.” When they [arrest] him, he resists to the utmost of his power. . . . In another scene [*II Henry IV*, II, iv] Doll Tearsheet asks him “when he will leave fighting and patch up his old body for heaven.” This is occasioned by his drawing his rapier, and driving Pistol, drawn likewise, down stairs. . . . Even something may be drawn from Davy, Shallow’s serving man, who calls Falstaff [*II Henry IV*, V, i] “the man of war.” I must observe that there is not a single expression dropt by these people from which may be inferred the least suspicion of cowardice in him.

But to go a little higher—it is from Justice Shallow that we get the earliest account of Falstaff [*II Henry IV*, III, ii]. He remembers him a “Page to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk: he broke Scogan’s head when he was but a crack thus high.” Shallow throughout considers him as a great leader and soldier. Shallow, it is true, is a ridiculous character, but he picked up these impressions somewhere, and he picked up none of a contrary tendency. . . . Lord Bardolph was a man of the world, of sense and of observation. He informs

[Marginal
references
are to I
Henry IV]

Northumberland [*II Henry IV*, I, i] that Percy had beaten the king at Shrewsbury, "the king was wounded, the Prince of Wales and the two Blunts slain, and the Brawn, Falstaff, taken prisoner." How came Falstaff into this list? Common fame had put him there. . . . The fact seems to be that there is a consequence about Sir John which is not brought forward in the play. We see him only in his familiar hours, we enter the tavern with Hal and Poin, we join in the laugh and "take a pride to gird at him" but there may be a great deal of truth in what he himself writes to the prince [*II Henry IV*, II, ii, 121] that "though he be Jack Falstaff with his familiars, he is Sir John with the rest of Europe."

II, iv, 514.

With respect to his military command at Shrewsbury, nothing appears on the surface but the prince's familiarly saying: "I will procure this fat rogue a charge of foot" We might venture to infer from this that a prince of so great ability would not have procured, in so nice and critical a conjuncture, a charge of foot for a known coward. . . . We shall next produce the evidence of the Chief Justice of England. He inquires of his attendant [*II Henry IV*, I, ii] "if the man passing was Falstaff, who was in question for the robbery." The attendant answers affirmatively, but reminds his lord that "he had since done good service at Shrewsbury"; and the Chief Justice tells him that his "day's service at Shrewsbury had gilded over his night's exploit at Gadshill." . . . But perhaps the military men may be esteemed the best judges in points of this nature. Let us hear then Coleville of the Dale, "a soldier, in degree a knight, a famous rebel" This man yields himself up [*II Henry IV*, IV, iii] to the very Name and Reputation of Falstaff. "I think," says he, "you are Sir John Falstaff, and in that thought yield me" . . . Upon the return of the king and Prince Henry from Wales, the prince seeks out and finds Falstaff in a tavern [*II Henry IV*, II, iv]. Peto presently brings an account of ill news from the north, and adds that "as he came along, he met or overtook a dozen captains, sweating, knocking at the taverns, and asking for Sir John Falstaff." He is followed by Bardolph, who informs Falstaff that "he must away to court immediately; a dozen captains stay at door for him." Here is military evidence and court evidence too; for what are we to infer from Falstaff's being sent for to court, but that his opinion was to be asked, as a military man of skill and experience, concerning the defences necessary. . . .

IV, ii.

Shallow cultivates him in the idea that a friend at court is better than a penny in purse. Westmoreland speaks to him in the tone of an equal. Falstaff desires of Prince John that "when he goes to court he may stand in his good report." His intercourse with these lords seems easy and familiar. . . . But we see him, ourselves, in the Royal Presence, where certainly his buffooneries never brought him, nor was the prince of a character to commit so high an indecorum as to thrust, upon a solemn occasion, a mere tavern-companion into his father's Presence, especially in a moment when he himself deserts his looser character and takes up that of a prince indeed. In a very important scene, where Worcester is expected with proposals from Percy, and wherein he is received, treated with, and carries back offers from the king, the king's attendants are the Prince of Wales, Prince John, the Earl of Westmoreland, Sir Walter Blunt, and Sir John Falstaff. . . . What could bring Falstaff into the Royal Presence on such an occasion but an established fame and reputation of military merit?

V, i.

The circumstances and conditions of Falstaff's whole life deserve our particular attention. The author has thrown the most advantageous of them into the background, and brought nothing *out of the canvass* but his follies and buffoonery. We discover, however, [*II Henry IV*, III, ii, 303] that in an early period of his life he was familiar with John of Gaunt, which could hardly be unless he had possessed personal gallantry, and had derived his birth from a distinguished, if not a noble family . . . A family crest and arms were authentic proofs of gentility, and Falstaff always carried about him a seal-ring of his grandfather's .

III, iii.

I have now gone through the examination of all the persons of the drama from whose mouths anything can be drawn relative to the courage of Falstaff, excepting the Prince and Poins, whose evidence I have begged leave to reserve, and excepting a very severe censure passed on him by Prince John, which I shall presently consider, but I must first observe that [with these exceptions] there is not one expression that can be construed into any impeachment of Falstaff's courage . . . If he had been intended for the character of a *Miles Gloriosus*, his behaviour ought, and therefore would have been, commented upon by others. Shakespeare seldom trusts the apprehensions of his audience; his characters interpret one another continually. . . Falstaff is so far from appearing in the light of a *Miles Gloriosus* that he does not discover, except in consequence of the robbery, the least trait of such a character. All his boasting speeches are humour, and carefully spoken to persons who cannot misapprehend them, cannot be imposed on. They contain, indeed, unreasonable and imprudent ridicule of himself, the usual subject of his good-humoured merriment, but in the company of ignorant people, such as the Justices, or his own followers, he is remarkably reserved, and does not hazard anything, even in the way of humour, that may be subject to mistake. . . "Turk Gregory never did such deeds in arms as I have done this day," is spoken, whilst he breathes from action, to the prince in a tone of jolly humour, and contains nothing but a light ridicule of his own [*pretended*—Ed.] inactivity. This is as far from boasting as his saying before battle "I would it were bedtime, Hal, and all well" is from meanness or depression. This articulated wish is not the fearful outcry of a *Coward*, but the frank and honest breathing of a *generous fellow*, who does not expect to be seriously reproached with the character. Indeed, instead of deserving the name of a vain-glorious coward, his modesty and whimsical ridicule of himself have been a principal source of the imputation.

V, iii.

V, i.

But to come to the very serious reproach thrown upon him by that "cold-blooded boy," as he calls him, Lancaster [*II Henry IV*, IV, iii, 25]: "Now, Falstaff, where have you been all this while? When everything is ended, then you come. These tardy tricks of yours will, on my life, One time or other break some gallows' back." This may appear to many a formidable passage. It is spoken in the hearing of the army and by one entitled to decide on military conduct. . . . But the effect of this passage will depend on the credit we shall be inclined to give to Lancaster for integrity and candour, and still more upon the facts which are the ground of this censure and which are fairly offered by Shakespeare to our notice. . . . Lancaster appears in truth to have been what Falstaff calls him, "a cold, reserved, sober-blooded boy"; a politician by nature. . . . That such a youth should, from the propensities of

character alone, take any plausible occasion to injure a frank unguarded man of wit and pleasure, will not appear unnatural. But he had other inducements Falstaff had given very general scandal . . . insomuch that a little cruelty and injustice toward him was likely to pass, in the eye of the grave and prudent, as very creditable . . . The reply of Falstaff is exactly suited to the qualities of the speech. He answers by a feeling and serious complaint of injustice, he [continues] with a vindication both of his diligence and courage, but he deserts by degrees his serious tone . . . and is prudently content to let the whole pass off in buffoonery and humour . . . [But was his] answer founded in truth? "I speeded hither," he says, "within the extremest inch of possibility." Yet I am afraid that he was detained too long by his debaucheries in London. Yet the moment he quits London, he discovers the utmost eagerness and impatience to join the army; he gives up his gluttony, his mirth, his ease. . . . And after all, he did really come in time to join in the villainous triumphs of the day, to take prisoner "Coleville of the Dale, a most furious knight and valorous enemy."

V, iii.
 As yet we have dealt principally [with words] and circumstantial evidence. . . . It is time to behold Falstaff in actual service as a soldier, in danger, in battle. . . . In the midst and in the heat of battle, at Shrewsbury, we see him come forwards;—what are his words? "I have led my rag-o-muffians where they are peppered;—there's not three of my hundred and fifty left alive." But to whom does he say this? To himself only, he speaks in soliloquy. There is no questioning the fact; he had *led* them, they were peppered; there were not three left alive. He was in luck, being in bulk equal to any two of them to escape unhurt. Let the author answer for that. . . . Well might the Chief Justice acknowledge Falstaff's services in this day's battle. . . . We see him, after he had expended his Rag-o-muffians, with sword and target in the midst of battle, in perfect possession of himself, and replete with humour and jocularly. He was in immediate personal danger, in danger also of a general defeat; too corpulent for flight; and to be led a prisoner was probably to be led to execution, yet we see him laughing and easy, offering a bottle of sack to the prince instead of a pistol, punning, and telling him "there's that will *sack* a city." "What," says the Prince, "is it a time to jest and dally?" No; a sober character would not jest on such an occasion, but a coward *could* not: he would neither have the inclination or the power. And what could support Falstaff in such a situation? What but a strong, natural, constitutional courage which nothing could extinguish or dismay? In the following passage the true character of Falstaff as to Courage and Principle is finely touched and the different colours at once nicely blended and distinguished. One cannot say which prevails most here, profligacy or courage, they are both tinged alike by the same humour, . . . yet when we consider the superior force of Percy, as we must presently that of Douglas, we shall be apt in our secret heart to forgive him. . . . These are among the passages that have impressed on the world an idea of cowardice in Falstaff;—yet why? He is resolute to take his fate; if Percy come in his way, *so*;—if not, he will not seek inevitable destruction: he is willing to save his life, but if that cannot be, why, "honour comes unlook'd for." This surely is not the language of cowardice; he derides, it is true, that grinning idol of military zealots, *Honour*; but Falstaff was a kind of military free-thinker, and has accordingly incurred the obloquy of

V, iii,
 55–60.

his condition. He stands upon the ground of natural courage and common sense, and has, it seems, too much wit for a hero. . . .

But there is a formidable objection behind Falstaff counterfeits basely on being attacked by Douglas, he assumes, in a cowardly spirit, the appearance of death to avoid the reality. But there was no equality of force, not the least chance for victory, or life. And is it the duty then of true courage to meet, without benefit to society, certain death? Or is it only the phantasy of honour? . . . Take your choice, Falstaff, a point of honour or a point of drollery! It could not be a question,—Falstaff falls, Douglas is cheated, and the world laughs. But does he fall like a coward? No, like a buffoon only. . . . That Falstaff valued himself, and expected to be valued by others, upon this piece of saving wit, is plain. It was a stratagem, it argued presence of mind, but it was, moreover, a very laughable joke. And as such he considers it, for he continues to counterfeit after the danger is over, that he may also deceive the prince, and improve the event into more laughter. He might have concealed the transaction, the prince was too earnestly engaged for observation, he might have formed a thousand excuses for his fall, but he lies still, and listens to the pronouncing of his epitaph by the prince with all the waggish glee and levity of his character.

V, iv.

The circumstance of his wounding Percy in the thigh, and carrying the dead body on his back like luggage, is indecent but not cowardly. The declaring, though in jest, that he killed Percy seems to me idle, but it is not meant or calculated for imposition. It is spoken to the prince himself, the man in the world who could not be imposed on.

V, iv.

But we must hear what it is that Harry has to say over the remains of his old friend. This is wonderfully proper for the occasion: it is affectionate, it is pathetic, yet it remembers his vanities, and even his plumpness. . . . But, to our immediate purpose, why is not his cowardice remembered too? What! No surprise that Falstaff should lie by the side of the noble Percy in the bed of honour? Shall his corpulency and his vanities be recorded, and his more characteristic quality of cowardice, even in the moment that it particularly demanded notice and reflection, be forgotten?

V, iv,
102-110.

Upon the whole of the passages before us, why may I not reasonably hope that the reader may join me in thinking that the character of Falstaff, as to valour, may be summed up in the very words which he uses to Harry, and which seem, as to this point, to be intended by Shakespeare as a compendium of his character? "What," says the prince, "a coward, Sir John Paunch?" Falstaff replies: "Indeed, I am not John of Gaunt, your grandfather, but yet no coward, Hal."

II, ii.

Though the robbery at Gadshill, and the supposed cowardice of Falstaff on that occasion, are next to be considered, yet I must previously declare that I think the discussion of this matter to be now unessential to the reestablishment of Falstaff's reputation as a man of courage. For suppose we should grant that he was surprised with fear in this single instance, . . . what will follow but that he, like greater heroes, had his weak moment? . . . In the present instance Falstaff had done an illegal act, the exertion was over; he had unbent his mind in security. . . . In this situation he is unexpectedly attacked. . . . He is not now acting in the profession and the habits of a soldier; he is associated with known cowards; his assailants are vigorous, sudden, and

bold, he is conscious of guilt, he has dangers to dread of every form, present and future, prisons and gibbets, as well as sword and fire, he is surrounded with darkness, and the sheriff, the hangman, and the whole *posse commutatus* may be at his heels—without a moment for reflection, is it wonderful that he should run, and roar, and carry his guts away with as much dexterity as possible? But though I might rest the question on this ground, yet as there remain many good topics of vindication, I will not decline the discussion

[Morgann then describes in detail the preparations for the robbery, and Poins's great activity in elaborating the plot against Falstaff. He sees in Poins an unamiable, jealous person, actuated by mischief quite as much as by love of a jest.] The prince, with deliberate caution, says: "I doubt they will be too hard for us." Poins's reply is remarkable. "Well, for *two* of them, I know them to be as true-bred cowards as ever turned back; and for the *third*, if he fights longer than he sees reason, I will forswear arms." There is in this reply a great deal of management: there were *four* persons in all . . . and Poins had himself, a little before, named them, but now he omits one of the number, which must be either Falstaff, as not subject to any imputation in point of courage, and in that case Peto will be the *third*,—or, as I rather think, in order to diminish the force of the prince's objection, he artfully drops Gadshill, who was then out of town and so less in the prince's notice, and upon this supposition Falstaff will be the *third*, who will not fight longer than he sees reason. . . . What stronger evidence can we require that the courage of Falstaff had to this hour stood unimpeached than that the ill-disposed Poins . . . should not venture to put down Falstaff in the list of cowards? . . .

II, ii.

In the next scene, [on the occasion of Gadshill's reporting that there were eight or ten travellers in the company], Falstaff exclaims: "Zounds, will they not rob us?" If he had said more seriously: "I doubt they will be too hard for us," he would only have used the prince's own words upon a less alarming occasion. This cannot need defence. But the prince, in his usual style of mirth, replies. "What, a coward, Sir John Paunch?" To this one would naturally expect some light answer, but we are surprised with a very serious one: "I am not indeed John of Gaunt, your grandfather, but yet no coward." This is singular. It contains, I think, the true character of Falstaff; and it seems to be thrown out here, at a very critical conjuncture, as a caution to the audience not to take too sadly what was intended only as "argument for a week, laughter for a month, and a good jest forever." The prince hastily proposes a division of strength, . . . Falstaff does not object, though he supposes the travellers to be eight or ten in number. We next see Falstaff attack these travellers with alacrity, using the accustomed words of threat and terror;—they make no resistance, and he binds and robs them. Hitherto there has not appeared the least trait of boast or fear in Falstaff. But now comes the concerted transaction, which has been the source of so much dishonour. "*As they are sharing, the Prince and Poins set upon them; they all run away, and Falstaff, after a blow or two, runs away too:*" says the stage-direction. "Got with much ease," says the prince, as an event beyond expectation. Poins adds: "How the rogue roared!" This observation is afterwards remembered by the prince, who says to Falstaff, doubtless with all the license of exaggeration: "You carried your guts away as nimbly, and still ran and

II, iv,
238-40.

roared, as ever I heard bull-calf." If he did roar for mercy it must have been a very inarticulate roaring, for there is not a single word set down for Falstaff from which this roaring may be inferred, or any stage-direction to the actor: but in the spirit of mirth and derision the lightest exclamation might be converted into the roar of a bull-calf . . .

We next come to the scene of Falstaff's braggadocios . . . The progressive discovery of his character is excellently managed. In his first scene we become acquainted with his figure, which we must consider as part of his character, we hear of his gluttony and debaucheries, and become witnesses of that indistinguishable mixture of humour and licentiousness which runs through his whole character, but what we are struck with, is the ease of deportment and unaffected freedom and pregnancy of his wit and humour. We next see him agitated with vexation, his horse is concealed, and he gives so striking a description of his distress that but for laughing we should pity him, laugh, however, we must at the extreme incongruity of a man, corpulent and old, associating with youth in an enterprise demanding extravagance of spirit and wildness of activity. . . . In the heat and agitation of the robbery, out come more and more extravagant instances of incongruity. Though he is probably older and much fatter than the travellers, yet he calls them Bacons, Bacon-fed and gorbellied knaves! "Hang them," says he, "fat chuffs, they hate us youth. Young men must live, &c." But we do not yet see the whole length and breadth of him: this is reserved for the braggadocio scene. . . . His entrance is delayed to stimulate our expectation. . . . We now behold him, fluctuating with fiction, and labouring with dissembled passion and chagrin. . . . But when we hear him burst forth, "A plague of all cowards! Give me a cup of sack. Is there no virtue extant?" we are at once in possession of the whole man, and are ready to hug him, guts, lies, and all, as an inexhaustible fund of pleasantry and humour. Cowardice is out of our thought: it does not mingle in our mirth. . . . The first spectators thought of nothing but the laughable scrape which so singular a character was falling into, and were delighted to see a humorous and unprincipled wit so happily taken in his own inventions. . . . The first observation [to make on] his braggadocios is that they are *after the fact*. In other cases we see the Coward of the play bluster and boast, talk of distant wars and private duels, out of the reach of knowledge and of evidence. . . . But in the play before us everything is reversed. The Play opens with the Fact [I take it that by the *Play*, Morgann means the Falstaff plot; and by the *Fact*, the Gadshill robbery and Falstaff's flight.—ED.], a Fact, from its circumstances very excusable and capable of much apology, if not defence. This Fact is preceded by no bluster or pretence whatever,—the lies and braggadocios follow, but they are not general, they are confined and refer to this one Fact only; the detection is immediate; and after some mirth and laughter, the shame of that detection ends: it has no duration as in other cases, and for the rest of the play the character stands just where it did before, without punishment or degradation. To account for all this, let us only suppose that Falstaff was a man of natural courage, though unprincipled, but that he was surprised in one single instance into an act of real terror, which, instead of excusing upon circumstances, he endeavours to cover by lies and braggadocio: these lies then become the subject of detection . . . the lies, not the cowardice, of Falstaff are here detected. . . . And now we may more clearly discern the

I, ii.

II, ii.

II, iv, 101.

I, ii, 176-8.

true force and meaning of Poins's prediction: "The jest will be the incomprehensible lies that this fat rogue will tell, &c." . . .

There is so much mirth and so little malice or imposition in his fictions that they may for the most part be considered as mere strains of humour and exercises of wit, impeachable only for defect of the quality from which they are principally derived . . . But there are other singularities in his lies: . . . they are so preposterous and incomprehensible that one may fairly doubt if they ever were intended for credit, and therefore if they ought to be called *lies* and not rather *humour*

It cannot escape the reader's notice that he is a character made up by Shakespeare wholly of incongruities.—a man at once young and old, enterprising and fat, a dupe and a wit, harmless and wicked, weak in principle and resolute by constitution, cowardly in appearance and brave in reality, a knave without malice, a liar without deceit, and a knight, a gentleman, and a soldier, without dignity, decency, or honour . . . He is a robber, a glutton, a cheat, a drunkard, and a liar, lascivious, vain, insolent, profligate, and profane—a fine infusion, thus! . . . These vices were not only of a particular sort, but it was also necessary to guard them at both ends; on the one from all appearance of malicious motive, which must have produced disgust, . . . and on the other from apprehension in the spectators of pernicious effect, which produces grief and terror, and is the proper province of Tragedy . . .

T. DAVIES (*Dram. Misc.*, 1785). A man of genius [Morgann] has taken pains to rescue the character of Falstaff from the charge of cowardice, not considering that if the knight is proved to be a man of courage, half the mirth he raises is quite lost and misplaced. The prince and Poins obtained, by their contrivance, such evident proofs of his dastardly spirit that the whole mirth, in the admired scene of his tergiversation [II, iv], depends upon it.

MACKENZIE (*Crit. Rem. on Fal.*, 1786). With talents less conspicuous, Falstaff could not have attracted Henry, with profligacy less gross and less contemptible he would have attached him too much. . . . We oftener laugh with Falstaff than at him . . . He has neither the vanity of a wit nor the singularity of a humourist, but indulges both talents without exertion of mind or warmth of enjoyment. . . . Though I will not go so far as a paradoxical critic [Morgann] has done, and ascribe valour to Falstaff; yet if his cowardice is fairly examined, it will be found not so much a weakness as a principle. In his very cowardice there is much of the sagacity I have remarked in him; he has the sense of danger, but not the discomposure of fear. His presence of mind saves him from the sword of Douglas [V, iv], but he shows no sort of dread of the sheriff's visit [II, iv]. . . . Don Quixote, like Falstaff, is endowed with excellent discernment, sagacity, and genius; but his good sense holds fief of his diseased imagination. . . . The ridicule in the character of Don Quixote consists in raising low and vulgar incidents, through the medium of his disordered fancy, to a rank of importance, dignity, and solemnity to which in their nature they are the most opposite that can be imagined. With Falstaff it is nearly the reverse; the ridicule is produced by subjecting wisdom, honour, and other most grave and dignified principles to the control of grossness, buffoonery, and folly.

WM RICHARDSON (*Essay on Falstaff*, 1788): Pursuing no other object than the gratification of bodily pleasure, it is not wonderful that in situations of danger the care of his body should be Falstaff's chief concern. He avoids situations of danger, he does not wish to be valiant . . . Thus his cowardice seems to be the result of deliberation rather than the effect of constitution, and is a determined purpose of not exposing to injury or destruction that corporeal structure, foul and unwieldy though it be, on which his supreme enjoyment so completely depends . . . It appears abundantly manifest that our poet intended to represent Falstaff as very mean and worthless . . . How then comes he to be a favorite, with Prince Henry, and on the English stage? . . . Those qualities in the character of Sir John which may be accounted estimable, are of two kinds, the social and intellectual. His social qualities are joviality and good humour. . . Falstaff's love of society needs no illustration, and that it is unconnected with friendship or affection is no less apparent. Yet the quality renders him acceptable. It receives great additional recommendation from his good humour . . . His wit is of various kinds. It is sometimes a play upon words [II, iv, 133-135], it sometimes depends on felicity of allusion [III, iii, 23-46]. One of the most agreeable species of wit, which Falstaff uses with great success, is the ridiculous comparison . . . But Falstaff is not more distinguished for wit than for humour. Wit consists in the thought . . . Humour depends on action; it exhibits something done, or said, in a peculiar manner. The amusement is most complete when the witty thought is expressed with humour. It may be remarked that the guise or raiment with which Falstaff invests his different species of wit and humour is universally the same. It is grave, even solemn. He would always appear in earnest. . . As the wit of Falstaff is various, it is also easy and genuine. It displays no quaint conceits, studied antitheses, elaborate contrasts. There are few far-fetched or unsuccessful puns. Neither has the poet recourse to frequent and disgusting displays of drunkenness. We have little or no swearing, and less obscenity than we might have expected . . . Another kind of ability displayed by our hero is the address with which he defies detection and extricates himself out of difficulty. He is never at a loss. His presence of mind never forsakes him . . . The real state of the prince's sentiments and feelings toward Falstaff is finely described when at the battle of Shrewsbury, seeing Falstaff lying among some dead bodies, he supposes him dead, and says: "O, I should have a heavy miss of thee, if I were much in love with vanity." But he is not much in love with vanity.

STACK (*Exam. of Morgann's Essay*, 1788): [Morgann's *Essay on Falstaff*] must be acknowledged to be one of the most ingenious pieces of criticism. . . . We are pleased with his dexterity in support of a paradox in the same manner as we are charmed with Falstaff's wit and humour, even when employed in defence of his vices . . . I must confess that a *constitutional courage* does not seem to me any part of the *impression* which Shakespeare designed to give of Falstaff's character. . . . Can we suppose that Shakespeare, if he had designed to exhibit Falstaff as naturally brave, would in the first scene of our acquaintance with him have given strong intimations of his cowardice? which he has unquestionably done in the scheme laid for him by Poins, and in the observations made upon the probable conduct of Falstaff [I, ii, 176-181.

This speech] clearly implies that he would play the first part of a coward in action and the second part in lying and boasting. And as if the poet were not content with these strong appearances, grounded upon the opinion of Poin, Falstaff's intimate companion, he appeals in the next scene [II, ii] to facts and the judgment of the spectator himself. There we see Falstaff with his scurvy companions put to flight, and hear him roaring for mercy. . . . We are taught [by Morgann] to entertain an ill opinion of Poin, as an unamiable if not a bad and brutish character, and to conclude that his conduct toward Falstaff arose from malice and ill-will. This is a new impression of his character on me. . . . To suppose that he contrived the plot with an ill-natured design would greatly impair if not utterly destroy its humour. . . . In the next place, the writer endeavours to prove Falstaff's courage even from the judgment of this Poin. When the prince says: "I doubt they will be too hard for us," Poin replies: "For *two* of them, I know them to be true-bred cowards, and for the *third*, &c." [I, ii, 174-176]. Upon this passage the criticism is remarkable: in truth, it is so ludicrous that I can hardly think the writer in earnest. But with respect to the real point here to be considered, *viz*, the distinction between Falstaff and the others, the poet appears to have made it merely because Falstaff was designed to be an extant character in the drama, for I am persuaded the words in their original impression convey no idea of valour, unless it be of its better part, discretion, which so highly distinguished our hero. . . . I have always considered Falstaff's reply: "I am not John of Gaunt, but yet no coward" [II, ii, 63, 64] the evasion of a charge, the force of which he had felt.

[In the stage-direction, II, ii, *and Falstaff, after a blow or two, runs away too*] the poet has distinguished Falstaff from his rascally companions, but he has not even condescended to give the argument of his courage, derived from this random blow or two, a place of higher dignity and observation than a marginal note; and it is by no means certain that the poet had any share in this: it is more likely the note was a mere direction for the players, inserted by the manager. . . . The ingenious critic seems to doubt the truth of the reflection made upon Falstaff by Poin, "How the rogue roared!" but it is hardly conceivable that Poin would have made it without sufficient grounds; and still less so that the prince would have urged it upon Falstaff in a future scene, uncontradicted. . . .

[Stack next proceeds to consider Morgann's arguments from the impression Falstaff made upon individual characters of the plays, and finds them unconvincing. e.g., in *II Henry IV*, II, i, when the Hostess employs two constables to arrest Falstaff, the latter calls on Bardolph to draw and keep them off; and in the scene in which Falstaff routs Pistol, *II Henry IV*, II, iv, he himself gives us his low opinion of Pistol's courage. Lord Bardolph's mention of Falstaff among the prisoners at Shrewsbury, *II Henry IV*, I, ii, is merely a device of the poet for reminding the audience of Falstaff, who is to have a prominent part in the ensuing drama.] We are told with much gravity that a prince of so great ability . . . would not have procured a charge of foot . . . for a known coward. But what was this weighty charge? Why, no more than was barely enough to support the importance of Falstaff's *dramatic* character. . . . Falstaff ought to appear in the battle and could not well assume a character below that of a commander.

The introduction of Falstaff into the royal presence [V, 1] and the eager search after him to bring him to court [*II Henry IV*, II, 1v] amount in my mind to very slender evidence of his respectability as counsellor or soldier. All this, I think, was designed to throw a bustle and importance round his character. There is nothing very strange or indecent in his attending the prince in the camp at Shrewsbury, where, by the way, he gives no sort of advice but mixes his humour with their important councils. Can anyone seriously imagine that he was called into the king's presence from a regard to his merits? . . .

The writer employs great address to shew from various circumstances that we ought to give very qualified credit to anything advanced by that "cold, reserved, sober-blooded boy," John of Lancaster. My objection to these remarks, as indeed to the general scheme of the whole criticism, is their excessive refinement. Dramatic characters are not drawn for speculative men in their closets, but for mankind at large; and these fine-spun deductions from the temper and situation of Lancaster and the rest of the parties have not a strong and immediate influence. . . .

The writer makes an appeal likewise to facts. At the battle of Shrewsbury, Falstaff is introduced speaking thus in soliloquy [V, iii]: "I have led my ragga-muffins where they are peppered, &c." In reading this passage it never occurred to me that Falstaff *chose* for himself the desperate scene of action here described: it seems utterly inconsistent with that better part of valour, called discretion, of which he was so great a master on all other occasions. "But there is no questioning that he led them." I am not at all sure that we are obliged, or even warranted, to abide a literal construction which violates all probability. . . . I should rather adopt the idea that he ordered his ragamuffins upon this dangerous service, or, that having led them he left them.

We come next to examine his action with Douglas [V, iv]. The writer has made just distinctions between courage and honour. But the text is too plain to be refined away by his comments. By comparing Falstaff's conduct on this occasion with his words on another, we may discover such a contradiction as shews it did not arise from any settled principle, *e.g.*, a contempt for honour. "If Percy be alive," says he, "I'll pierce him. If he do come in my way, so: &c." [V, iii]. Suppose this to have been spoken by a person possessed of constitutional courage, we might reasonably expect that although he would not seek danger, yet he would meet it if necessary with some degree of firmness. But how does Falstaff's conduct answer this expectation? In the moment of danger, he counterfeits death. When the writer advances this as a proof of a collected mind, I think he is run very hard indeed; for we must admit Falstaff's resource to have been very natural for a coward. . . .

That Falstaff is vicious, a rogue, a liar, and a profligate, is allowed on all hands; yet, covered with all this infamy, he entertains, surprises, and charms, nay he engages our hearts.

BOSWELL (*Life of Johnson*, 1791, ed. Hill, iv, 192n): Dr. Johnson, being asked his opinion of [Morgann's] Essay [on Falstaff], answered: "Why, sir, we shall have this man come forth again; and as he has proved Falstaff to be no coward, he may prove Iago to be a very good character."—ANON. (*Monthly Review*, 1792, p. 62): The character of anyone is to be estimated from the whole of his conduct: a man may be altogether brave, and cowardice will appear in none of

his actions; he may be generally brave, and occasionally a coward, his cowardice must then be marked as accidental; he may be a coward in common, and brave on occasions. . . . Now which of these is Falstaff? We think a general coward, with an occasional semblance of courage. In disputes like the present [*Stack vs Morgann*], it is a remark not destitute of foundation that truth lies in the middle

SCHLEGEL (*Lectures*, 1809) Falstaff is the summit of Shakespeare's comic invention. . . . His contemptible qualities are not disguised old, lecherous, dissolute, corpulent beyond measure, constantly in debt and unscrupulous in the choice of means for procuring money; a cowardly soldier, and a lying braggart, a flatterer to the face, and a satirist behind the backs of his friends,—and yet we are never disgusted with him. We see that his care of himself is without any mixture of malice toward others. Always on the alert and good-humoured, ever ready to crack jokes on others, and to enter into those of which he is himself the subject, . . . he is an admirable companion for youthful idleness and levity. Under a helpless exterior, he conceals an extremely acute mind. . . . He is so convinced that the part which he plays can only pass under the cloak of wit, that even when alone he is never really serious.

COLERIDGE (*Robinson Memo*, December 23, 1810): Coleridge thought Falstaff to be an instance of the predominance of intellectual power. He is content to be thought both a liar and a coward, in order to obtain influence over the minds of his associates. His aggravated lies about the robbery are conscious and purposed, not inadvertent untruths. On my observing that this account seemed to justify Cooke's representation, according to which a foreigner imperfectly understanding the character would fancy Falstaff the designing knave who actually does outwit the prince, Coleridge answered that in his *own* estimation, Falstaff is the superior, who cannot easily be convinced that the prince has escaped him; but that, as in other instances, Shakespeare has shown us the defeat of mere intellect by a noble feeling: the prince being the superior moral character who rises above his insidious companion.—IBID. (October 13, 1811, see Collier, *Seven Lectures*, 1856) Falstaff was no coward, but pretended to be one merely for the sake of trying experiments on the credulity of mankind: he was a liar with the same object, and not because he loved falsehood for itself. He was a man of such preeminent abilities as to give him a profound contempt for all those by whom he was usually surrounded, and to lead to a determination on his part, in spite of their fancied superiority, to make them his tools and dupes. He knew, however low he descended, that his own talents would raise and extricate him from any difficulty. It was in characters of complete moral depravity, but of first-rate wit and talents, Richard III, Iago, Falstaff, that Shakespeare delighted.

HAZLITT (*Characters*, 1817, p. 188): Falstaff is perhaps the most substantial character that ever was invented. He carries a most portly presence in the mind's eye; and in him, not to speak it profanely, "we behold the fulness of the spirit of wit and humour bodily." . . . His body is like a good estate to his mind, from which he receives rents and revenues of profit and pleasure in kind,

according to its extent and the richness of its soil . . . His wit is an emanation of a fine constitution, an exuberance of good-humour and good-nature, an overflowing of his love of laughter and good-fellowship . . . He would not be in character if he were not so fat . . . He manures and nourishes his mind with jests, as he does his body with sack and sugar . . . He carves out his jokes as he would a capon, and pours upon them the oil of gladness. . . . His sensuality does not engross and stupefy his other faculties . . . He is represented as a liar, a braggart, a coward, a glutton, &c, and yet we are not offended but delighted, for he is all these as much to amuse others as to gratify himself. He openly assumes all these characters to shew the humorous part of them . . . In a word, he is an actor in himself almost as much as upon the stage, and we no more object to the character of Falstaff in a moral point of view than we should think of bringing an excellent comedian, who should represent him to the life, before one of the police offices . . . Whatever terror the French in those days might have of Henry V, to the readers of poetry at present, Falstaff is the better man of the two.

MAGINN (*Sir John Falstaff*, 1837, ed. 1856, p. 25 ff) : How idle is the question as to the cowardice of Falstaff. . . Deeply would the knight have derided the discussion . . . His retreat before the prince and Poins, and his imitating death when attacked by Douglas, are the points mainly dwelt on . . . In the former case Shakespeare saves his honour by making him offer some resistance to two bold and vigorous men when abandoned by his companions; and in the latter, what fitting antagonist was the fat and blown soldier of three-score for "that furious Scot"? Why press the charge of cowardice on Falstaff more than on Douglas? He did no more than Douglas himself did at the end of the battle [V, v, 17-20] . . . (p. 52): I see no traces of Falstaff's being a glutton . . . Sack and sugar Falstaff admits readily; of addiction to the grosser pleasures of the table neither he nor his accuser [Prince Hal, II, iv, 47 ff] says a word . . . Capon is light eating; and his neatness in carving gives an impression of delicacy in the observances of the board. . . . Nor does his conversation ever turn upon gastronomical topics. The bottle supplies an endless succession of jests; the dish scarcely contributes one . . . He is never represented as drunk. Copious potations of sack do not cloud his intellect or embarrass his tongue. . . . In this he forms a contrast to Sir Toby Belch. The discrimination between these two characters is masterly. Both are knights, convivial, fond of loose or jocular society, somewhat in advance of youth—there are many points of similitude, and yet they are as distinct as Prospero and Polonius . . . We must also observe that Falstaff never laughs. Others laugh with him or at him; but he jests with a sad brow . . . His wit is from the head, not the heart. It is anything but *fun*.

CHÂSLES (*L'Angleterre au 16ième Siècle*, 1851, p. 211): It is not because he is gross, a great drinker, a merry talker, and furnished with all the sensual vices, that Falstaff walks today with Sancho and Panurge. If his merit consisted in his wide girth and in the capacity of his stomach, we should despise him. But Falstaff is more than this. In him lives the spirit of sensuality, in its entirety. . . . Rabelais, Cervantes, and Shakespeare realize and personify the Prince's Jester, each according to his view; giving him body, soul, coun-

tenance; uniting in this creation all that is deepest in their intellects; mingling philosophy with satire, poetry with practical observation, . . . bringing into the world Panurge, Sancho, and Falstaff, a grotesque trio . . . They are all alike in one respect. Born in the 16th century, when the Middle Ages were expiring, these are the types of material sensuality and voluptuous egoism opposed to all serious affairs and ideal faiths. . . . They form a chorus of jesters; they furnish a complete criticism of all that attracts man beyond the limit of material life—platonic love, passion for conquest, ambition, melancholy, mysticism.

BAGEHOT (*Shakes*, 1853, p. 246): If most men were to save up all the gaiety of their whole lives, it would come to the gaiety of about one speech in Falstaff. A morose man . . . might have conceived a Sir John marked by rotundity of body, but could hardly have imagined what we call rotundity of mind. We mean that the animal spirits of Falstaff give him an easy, vague, diffusive sagacity which is peculiar to him.

VICTOR HUGO (ed. 1859-1866, xi, 61): Like all creations of the first order, Falstaff is both a person and a type. His name is Falstaff and his name is Legion. . . . (p. 67): The personality of Falstaff is a Colossus composed of matter and spirit: enormous belly, immense imagination. . . . Imagine the spirit of Puck in the body of Caliban! . . . Falstaff is essential not only to justify the youthful excesses of the prince, but to the whole action and idea of the drama. All these changes of scene, ceaselessly alternating comedy with tragedy, are not mere caprices of a strange imagination; they have their reason in the plan of a great genius . . . Study the play closely, and you will see that throughout the comedy parodies the tragedy [cf. above. General Criticism: Ulrici] . . . (p. 73): On the field of battle the figure of Falstaff makes a striking contrast to the figure of Hotspur . . . Shakespeare has emphasized this contrast, when at the end of the battle Falstaff leaves the field of death carrying on his back the lifeless body of Hotspur. . . . Such is the end of the paladin! The corpse of the hero is the trophy of the buffoon. What a sight, and what a symbol!—MÉZIÈRES (*Shaks.*, 1860, p. 236): Falstaff is a type very popular in England, which is not completely naturalized with us. . . . All the European world reads and admires *Othello* and *Macbeth*; but there are many cultivated people who have never had the curiosity to read *Much Ado About Nothing*, or who, having read it, have not been satisfied. Falstaff does not always amuse them, and yet Falstaff is Shakespeare's most original creation of the buffoon type.

MONTÉGUT (ed. 1868, iv, 224): There is no doubt that Shakespeare had read Rabelais. . . . Panurge must have served as prototype of Falstaff. The two have the same qualities and the same vices, the same amusing drollery, the same form of wit, the same humour, the same absence of moral sense, the same tendency toward sensuality, the same comic cowardice. . . . There is only one difference between them, the difference which constitutes the individuality of each: Panurge is young, alert, thin—and what he is, he is by choice; the old, heavy, gross Falstaff is a true victim of the nature which made his belly so big.

HUDSON (*Sh, Life, Art, &c*, 1872; ed 1882, ii, 84) If I were to fix on any one thing as specially characteristic of Falstaff, I should say it is an amazing fund of good sense . . . His thinking has such agility, and is at the same time so pertinent, as to do the work of the most prompt and popping wit, yet in such sort as to give the impression of something much larger and stronger than wit. For mere wit be it ever so good, requires to be sparingly used, and the more it tickles the sooner it tires . . . But no one ever wears of Falstaff's talk . . . The wit of other men seems to be some special faculty or mode of thought, and lies in a quick seizing of remote and fanciful affinities; in Falstaff it lies not in any one thing more than another, and I know not how to describe it save as that roundness and evenness of mind which we call good sense, so quickened and pointed, indeed, as to produce the effect of wit, yet without hindrance to its own proper effect. . . Relying calmly on his strength, he invites the toughest trials, knowing that his powers will bring him off without any using of whip or spur. . . Hence it is that he so often lets go all prudence of speech, and thrusts himself into tight places and predicaments: he thus makes or seeks occasions to exercise his fertility and alertness of thought, being well assured that he shall still come off uncornered . . . Which explains the purpose of his incomprehensible lies—he tells them, surely, not expecting them to be believed, but partly for the pleasure he takes in the excited play of his faculties, partly for the surprise he causes by his still more incomprehensible feats of dodging. Such is the story about the men in buckram, who grew so soon from two to eleven, and about the men in Kendal green who let drive at him when it was so dark he could not see his hand. Else why should he thus affirm in the same breath the color of the men's clothes, and the darkness of the night? . . . I am persuaded that Sir John suspected all the while who his antagonists were in the Gadshill robbery; but determined to fall in with and humor the joke, on purpose to make sport for the prince and himself.

SWINBURNE (*Stud. of Sh*, 1880, p 106): The gradation from Panurge to Falstaff is not downward, but upward; though it be Victor Hugo's very self who asserts the contrary. Singular as may seem the collocation of the epithet "moral" with the name "Falstaff," I venture to maintain my thesis, that in point of feeling, and therefore of possible moral elevation, Falstaff is as undeniably the superior of Sancho as Sancho is of Panurge. The natural affection of Panurge is bounded by the self-same limits as the natural theology of Polyphemus; the love of one, like the faith of the other, begins and ends alike at one point: "Myself, And this great belly, first of deities," . . . In Sancho we come upon a creature capable of love—but not of love that kills or helps to kill, such love as may seem to end in anything like heartbreak. . . . The finest touch in the whole portrait of Falstaff is a touch added on revision of the original design [of *Henry VI*]. In II, i, the six words "the king has killed his heart," are only to be found in the revised version of that play. . . . "And now abideth Rabelais, Cervantes, Shakespeare, these three; but the greatest of these is Shakespeare." . . . If ever fruitless but endless care was shown to prevent misunderstanding, it was shown in the pains taken by Shakespeare to obviate the misconstruction which would impute to Falstaff the quality of a Parolles, a Bobadil, a Bessus, a Moron. . . . It is needless to do

over again work which was done so well, a hundred years since, by a writer [Morgann] whose able essay in vindication and exposition of the genuine character of Falstaff elicited from Dr. Johnson as good a jest and as bad a criticism as might have been expected.

GRAF (*Der Miles Gloriosus*, 1892, p. 41), after demonstrating the general influence of the work of John Lyly on Shakespeare, and showing that the Capitano Spavento of the Italian commedia dell'arte was a familiar figure on the English stage, proceeds. The characteristics of the Capitano were a combination of miserable cowardice with boundless swaggering manifested in a flood of roaring, silly eloquence, accompanied by much rattling of the sword and a very martial air. This rôle was fixed and incapable of development. A direct evolution could result only in new distortions, never in lifelike personalities. Shakespeare avoided this reef admirably. He split the *Miles Gloriosus*. Everything in him capable of raising him to the level of natural, jovial, good-fellowship, he gave to Falstaff, everything distorted and repulsive was bestowed upon Pistol [*II Henry IV* and *Henry V*]. . . . Falstaff is always a human being, completely individualized, some of the *Miles* traits omitted, others refined, others remaining in their whole bizarre peculiarity: Pistol is always the mere type, entirely the Capitano Spavento, but coarsened—the caricature of the *Miles Gloriosus* even more exaggerated. . . . The complete consistency of Falstaff's character, the entire naïveté of his disposition, create the comedy. . . . Shakespeare uses indirect characterization in order to minimize the repugnant traditional traits of pride and conceit in the *Miles*. We learn from the prince that the tavern waiters consider Falstaff proud. Falstaff is the most brilliant and ingenious of the family of Boastful Sons of the Boastful Soldier. The emphasis on his martial reputation, contrasted with his far from glorious deeds; the coarse and obvious lies with which he tries to save his reputation; his lack of a sense of honor and of desire for military glory, his sensuality and pride; his rascality—all these traditional traits of the *Miles* have been toned together as subtly as only a Shakespeare could do it. Some English critics have paired Jonson's Bobadil with Falstaff. Very wrongly. . . . Jonson's talents are wholly in the field of satire, his eye saw only the weaknesses of mankind. . . . Bobadil is a mean, beggarly parasite, without wit or humour. His lies are a bore, his cowardice, despicable. [Graf then compares certain of Falstaff's speeches with similar speeches by Bobadil, which are perhaps conscious imitations by Jonson, e.g., *I Henry IV*, II, iv, 174–178, with *Every Man in his Humour*, III, i, Bobadil's description of his attack on the Moors.] How delicious Falstaff's humor, how clumsy Jonson's imitation! Bobadil and Bessus (in Beaumont and Fletcher's *King and No King*) approach closely to the character of the classical *Miles Gloriosus* as it had developed in general literature. . . . Falstaff departs from the line of tradition without ever ceasing to be of the *Miles* type. The individual features of the *Miles* can be found in Falstaff but their condensation and combination go far beyond tradition.

H. MORLEY (*Eng. Writers*, 1893, x, 272): It is not the dull and empty-headed sensualist that can tempt generous youth to his side; but a young man with high animal spirits is easily drawn into sportive companionship with good wit

and humour. When Chaucer turned Pandarus into a worldly, good-tempered uncle of Cressida, who looks like a kind old gentleman who understands the world, he was before Shakespeare in the essential part of the conception of Falstaff

BOAS (*Sh. and Predec.*, 1896, p. 273): The fat knight is by universal consent the greatest comic figure of ancient or modern literature. He is so, however, because, like his chief rival for this place of honour, Don Quixote, he is by no means purely a humorous creation. . . . It is essential to recognize that he belongs by birth to the world of breeding and culture, and its marks are visible on him to the last . . . His talk is full of allusions only possible to a man of education, even though he applies them in a perverse way. He quotes readily from the Bible, he has read the cause of apoplexy in Galen . . . In his letters he imitates "the honourable Romans in brevity." He is familiar with the drama, and his burlesque of Henry IV is done in "king Cambyzes vein", while it further shows acquaintance with the literary peculiarities of Euphuism, and the ceremonial etiquette of the Court. Nor does Falstaff ever forget his social superiority to his companions. . . . How comes it then that a man with the accomplishments of a gentleman and a scholar, and with no small share of class pride, should be found, when his hair is white, as the center of a crew of roisterers in a tavern? The answer is found in his soliloquy on honour.

BRADLEY (*Reject of Fal*, 1902, p. 249): I do not propose to attempt a full account of Falstaff or of Prince Henry, but shall connect the remarks I have to make on them with a question which does not seem to have been satisfactorily discussed—the question of the rejection of Falstaff by the prince on his accession to the throne [*II Henry IV*, V, v]. What do we feel, and what are we meant to feel, as we witness this rejection? . . . If we regard Falstaff as an old reprobate, not only a sensualist, liar and coward, but a cruel and dangerous ruffian, I suppose we enjoy his discomfiture and consider that the king has behaved magnificently. But if we have enjoyed the Falstaff scenes as Shakespeare surely meant them to be enjoyed, and if, accordingly, Falstaff is not to us solely, or even chiefly, a reprobate and ruffian, we feel a good deal of pain and some resentment. . . . Nor are these feelings diminished when we remember the end of the whole story in *Henry V*, where we learn that Falstaff quickly died of a broken heart. . . . Falstaff's dismissal to the Fleet, and his subsequent death, prove beyond doubt that the rejection was meant by Shakespeare to be a catastrophe which not even his humour could enable him to surmount . . . (p. 260): Up to a certain point Falstaff is ludicrous in the same way as many other figures, his distinction lying in the mere abundance of ludicrous traits. Why we should laugh at an old man with a huge belly and corresponding appetites; at the inconveniences he suffers on a hot day, or in playing the foot-pad, or when he falls down and there are no levers to lift him; . . . *why*, I say, we should laugh, this is no place to inquire; but unquestionably we do. Here we have them poured out in endless profusion with that air of careless ease which is so fascinating in Shakespeare. . . . But these things do not explain why besides laughing at Falstaff, we are made happy by him and laugh *with* him. He is not, like Parolles, a mere *object* of mirth.

The main reason why he makes us so happy and puts us so entirely at our

ease is that he himself is happy and entirely at ease. "Happy" is too weak a word, he is in bliss, and we share his glory. . . . If you ask *what* he enjoys, no doubt the answer is, in the first place, eating and drinking, taking his ease at his inn, and the company of other merry souls. . . . But this again is far from all. His ease and enjoyment are not simply those of the happy man of appetite, they are those of the humorist of genius. Instead of being comic to you and serious to himself, he is more ludicrous to himself than to you, and he makes himself out more ludicrous than he is, in order that he and others may laugh. Prince Hal never made such sport of Falstaff's person as he himself did. It is he who says that his skin hangs about him like an old lady's loose gown . . . It is the same with his appetites. The direct enjoyment they bring him is scarcely so great as the enjoyment of laughing at this enjoyment, and for all his addiction to sack, you never see him with a brain dulled by it, or a temper turned solemn, silly, quarrelsome, or pious. The virtue it instils into him, of filling his brain with nimble, fiery, and delectable shapes—this, and his humorous attitude toward it, free him in a manner from slavery to it, and it is this freedom, and no secret longing for better things, that makes his enjoyment contagious and prevents our sympathy with it from being disturbed. The bliss of freedom gained in humour is the essence of Falstaff. . . .

No one in the play understands Falstaff fully. . . . Poinc and the prince delight in him; they get him into corners for the pleasure of seeing him escape in ways they cannot imagine, but they often take him much too seriously. Poinc rarely sees, the prince does not always see, and moralizing critics never see, that when Falstaff speaks ill of a companion behind his back . . . he knows quite well that what he says will be repeated, or, rather, perhaps, is absolutely indifferent whether it be repeated or not, being certain that it can only give him an opportunity for humour. It is the same with his lying, and almost the same with his cowardice. . . . The attack of the prince and Poinc on Falstaff at Gadshill is contrived, we know, with a view to the incomprehensible lies it will induce him to tell. But when, more than rising to the occasion, he turns two men into four, seven, nine, eleven, almost in a breath, I believe the prince and Poinc partly misunderstand his intention, and too many of his critics misunderstand it altogether. Shakespeare was not writing a mere farce. It is preposterous to suppose that a man of Falstaff's intelligence would utter these gross, palpable, open lies with intent to deceive. . . . He no more expected to be believed than when he claimed to have killed Hotspur. . . .

(p 266): This is also the explanation of his cowardice. . . . That he sometimes behaves in what we should call a cowardly way is certain; but that does not show that he was a coward; and if the word means a person who feels painful fear in the presence of danger, and yields to that fear in spite of his better feelings and convictions, then assuredly Falstaff was no coward. It is perfectly clear . . . that he had not a reputation for cowardice. . . . Even as we see him in the plays, he remains a person of consideration in the army. . . . And when we look at his actions, what do we find? When he saw Henry and Hotspur fighting, instead of making off in a panic, he stayed to take his chance if Hotspur should be victor. He *led* his men, he did not *send* them. . . . Well, it will be answered, but he ran away at Gadshill, and when Douglas attacked him he fell down and shammed dead. Yes, I am thankful to say, he did. For of course he did not want to be dead. He wanted to live and be merry.

And as he had reduced the idea of honour *ad absurdum*, had scarcely any self-respect, and only a respect for reputation as a means to life, naturally he avoided death when he could do so without a ruinous loss of reputation, and (observe) with the satisfaction of playing a colossal practical joke. For *that* after all was his first object. If his one thought had been to avoid death he would not have faced Douglas at all, but would have run away as fast as his legs could carry him . . . When Henry and Poins attack him at Gadshill, the rest run away at once, Falstaff, here as afterwards with Douglas, fights for a blow or two, but finding himself deserted and outmatched, runs away too. Of course. He saw no reason to stay. Any man who had risen superior to all serious motives would have run away. But it does not follow that he would run from mere fear. It is to be regretted that he "roared for mercy," for I fear we have no ground for rejecting Henry's statement to that effect; and I do not see my way clear to adopt the suggestion that Falstaff spoke the truth when he swore that he knew Henry and Poins "as well as he that made them."

(p. 268). The main source of our sympathetic delight in Falstaff is his humorous superiority to everything serious, and the freedom of soul enjoyed in it. But this is not the whole of his character . . . His freedom is limited in two main ways. He cannot rid himself entirely of respect for all that he professes to ridicule. He shows a certain pride in his rank . . . He is stung by any thoroughly serious imputation on his courage, and winces at the recollection of his running away at Gadshill. . . . And he has affection in him—affection, I think, for Poins and Bardolph, and certainly for the prince; and that is a thing he cannot jettison out of existence.

TOLSTOI (*Sh. and the Drama*, 1902, ed. 1908, p. 47). Falstaff is quite a natural and typical character, but then it is perhaps the only natural and typical character portrayed by Shakespeare. And this character is natural and typical because it alone speaks a language proper to itself, a language quite in harmony with the boastful, distorted, and depraved character of the drunken Falstaff. . . . Unfortunately the artistic effect of this character is spoilt by the fact that it is so repulsive by its gluttony, drunkenness, debauchery, rascality, deceit and cowardice that it is difficult to share the feeling of gay humour with which the author treats it.

RALEIGH (*Shakes.*, 1907, p. 188): Falstaff is a comic Hamlet, stronger in practical resource, and hardly less rich in thought. He is in love with life as Hamlet is out of love with it; he cheats and lies and steals with no hesitation and no afterthought; he runs away or counterfeits death with more courage than others show in deeds of daring. The accidents and escapades of his life give ever renewed occasion for the triumph of spirit over matter, and show us the real man, above them all and aloof from them, calm, aristocratic, fanciful, scorning opinion, following his own ends, and intellectual to his fingertips. . . . His speech on Honour might have been spoken by Hamlet—with what a different conclusion! He is never entangled in his own deceits; his mind is clear of cant; his self-respect is magnificent and unflinching.

F. W. CHANDLER (ed. 1911): Falstaff is molded in the round, and in much

more than mere physique. He is a strange and fascinating bundle of humors, a creature of manifold incongruities . . . He combines the traditional [rôles] of rogue, clown, parasite, satyr, and *miles gloriosus*, but rises superior to each. His cowardice is feigned rather than constitutional. He could be brave enough if he thought it worth while . . . He delights, like a child, to assume any rôle that he pleases. So, from first to last, he plays with the semblance of truth in a merry game of make-believe, professing to find in his comrades the defects most notable in himself, pretending to have been corrupted and deceived by the prince, to have attained his full-blown state by "sighing and grief," to have been robbed by the hostess, to have been slain by Douglas, and to have slain Hotspur, in turn . . . He is never in earnest except in his famous catechism concerning honor.

MASEFIELD (*Wm Sh*, 1911, p. 113): Falstaff is that deeply interesting thing, a man who is base because he is wise. Our justest, wisest brain dwelt longer upon Falstaff than upon any other character because he is the world and the flesh, able to endure while Hotspur flames to his death, and the enemies of the devil are betrayed that the devil may have power to betray others.

BRANDER MATTHEWS (*Sh. as Playwright*, 1913, p. 128): Falstaff is the living proof of Lowell's assertion that Shakespeare is immeasurably superior to his contemporaries "in his power of pervading a character with humor, creating it out of humor, and yet never overstepping the limits of nature and coarsening into caricature." Nothing that Shakespeare had done before, not even Bottom and the Nurse, foretold the unctuous richness of Falstaff's fun . . . It is a fact that his wit is often only verbal. but this might be said of almost every other wit. . . . A pun has been called the lowest form of wit, perhaps because it is so often the foundation-stone.

STOLL (*Falstaff*, 1914, edition of 1927, p. 403): For two hundred and fifty years Englishmen and Americans have been writing about the character of Falstaff, and hardly three or four of these have been students of the stage. Since 1777 they have followed mainly in the steps of Maurice Morgann, a country gentleman of philosophic bent and literary taste, who seems to have known little of the stage and to have loved it less. In reading Shakespeare he is not reminded of Plautus or Terence, of Fletcher or Molière, of Wycherley or Farquhar. . . . To read an old play is as difficult as to read an old musical score. Morgann, in his fine and subtle essay, shows that he has read it like a true Romantic; and discovers in the effect of Falstaff upon us in the two parts of *Henry IV* an opposition between feeling and understanding. . . . Falstaff's conduct is cowardly; his character, that subtler essence, is courageous. Contrary, however, to what might be expected, the cowardice and dishonor, which are perceived by the understanding, are the obvious traits, those "thrust forward and pressed upon our notice"; and the favorable impressions are reached on the part of Morgann himself, not by the mystical faculty, but through deliberate conjecture and devious ratiocination, that is, by the understanding, too. The direct effect, he thinks, of the incidents of Gadshill and Shrewsbury, of Falstaff's own confessions, and of the downright ridicule of

him by the Prince, Lancaster, and Poins, is counteracted by inferences from the casual remarks of characters such as Doll Tearsheet, Shallow, Lord Bardolph, and the Chief Justice, and by such circumstances as his early intimacy with John of Gaunt, a dozen captains calling him to court, and his presence once, on the eve of battle, with the King. At times the critic goes farther, and considers Falstaff as if he were an historic rather than dramatic being. In sum and substance and often in minute detail these views have been reproduced or developed since by English critics. This is my only justification for paying so much attention to the ingenious but unpalatable arguments of a critic so far removed in time, this, and the stamp of approval laid upon them by Swinburne, Bradley, and (perhaps most remarkable of all) the student of roguery, Prof F W Chandler.

(p 408) No doubt Morgann is right in insisting upon a difference. Falstaff is not an ordinary stage coward; he is not even a Parolles or a Bobadill, and by no means is he a mere buffoon. But Morgann goes much further. Not only is he strangely confused and contradictory in that, finding the circumstances creditable to Falstaff thrown into the background, and the "follies and buffoonery" thrown into the foreground, he calls us, who attach greater importance to the latter, the dupes of our wisdom and systematic reasoning, but thus and otherwise he betrays a complete misapprehension of dramatic method, whether of his own or of an earlier time. To him Shakespeare is not a score to be played, but a book to be read, not to say an inscription to be deciphered. . . . Yet with all dramatists . . . what is in the foreground is important, what is in the background is less important. . . . And what stands first in the play, as the cowardly flight from Gadshill, is most important of all and dominates the whole. Besides these simple principles of dramatic emphasis and perspective. Morgann and his followers ignore the various hints of the poet, the confessions in soliloquy, the comments of important undiscredited characters like the Prince and Poins, and various devices and bits of "business," like Falstaff's roaring as he runs, and his falling flat in battle. . . .

(p 411): We take it that, standing first, playing so big a part in the story, "this unfortunate affair" at Gadshill is meant to prejudice us. . . . According to Elizabethan usage a foolish character—braggart, or coward, or conceited ass like Malvolio, or even merry misogynist like Benedick—is, by conspiracy, fooled to the top of his bent, and in the end made aware of it and jeered at. . . . Always the expectations of the jokers—as here in Falstaff's cowardly conduct and "incomprehensible lies"—are fulfilled, and the victim's ridiculous sayings and doings cast in his teeth. Sometimes, like Falstaff, he takes to his wits to cover his retreat; but at the outset he steps into the trap laid for him, unaware. There is no instance of a character making a fool of himself on purpose—playing the coward on purpose and then playing the ludicrous braggart, afterward. To an audience such an ambiguous situation would, without hint or guidance from the dramatist, have been incomprehensible. . . . Whenever in Elizabethan drama a character is feigning we are informed of it. That Prince Hal himself is playing the roysterer on purpose he tells us twice over, but that Falstaff is playing coward, liar, thief, or butt on purpose is intimated neither by him nor by anybody else. . . .

(p. 415): Falstaff's cowardice appears still more clearly when the Gadshill incident is viewed in detail. Four times the Prince flatly calls him coward to

his face. The only time he attempts to deny it—on Gadshill—the Prince replies, "Well, we leave that to the proof", and it comes speedily. Clearer nothing could be: the question is raised, and Falstaff's roaring and running away the next moment are the all-sufficient answer. . . . Poin's estimate of Falstaff's character just before this (I, ii, 174-176) has been subjected to the most undramatic and hair-splitting comment imaginable. . . . "What stronger evidence can we require," cries Morgann, "than that this very Poin should not venture to put down Falstaff in the list of cowards?" The understanding of the humour of understatement . . . seems to have been frequently withheld from this gifted man,—by a strange irony, the accepted chief expositor of the foremost humorous character in literature. Certainly the latter part of Poin's statement contains no praise, however faint; . . . moreover it is followed by the remark, still more explicit, about "the incomprehensible lies that this same fat rogue will tell us—how thirty at least he fought with, &c"—"a prediction," faithfully but mournfully adds Morgann, "unfortunately fulfilled . . ." Poin's speech is a simple truth gilded with a pleasantry. Falstaff himself admits that he was "a coward on instinct," not on principle; and at Shrewsbury says to himself "I fear the shot here," "I am afraid of this Percy," and makes the words good by stabbing the corpse. . . . Nowhere is it more evident how little Morgann regarded dramatic method and stage-craft than at this early moment in the Gadshill episode:

Fal. 'Zounds, will they not rob us?

Pr. What, a coward, Sir John Paunch?

Fal. Indeed, I am not John of Gaunt, etc

This is found to be hardly more of a confession on his part than the Prince's remark to Poin on his own, as they plan their trick in I, ii: "Yea, but I doubt they will be too hard for us." This latter remark is casual or else made in mockery, but in either case it is meant only to call forth Poin's comment quoted above (I, ii, 174-176) on their companions' timorous natures; whereas this speech of Falstaff's is uttered after the limelight has been turned full upon him—the audience has been apprized of his cowardice, the business is afoot, the booty at hand. Thus everything has been nicely calculated to give his abrupt exclamation full comic value and "bring down the house," . . . and Falstaff's retort is, as Stack rightly observes, a witty evasion,—not as Morgann would have it, a hint at his discreetly courageous character . . .

That Falstaff is not dissembling is still more evident from the management of the ensuing incident in the same scene, and of the scene at the tavern. In his brief and fleeting moment of glory, immediately after the robbery of the travellers, he calls Poin and the Prince cowards, and swaggers. Now the coward charging the brave with cowardice, like the coward boasting of his courage, is a perennial situation, on the stage or off it. . . . To clinch the business, immediately upon his words follows the ironical dramatic reversal and traditional comic situation of the robbery of the robber, and the fat rogue roaring and running off. What dunce in the audience would now fail to follow the drift? Morgann may think it not roaring if he pleases, for particulars in a play cannot be verified as in a history; but it is difficult to conceive how Poin could say to the Prince on Gadshill, "How the fat rogue roared!" unless he had just been doing it; or the Prince afterwards in Eastcheap could cast it

up to Falstaff in the presence of all who heard him—"roared for mercy as ever I heard bull-calf." And when Falstaff and his craven crew first bursts in upon the Prince and Poins at the Boar's Head, he still cries out on cowards, again and again, as he drinks . . . Nor by his following shifts and evasions, "I knew ye" and "on instinct" does he come off safe and sound. Throughout the rest of the scene, and even in *Part II*, he and his companions in cowardice are twitted with them. "No more of that, Hal," cries the fat knight, "an thou lovest me"; and that is not the tone of triumph . . . Through the rest of the play his cowardice is, as Morgann drolly confesses, still "thrust forward and pressed upon our notice" . . . Standing by as Prince Hal and Hotspur come together, he proves to be as good at encouraging others to fight as the white-livered Moron (*Princesse d'Elde*, I, iii) and Panurge (*Rabelais*, II, 29). Then he falls flat and feigns death as clowns and cowards did in the hour of danger, not in England only, but in contemporary Germany, Spain, and Italy, and above all sets the seal on his cowardice by the dastardly blow and by hatching the scheme to take the honour of killing Hotspur to himself . . . Could anything more effectively contradict the opinion that he "renounced that grinning idol of military zealots, honour," than his undertaking, like the pitiful poltroons, Pistol, Parolles, and Bessus, to "filch bright honour," which the man fallen at his feet had boldly plucked? Such wreaking of one's self on a dead body is, like his "playing possum," one of the established *lazzi* of the coward on the stage. . . . Here in the battle, then, is a little heap of *lazzi*, or bits of "business," all stamped as those of a coward, not only intrinsically, but by immemorial custom; and it is difficult to see how Shakespeare could have effaced that impression had he tried.

(p. 427): After this running comment on . . . *Henry IV* we might further strengthen the case against Falstaff's courage by considering how the character continues and develops the dramatic and legendary tradition concerning Sir John Fastolf, or Falstaff, and Sir John Oldcastle. . . . In real life both Sir Johns were brave and worthy fellows; they are overwhelmed with obloquy because in the popular imagination one charge, heresy or cowardice, brings every other in its trail, but all that concerns us here is that in Shakespeare they are cowards because they were that before. . . . To the type of Braggart Captain, Falstaff unquestionably belongs. He has the increasing belly and decreasing leg, the diminutive page for a foil, his weapon (pistol) that is no weapon but a fraud, as well as most of the inner qualities of this stage-figure—cowardice and unbridled bragging, gluttony, lechery, sycophancy, and pride. Also he is a recruiting officer and (though it be in the *Merry Wives*) a suitor gulled. All these traits are manifest, except his sycophancy, which, however, appears in his dependence on the Prince and his wheedling ways with him; and except his pride, which appears in his insistence on his title and in his reputation for a proud jack among the drawers. Lyly's Sir Tophas, Jonson's Bobadill and Tucca, Beaumont's Bessus, Chapman's Braggadino and Quintiliano, the still earlier Roister Doister, Ambidexter, and Therites, as well as Shakespeare's Pistol, Armado, and Parolles, have most or many of these traits; and these descend to them, if not from the classics directly, from the Italian popular *miles*, Capitano Spavento. The English and Italian specimens differ from those of Plautus in that they are impecunious, the unwelcome parasites of tailor, barber, or landlady, not the patrons of para-

sites. Falstaff is both the one and the other. He has his landlady, and his tailor and his gull [both in *Part II.*—Ed.], and yet he keeps Bardolph and perhaps Peto and Nym. Unlike most braggart captains he is not silly and affected, boasts only when he has need to do so, is not beaten and knocked about the stage, but keeps a sort of dignity, and is humorist and wit. It is these circumstances that have made critics declare that the impression of his character is quite different, and is therefore not that of a coward. But Falstaff as cheat, liar, boaster, glutton, lecher, and thief, could hardly help being coward as well. Otherwise he would have disappointed the audience. Much has been said about Falstaff being done from the life, . . . but except in tone or in tricks of manner it is now evident that this could not be. The whole man or a tithe of him never trod the earth . . . Sellar's remark (*Poets of the Republic*, 1889, p. 170) fits not only in this case but in others. "Though a wonderful conception of the humorous imagination, it is a character hardly compatible with any social conditions". The braggart captain, indeed, is incompatible with himself. Cowards do not go to war, or, if driven to it, do not become captains. Or if even that be not beyond the compass of chance and their own contriving, the clever ones do not boast so extravagantly as to rob themselves of credence. . . . After Gadshill a fellow so clever would neither have let his lies grow on his hands, nor—except on the defensive—have undertaken to lie at all. He would have lain low, and kept out of the limelight. But how tame for an Elizabethan, to whom what is "gross, open, palpable," was a delight. Bulthaupt seriously wonders why Falstaff went to war, and concludes that he went exalted through his humour above all fear. . . . He might as well wonder why a monster of a miser like Harpagon keeps a coach and horses, a cook and a troop of servants, and conclude that he must be free-handed after all. It is on the stage—it is in a comedy—and he keeps servants to stint them and horses to steal away their oats. And Falstaff goes to the wars to say his catechism, brandish a bottle for a pistol, fall dead, joke, cheat, lie . . .

Two situations in which Falstaff is placed are connected with the *miles gloriosus* traditionally. The coward taking a captive, as Falstaff takes Colville (*Part II*) is an incongruous but mirth-provoking situation which Shakespeare found in *The Famous Victories* and repeated in *Henry V.* . . . The other situation is that of the soldier who keeps his appetite, though scared. . . . To the men of the Renaissance this betokened not coolness and presence of mind but a base and besotted nature, dead to name and fame. Falstaff sleeps and snores while the watch seek for him; and he has his bottle on the field just as Sosie in the *Amphitryon*, after he has run and hidden in the tent, drinks wine and eats ham. And the putting of a bottle in his case for a pistol is a stranger contradiction still. According to our notions a coward would go armed to the teeth; but earlier art is prone to ignore analysis and present character in an outward and typical way. . . .

(p. 436): Further consideration of Falstaff's cowardice depends upon the incomprehensible lies of the buckram story and the problems which they involve. . . . No one, so far as I know, has suggested that Falstaff undertakes to deceive, and yet without intending a jest falls into the preposterous exaggerations and contradictions of a sailor or fisherman spinning a yarn. . . . He is like the Playboy of the Western World, who at first says that he riz the loy and let fall the edge on his father's skull; then that he split him to the knob

of his gullet; then that with one blow he cleft him to the breeches belt. Only, in Christy's case, the intervals between these exaggerations are so wide, the motivation provided in them by the admiration of his hearers and his own waxing enthusiasm so subtle and complete, that his reputation for intelligence hardly suffers . . . "Pray God you have not murdered some of them," the Prince cries, in mock compassion, "Nay . . . I have peppered two of them . . . two rogues in buckram suits" And though the two are there before him, endeavoring to preserve their composure, upon the infatuated old rogue the truth does not break All this, unpalatable in one so clever, is, with the repetition and accumulation in the tale, highly comical, and often in the drama comic effect is obtained at the expense of psychological verisimilitude .

(p. 440). Falstaff when he is not a wit is rather to be considered naïve In the first scene in which he appears he falters in jollity, and vows that he will give over this life "Where shall we take a purse?" asks the Prince slyly "Zounds," he shouts, "where thou wilt, lad!" . . . Those critics who to keep for Falstaff his reputation as humorist would have him here play a part, seem to do so at the expense of their own The pith of the humor lies in the huge appetite for purses, or for mirth, bursting in an instant the bonds of his penitence, just as it lies in the fact of his present thirst swallowing up the memory that his lips are not dry. "Give me a cup of sack! I am a rogue if I drunk today." He is as unconscious as inconsistency has been on the comic stage ever since

(p. 447): In what respects do Falstaff's evasions differ from those of Bessus, Bobadill, or Jodelet? In his wit and somewhat in his purpose Theirs, comical often without humour, are mere excuses and subterfuges and do not save them; Falstaff's, as unpalatable and far-fetched as theirs, are not so craven and timorous, are indeed gay, aggressive, triumphant, and as Poins presages, they "drive the Prince out of his revenge and turn all to a merriment." . . . Falstaff carries things with a high hand, and expects to bear down all before him by sheer wit and mirth alone In his evasions he does not generally expect to be believed (there the critics are right); in his bragging lies he does expect to be believed (there the critics are wrong)—though not when he must needs explain his flight and the motives which prompted it As he pitches upon the notion of having run away because he knew ye as well as He that made ye, upon the similitude of the lion gifted with instincts, and upon the proof which thereupon arises that he is a lion and Hal a true prince, he makes up for all that he has lost in reputation for valor by what he gains in reputation for ingenuity and gaiety. . . .

(p. 457): A coward, then, if ever there was one, has Falstaff a philosophy? Military freethinking has been attributed to him to lift the stigma from his name. . . . In various ways he has been thought to deny and destroy all moral values and ideals of life, not only for his own but for our behoof and comfort. So in a certain sense he is inspired by principle—of an anarchistic sort—not void of it. Only at one ideal—honour—does Falstaff seem to me to cavil, and that he is only shirking and dodging. . . . His catechism on the battlefield and his deliverances on honour are to be taken as coming not from his heart of hearts but out of his wits and to cover his shame. . . . (p. 468): One reason why we fail to penetrate the mask of unrealistic and malicious portrayal, and we take Falstaff's words to heart, is that they are in soliloquy. A man does not banter himself, does not address himself with his tongue in his

cheek, . . . but on the stage both in those times and before them a man did, and all soliloquy was phrased more as if the character were addressing the audience than as if he were thinking aloud. . . .

(p 484) And yet people like Falstaff, however they may interpret or explain him, as I hope my reader still can Men do, if not women, Englishmen do, if not foreigners It is partly, no doubt, because of the tradition that he is the supreme comic figure, and they have endeavored and labored to like him. But it is more because, however much in the centuries they have changed in morals, humor, and taste, Englishmen have not outlived their human nature—Shakespeare's art. Their pleasure in the picaresque they have not wholly lost: virtue cannot so inoculate our old stock but we shall relish of it. Moreover, there is something in Falstaff's appeal that is immediate and perpetual, it lies not so much in his conduct as in his speech He talks prose but is supremely poetic, and his is in many ways the most marvellous prose ever penned It pulses with his vast vitality and irrepressible spirit, it glows with the warmth of his friendliness and good humor, it sparkles with his fancy and wit. No prose or verse either is so heavily charged with the magnetism of a personality, or has caught so perfectly the accent and intonation of an individual human voice It is a voice,—rich, full, and various In dialogue or stage-direction there is nothing to indicate his laughter, but the words and phrases as they ripple and undulate in repetition amply suggest it or involve it. . . . But it is not merely by Falstaff's speech that we are kept under his spell; it is by Shakespeare's comic art in the play. Here is another case of *isolation*, of comic emphasis such as we have seen in Shylock, until at the end he meets with the rebuff from the King Shakespeare does not insist on Falstaff's sins and vices; he subordinates them to his comic effects,—does not let them become serious, terrible. . . . His treatment of the travellers and of Quickly and others we are not suffered to take to heart or sternly remember against him His boasting and lying is not a needless, silly affair; it is the revival of enthusiasm after ignominious lapses. And his cowardice,—Morgann is right in insisting that it is not continual and contemptible like that of Parolles and Bobadill. In short, his roguery is not professional but human and incidental. . . .

J. C. BAILEY (*A Note on Fal.*, 1916, p. 149): What delights us in Falstaff is not merely the sense of an infinite freedom that he gives us, the escape into a world where the police and the Ten Commandments are not only impotent, but ludicrous. . . . But what specially wins our love is that Falstaff, at his most triumphant times, is triumphant at his own expense. If he did not know that he was a gross tun of flesh, a drunkard, coward and liar, we should know it much more and forgive him much less Here, as in religion, the way of confession is the way of forgiveness. . . . This probably is the supreme quality that, added to all the rest, has given Falstaff the unique distinction which Shakespeare never meant him to have. . . . Shakespeare has so flooded Falstaff with the dazzling light of his own genius that some of those among his critics who are most able to bear and enjoy such light, have been blinded by it to the grosser elements in Falstaff which to duller eyes are plain. For the theory that Falstaff was not a coward is, I venture to think, a complete mistake. . . . No man ever understood the theatre better than Shakespeare. It is certain that all the large and general impressions his characters make upon

the stage can only be the impressions he intended them to make. What that impression has always been in the case of Falstaff is not doubtful . . . Shakespeare wrote for the pit, not for the critics and though the critics are always adding to our delight and wonder by discovering things which, unperceived by the pit, were consciously or unconsciously in the poet's mind, yet on these broad issues the continuous verdict of the pit is final

CUNLIFFE (*Char. of Henry V*, 1916, pp. 313, 314) Shall Falstaff be to us merely a drunken, lying, cowardly swashbuckler, with a huge paunch and a witty tongue, because this was all the Elizabethan groundlings saw in him? Nay verily, we of the twentieth century prefer the humorous philosopher Professor Bradley conjures from Shakespeare's page, and we are ready to believe that Shakespeare's genius put him there before the keen critical insight of the Oxford Professor released him from some of his earthlier trappings . . . Let us know, by all means, how Shakespeare's characters appeared to Shakespeare's age, let us try to make out as far as we can how Shakespeare himself conceived them; but, after all, the one great question for us is the impression they make on our minds

TOLMAN (*Why did Sh. create Fal.?*, 1919). Falstaff is a central element in the two parts of *Henry IV*, an organic portion of their structure. Yet he does at times seem to be mainly a fun-maker. . . . Nothing has helped more to give this impression than the fat knight's account of the double robbery at Gadshill. Critics have not faced the difficulty in interpreting Falstaff's preposterous story [II, iv, 142-261]. Bradley has shown conclusively that Sir John cannot possibly have supposed that his lies on this occasion would be believed. . . . But Bradley does not interpret the whole situation. The difficulty which he ignores is as great as that which he explains. After Jack's absurd contradictions have been duly exposed, and he has gone out to interview the old nobleman from court, we have the conversation between the prince, Bardolph, and Peto [II, iv, 276-300]. This part of the scene Bradley did not glance at. Why did Falstaff make such careful preparations to deceive the prince, and then pour out a stream of preposterous and mutually contradictory lies? Why this elaborate preparation for a deception that is not even attempted? . . . The fat knight *has* made the most careful plans to deceive the prince and Poins. When he begins to tell his story, however, the confident, satisfied manner of those whom he would dupe shows him that in some way they have got behind his guard, that his secret is known. Probably the truth about "two rogues in buckram" now flashes upon his mind, a mind of almost preternatural quickness. Instantly he begins piling one lie upon another in order to divert them from his apparent cowardice, about which he is sensitive, to his lies, in which he has the pride of an inventor.

CROCE (*Ariosto, Shakespeare, &c.*, 1920, p. 215): Falstaff is without malice, because malice is the antithesis of moral conscientiousness, and he lacks both thesis and antithesis. There is in him, on the contrary, a sort of innocence, the result of the complete liberty of his relation toward all restraint and ethical law.

SCHUCKING (*Char. Prob*, 1922, p. 33): "I am not only witty in myself, but the cause that wit is in other men" (*II Henry IV*, I, 11). These words give the briefest possible formula for the part Falstaff has to play in the drama, and clearly describe the category to which he belongs. To be witty and to stimulate wit in others is the business of the clown. Indeed Falstaff is not primarily the swaggerer and blusterer, but the prince and grand master of all dramatic clowns, and belongs to the dramatic tradition which makes the clown the center of the comic under-plot in the serious drama . . . He is a witty carouser who indulges every one of his whims, and whose humour infects the company . . . The fact that he is old and they are young makes no difference, for—here again his own remark throws light on the character—"the truth is, I am only old in judgment and understanding" (*II Henry IV*, I, 11). This hits the nail on the head. Falstaff, while possessing the soundest experience of old age, is also endowed with the mercurial versatility, the unbounded elasticity of a young man of eighteen . . . No actor would give a correct representation of Falstaff who did not use a sort of drunken good-humour as a key to his character. Moreover, the meekness and cheap compassion for his own condition is that of the old toper.

J. W. SPARGO (*Interpretation of Fal*, 1922, p. 125): My objections to regarding Falstaff as a *miles gloriosus* are (1) the *miles* is invariably and undoubtedly a coward, while Falstaff, though possessing some cowardly traits, is neither invariably nor undoubtedly so, (2) the *miles* is antipathetic to the writer depicting him, while Falstaff is sympathetically regarded by Shakespeare; (3) the *miles* is abysmally stupid, while Falstaff represents the antithesis of that quality; (4) the *miles* is tricked and frequently beaten by the woman he admires, while Falstaff is completely successful in his relations with Mrs. Quickly and Doll; (5) the *miles* brags for the purpose of enhancing his reputation, Falstaff brags for the purpose of producing merriment. . . .

I suggest that Falstaff be regarded as an emanation from the Vice of the Morality Plays. If we examine him from this point of view remarkable similarities may be observed. Considering him as the prototype [*src*] of the Vice, we have the Chief Justice figuring as the Virtue, with Hal functioning as Man-kind, Humanum Genus, or Everyman. . . . It is not generally remembered that Moralities continued to be performed and published until the end of Elizabeth's reign. The new Chronicle play, which reached its culmination in the 1590's, is often stressed at the expense of the Morality. That the Chronicle play should be considered as stamping out the Morality is an example of the dangerous tendency to disregard the fact that no literary period or tendency can be bounded by dates. . . . In the purely allegorical Morality the general plan is briefly this: Humanity is subject to two sets of influences, Virtue and Vice. At first, Vice's witty remarks generally get the upper hand and Virtue retires discomfited—Humanity going off the stage with Vice. Later, Humanity returns, ready to accept the advice of Virtue. In this second argument Vice is brought to submission. [Spargo then illustrates these points from seventeen Moralities published after 1560.] That these plays were popular there can be no doubt, else they would not have been published so persistently. . . . If we examine the speeches of the Chief Justice in *Part II*, we find them all characterized by the same stilted tone of conscious

virtue as that used by Virtue in the Moralities, Falstaff's replies are of the disrespectful, profane variety usually indulged in by the Vice. . . .

How does all this affect the interpretation of the play? Imagine the effect of the opening speeches of I, ii, upon an audience steeped in the tradition of the Morality. Consider the words "fat-witted . . . sleeping . . . drinking," whom would this call to mind but Vice's companion, Gluttony? Similarly references to "leaping-houses" and a "fair hot wench" would cause the audience to think of Lechery. . . .

There are further instances in the play which may be considered as more conclusive evidence. "Vice . . . Iniquity" (II, iv, 425) and "Satan" (II, iv, 434)—these words would call to mind what I believe Falstaff was intended to be.

JULIA G. WALES (*Char. and Action in Sh*, 1923, p. 122): Because of his emphasis on literary origins, Professor Stoll seems singularly to underestimate the individual quality of Falstaff. In trying to decide whether a rôle can be that of wit, butt, and object of pity, all in one, he too much confines himself to theatrical aspects. What can happen in real life? Can a man be largely bad, partly good, butt, wit, pathetic, recklessly young, weakly senile, heartless in the main, affectionate in spite of himself, a man of the world, a dupe of his own simplicity, a "fooler fooled" in the end? . . . Falstaff is only an old man who never grew up. His physical courage is gone, and he has developed no moral courage to take its place. "Looser unity" is invoked by Professor Stoll to account for the fact that Falstaff is sometimes not a coward. This is needless: sack will do. . . . No doubt his incomprehensible lies are begun with the intent to deceive, but with little worry about failure. He is reckless, trusting in his wits to see him through, and enjoying the big story for its own sake as he goes along.—KNOWLTON (*Falstaff Redux*, 1926): It has seemed to me that Professor Stoll has belittled Falstaff's truth to life, and has thereby erred in calling him a coward. The source of the difficulty appears to lie in the excessive emphasis which Stoll bestowed on the tradition of the literary *miles gloriosus*. In part, Falstaff may belong to that literary type, but he impresses soldiers as behaving like one of them. . . . In explaining what kind of military figure our "bombard of sack" represents, I wish not to offend people unfamiliar with the army in active service or those who retain romantic notions of military personnel. . . . The type of soldier to compare with Falstaff is distinctly interested in the physical aspects of his universe. . . . He has a keen appetite for the comforts of the body. . . . Though he may rejoice in word-battles and practical jokes, he has a theory that "ideas" may easily hinder a man from content of body, bring him more work and troublesome responsibilities. . . . He is sceptical of many ideals, . . . callous as to any necessity for him deliberately to seek death. He may be afraid of it, but if necessary he will face it; he may be fearless, and yet act prudently for himself and for others.—STOLL (*Sh. Studies*, 1927, p. 490): Both critics, but particularly Knowlton, seem to me concerned to *sentir le rôle plutôt que le comprendre*; and Mr. Knowlton only brings Morgann up to date. Shakespeare's intention and the various language of the Renaissance stage which he faithfully employs to convey it, as well as the chivalric spirit of Shakespeare and his time, are ignored; and the reader is invited to consider Falstaff as the cynical, disillusioned soldier of today.

Does such a one brag and bluster, I wonder "Discretion" is treated by Shakespeare comically, satirically, by Mr Knowlton sympathetically and with respect. Nowadays, apparently, it is the better part. And Falstaff is still called a veteran—by mere repetition of Morgann's word Mr Knowlton would carry his point—and the fat knight is granted a veteran's license

A. B. WALKLEY (*More Prejudice*, 1923, p. 25): Heretical though it may be, I will venture the opinion that there is apt to be boredom in the *acted* Falstaff. But Falstaff is one of our greatest masterpieces of wit and humour and human character? Yes, to read, to imagine in one's mind's eye, to turn over on one's tongue; but on the stage his eternal paunch gets in the way. His wheezings and puffings, his gurgling potations, and all the "business" that actors think indispensable to a grossly fat man are to me mere ugliness and the occasion of *ennui*.—JOHN B. PRIESLEY (*Eng Comic Char.*, 1925, p. 93) This confession by a dramatic critic is valuable because it proves that once we have passed the stage at which Falstaff is a mere butt and have recognized that he is a great humorist, then a naïve presentation of the character is not only unacceptable, but definitely irritating

J. M. MURRY (*Discoveries*, 1924, p. 235): Falstaff is the greatest creation of the yet undivided being of Shakespeare. He is the creature of Shakespeare's golden prime, of his first maturity; he is, in a sense the symbol of Shakespeare's natural attitude, the spontaneous fruit of his uninterrupted growth. . . . Falstaff is completely alive in *I Henry IV*. But more than that, he is *primus inter pares*. Hotspur, being a character of history, with fate appointed, has to die: if he could have been spared, he might have become another Falstaff for posterity,—i.e., a character animated by a like fundamental irresponsibility; the antithesis of Falstaff, but his complement, too; as careless in his pursuit of honour as Falstaff in his pursuit of sack. . . . Hotspur, like Falstaff, is a character of the very first order, in sheer imaginative reality he runs the fat knight very close.

E. K. CHAMBERS (*Sh., a Survey*, 1925, p. 119): Sir John Falstaff represents the top of Shakespeare's achievement in the creation of an immortal comic type. Individual in the fullest sense, since general characteristics meet and mingle in him as in a veritable creature of flesh and blood, he is none the less typical and symbolical in that these general characteristics reach in him their most complete and monumental expression . . . His sole rival is a contemporary, the ingenious gentleman whose lineaments it is to be hoped we all of us also find among our acquaintances, Don Quixote de la Mancha . . . To tickle the gross ears and shake the lusty sides of Queen Bess and the groundlings is [Falstaff's] primary function; and to this end he resumes in himself all the familiar qualities of which, since before the dawn of recorded things, farce has made its inexhaustible and unvarying sport. He is a sot, a lecher, a coward, a cheat, a braggart, a hypocrite. And since it is by means of the visible and physical infirmities of frail humanity that farce most easily calls up the unquenchable guffaw, Falstaff is not only eternally thirsty, but incredibly and ridiculously fat. . . . It is eminently characteristic of the direct and un-

sophisticated methods of farce that allusions to Falstaff's fatness largely take the place of repartee at the Boar's Head Tavern. . . . It need not be said that the taste for sack, hardly less than corpulence, lends itself admirably to the purposes of farce. It is understood of the people, and one may be sure that the actor who played Falstaff got his laugh every time he drained his cup. . . . But after all you have not exhausted Falstaff when you have called attention to those broad and obvious features of his composition which fit him to walk the easy stage of farce. Comedy is differentiated from farce, not merely by the more temperate gusts of laughter which it awakes, but also by the fact that it calls the brain to its assistance, and finds material for its diversion, less in the visible infirmities of body and soul than in the underlying inadequacies and inconsistencies of ideal and motive which a subtle psychological analysis lays bare. In the portrayal of Falstaff the moods of comedy and farce are curiously interwoven. The comic spirit is busiest with him when he is aroused to an uneasy consciousness that his earthy mode of life requires some justification. This justification generally takes the form of depreciation of other persons on whom he chooses to lay the responsibility for his degradation. . . . There is stuff for comedy, again, in the fact that Falstaff's intellectual faculties have survived the shipwreck in which morality and decent living have come to ruin. His quick wits are always ready to save him from some dire humiliation, to the brink of which he has been led by his cowardice or his greed. . . . Let us put it to the credit of Falstaff that he had a genuine affection for the wayward young prince.

JOHN B. PRIESTLEY (*Eng. Comic Char.*, 1925, p. 92). Like most really great figures and great works of art, Falstaff has an equally successful appeal on many different levels. That is why there are so many Falstoffs, all heartily praised as great comic characters. As our sense of humour and character mellows and grows more subtle, so too the Falstaff to whom we inevitably return changes with us, we begin with a bloated old buffoon, whose gluttony, cowardice, lying are on such a colossal scale that we cannot help being amused by them; we end with the comic genius, busy dramatizing himself, as it were, that may be discovered in the pages of Morgann and Bradley. . . . That is why discussions of such things as Falstaff's apparent cowardice, though interesting and amusing, are not really important. If we think real cowardice and boasting funnier than pretended cowardice and boasting . . . then we shall continue to say that Falstaff is simply a coward and boaster. His character is, as it were, a test of our sense of humour. . . . Falstaff owes his predominant position among comic figures to the fact that in him there meet the clown that delights the crowd and the subtle character that engages the philosopher. The first is a tribute to Shakespeare as a writer for his own theatre, the second a tribute to his power of subtle characterization. . . . It is often forgotten that Falstaff stands for something that is good in itself. He is the embodiment of masculine comradeship, ease, and merriment. He turns the whole world into the smoking-room of a club. He is the supreme example of the clubbable man. That word brings Dr. Johnson to our minds, and Dr. Johnson was a moralist by nature, but he loved company and ease and mirth. . . . He does not understand Falstaff, but how he enjoys him in spite of himself!

LEGOUIS (*Bacchic Element in Sh*, 1926, p. 11): Shakespeare's genius was far more deeply rooted in the English soil than that of either Milton or Spenser. He was not only the interpreter of the Bacchic or anacreontic traditions. He also voiced the instincts and beliefs of the common people of his London surroundings and of the countryside. The two streams flow together, mixed or separate, through his plays. At times the convention, literary or theatrical, is more apparent; at other times realism is uppermost. Perhaps least realistic of all is his most famous creation, the character whose name comes first to everyone's mind in connection with drink. Falstaff is bigger than nature, and to a certain extent out of it. Though in a way more substantial than ordinary man, he is fantastical, he is a symbol. In this one character Shakespeare has summed up the spirit of the Rabelaisian epic. Both Panurge and Frère Jean revive in him. He personifies the Bacchanalian creed of the Renaissance, its belief in the genial virtues of wine. . . . It is true that with eloquence Falstaff will demonstrate that sherris is the source of all valiance, while he is a living proof that infinite drinking may result in infinite cowardice . . . His genius springs fresher and livelier from every new draught of sack. This shows that after all he is no real drunkard. His sack is a stage-property, fictitious and harmless. We never see him the worse for it . . . Shakespeare has spared him the realistic probing he has applied to his other toppers. For all that Falstaff is coward, liar, and buffoon, there is an aureole round his grey-haired pate

J. DOVER WILSON (*Essential Sh.*, 1932, p. 87): A long-faced fellow once taxed me with my reverence for Sir John's memory, and asked me whether I realized that the man was a filthy old ruffian, physically repulsive, disorderly in garb, in habits, in morals; in fact, not to put too fine a point upon it, a liar, a sot, a coward, and a whoremonger. I could not deny the accusations; there was too much support in the text for every one of them. How then do we come to be bewitched with the rogue's company? What medicines have we drunk to make us love him? The magic Shakespeare employs here as elsewhere is his poetic imagination; Falstaff is his greatest comic poem. There is a passage in Rupert Brooke's *Memoir* which helps us to understand how the fat knight came into being. Brooke is explaining to Keeling what it feels like to be a poet:

It consists in just looking at people and things as themselves—neither as useful nor moral nor ugly nor anything else; but just as being. At least that's a philosophical description of it. What happens is that I suddenly feel the extraordinary value and importance of everything I meet. . . . I can watch a dirty middle-aged tradesman in a railway carriage for hours, and love every dirty greasy sulky wrinkle in his weak chin and every button on his spotted unclean waistcoat. I know their states of mind are bad. But I'm so much occupied with their being there at all, that I don't have time to think of that. . . .

This is exactly the mood in which Shakespeare created Falstaff, only he not only saw that this filthy old ruffian was splendid and immortal and desirable,

he made the world see it for all time by enduing him with such gaiety of spirit, such nimbleness of wit, such a varied flow of imagery, such perfect poise and self-assurance, and above all such magnificent vitality, that he has become a kind of god in the mythology of modern man . . . Falstaff is, I say, essentially a poetic creation; he is a thing of beauty, even if "he hath a monstrous beauty like the hindquarters of an elephant" The perpetual reflections on his bulk keep it ever before our minds, until it becomes a symbol of the enlargement and enfranchisement which he bestows upon us . . . We know that that fat belly, so far from dragging him earthwards, bears him hither and thither like a balloon, at the slightest whim or desire He is an emancipated spirit, free of all the conventions, codes, and moral ties that enwrap us . What we chiefly admire him for is his abounding vitality Falstaff is more than man, he is, like all great mythological figures, the incarnation of a principle of the universe He is the Joy of Life, exuberant, intoxicating, irrepressible, the joy which in its particular form of Desire Shakespeare had already hymned in *Venus and Adonis* Falstaff, to use the words of a contemporary . . . , was "born in the sea that brought forth Venus." The name of the sea is Poetry

CHARLTON (*Falstaff*, in *Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, Jan., 1935) (p. 50). With hardly a dissentient voice, the later world has scorned Hal for his offence against humanity [in his rejection of Falstaff, at the end of *II Henry IV*]. Mr. Masfield lets it colour all Henry V's subsequent deeds, and writes him down for a heartless schemer. . . . There is scarcely a reader who will not sympathize with Mr. Masfield's attitude, though perhaps few would press the case so far. It is indeed hardly thinkable that Shakespeare expected us to feel so bitterly against Prince Hal. Yet it is equally unthinkable that our feelings toward him can remain sympathetically genial. Doubtless, Shakespeare's problem is inherent in his story. Legend and history affirm that after a riotous youth, Prince Hal reformed himself into the noble Henry V. The old play of *The Famous Victories* chooses that as its main theme. . . . But it will be seen that its anonymous author has not caught himself in Shakespeare's difficulties. He has simply taken successive episodes from the familiar tale and staged them. At its face value, the story was sufficiently amusing; he saw no need, and perhaps had no art, really to dramatise it. Hal's sudden and complete change of character would be accepted as a sort of Pauline conversion attested by history . . . But that was not Shakespeare's way. With him, the deed was always a trial of the man. . . . Shakespeare's characters are incessantly striving to break into life. Dramatically this lends a larger dare to his great enterprise. But it has its greater hazards. Hal's conversion must be grounded in character. To make it credible and consonant with Henry V, it must follow a deliberate motive or an unconscious but convincing prompting from the stuff of his nature. Hence the cumulative priggishness of the young roysterer.

. . . (p. 56): There appears to be no escape from the fact. This huge hill of flesh, this Sir John, has distorted the drift of the historic story and of the deliberate plan of Shakespeare's play. He has converted an intended hero into a heartless politician, and a happy ending into a revolting conclusion. How is such a critical predicament to be avoided?

The most specious way is Stoll's [*v. supra*] He denies that there is a real predicament. We only think there is because we are merely amateur, not "professional," critics. We are ignorant of technique and of historical development. Falstaff is a comic character, and nothing more: as good play-goers, we should imitate the Elizabethans and ask no more. Everything that Falstaff says and does is part of the type which Shakespeare is undertaking to exhibit (and presumably has so informed Mr. Stoll directly). It is all so simple, got with much ease. And Mr. Stoll seems impregnable in his panoply of illustrative foot-notes from plays of every age and every nation.

But one feels prompted to ask, did Shakespeare only write for professional critics? And for those of his day, or those of ours? Is Falstaff a figure for the Elizabethans only, and for those rare people of our own day who have persuaded themselves that they are seeing him historically? And though admittedly the play's the thing, is it a critical sin, when one has seen it and been moved by it, to let the mind dwell on what has been seen? Moreover, even if one can be so certain of what the limits of a dramatic type are, are they so sacrosanct that the characterization of one of them is merely the adoption of a tradition? Is a dramatist only a stage-carpenter, knocking a play together according to a convention, or is he a creative artist with his own apprehensions of life, and, so far as his material permits, with his own distinctive technique? And why indeed does Falstaff still abide with us of these later times? . . . Even to say that Falstaff is a comic character is to state a problem, not to give an answer. Wherein comic, and why one of the greatest comic characters?

. . . (p. 59): To talk of an idea of comedy, and to talk of it as one must for such exposition as is now being attempted, may seem to imply a clear consciousness of such things in the mind of the dramatist. But that, it must be insisted, is very wide of the mark. A dramatist's creative power is essentially different from, and largely independent of, his pure reason. The life he imaginatively apprehends may remain, and indeed most frequently does remain, entirely unanalysed and unsystematised by his reason. But when the life he creates by his art displays the completeness of an organic unity, the principles implied in it or presupposed by it may be enquired into, and formulated, though but imperfectly. . . . Shakespeare, it is certain, had no theory of comedy. But his genius created a "comic" world. . . .

. . . (p. 60): For tragedy, time is the eternal now; for comedy it is the condition of present existence. Comedy is immersed in time, in the here and now. Its heroes, to overcome, to end happily and to go on ending happily without end, must be endowed with the temperament and the arts to triumph over the stresses of circumstance. They are not concerned with what man and life might have been. They take it as it is, and seek a way to turn it to their purpose. For them, the world is an oyster. Their primary object is to attain a mastery of circumstance. Endowed with a genius for that, they will go on ending happily as far as this world is concerned, whatever hap they may have in Arthur's bosom.

In our survey of Shakespeare's earlier comedies [in the preceding Rylands lectures by Charlton], we have watched his widening grasp of this situation, followed the stages by which he sought intuitively to embody in his comic heroes more and more of this capacity for conquering the world. In *The Merchant of Venice* there was little progress to report. His natural development

as a comic dramatist was interrupted by the strength of his unartistic passion to express his racial prejudices. . . It is to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* that a return must be made for gauging the progress which Shakespeare's comic genius had attained in the creation of Falstaff.

It was there, and in particular in the speech of Theseus about lunatics, lovers, and poets, towards the end of the play, that an expression of the prevailing idea of comedy was to be found. It was, in effect, an explicit recognition that man depends, not merely for his success in life, but for survival through life, on his possession of so much "cool reason" that he may secure for himself immunity from the mortal diseases which, arising from his emotional and imaginative faculties, may render him unable to distinguish between bushes and bears.

This is the "comic," the worldly wisdom, of Theseus. But it was the conscious and deliberate conclusion of Theseus, and of Shakespeare. It was a comment on the action of the play. It was not an inevitable conviction coming out of the issues presented by the play. . . . Theseus merely watches over the plot of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. He is not caught up into it. Right or wrong as his doctrine may be, it stands or falls in his case without such relevant evidence as might have come from the imaginative experience of seeing it tried out in the image of life which the play presents.

One waits therefore, for a play in which the Theseus-attitude is a prime actor in the situations which make the dramatic plot. That, it would seem, is what Falstaff provides. This joining of Theseus and Falstaff may seem forced. But Falstaff is indeed a fuller embodiment of the mentality of Theseus' in mind Theseus, and in spirit Faulconbridge, are Falstaff's forbears. As with Theseus, his life is governed by the faculty of "cool reason," in the sense that his valuation of all experience is a wider application of the findings of Theseus's "cool reason." . . . Probably the common sense, which virtually is Theseus's "cool reason," will veer markedly towards a harder material rationalism, the materialism of Faulconbridge. . . .

What then is the "humour," the ruling passion, the distinctive quiddity of Sir John Falstaff? Fundamentally, it is his infinite capacity for extricating himself from predicaments. Circumstances hem him in at the corner of a room, and, as his opponents stretch out their hands to lay hold of him, this huge mountain of flesh slips through the keyhole. So adept is he in this art of extrication that he revels in creating dilemmas for himself to enjoy the zest of coming triumphantly out of them. He is insatiably curious to provide situations which test or even strain his genius for overcoming them. Mastery of circumstance is his pride: it is also his supreme qualification to be a hero of comedy.

These are the traits which supply the mainspring of the plot. Falstaff has an unslakeable thirst for life. . . . Life is his *summum bonum*. . . . Life is most intoxicating when a jest is forward and spirits are high. . . .

(p. 64): Life's sternest and its ultimate enemy is death; and, as is inevitable for a hero of comedy whose primary and distinctive duty is to be alive at the end of the play, Falstaff has no truck with death. . . . Even jesting references to it are in bad taste, most unsavoury even in simile. . . . Your Hotspurs may freely make a hazard of their heads for the mere gratification of easing their hearts. But not Falstaff, whose first duty is to ensure survival. Wherefore

food and safety are his main requisites. If fighting there must be, well; but he will fight no longer than he sees reason. If danger comes his way, so. but if he do not, then "if I come in *his* willingly, let him make a carbonado of me." The better part of valour is discretion, and discretion compels one to seek safeguards . . .

Such is Falstaff's sense of the major obligations of life, the groundwork of his philosophy; and he has qualities of mind, of temperament, and of body exquisitely adapted to enable him to make the most of life within his own scheme of it. He has the instinct of self-preservation and for mastery of events. He is a complete pragmatist, weighing everything by its contribution to the one object of his life, which is to go on boisterously living. Outside this, there are no sanctions. The difference between truth and falsehood is in an irrelevant order of reckonings. Accepted notions of justice, of duty, of honour, and of valour are built on assumptions which do not apply to his purpose. Nothing is good except in so far as it may be turned to immediate and direct commodity. . . . All the contortions and the seeming discomfitures in his attempt to make the robbery on Gadshill a tale of his valour are thrown aside as mere retrospect in view of the immediate expectation of further jollity . . .

The virtue of Falstaff's wit is its alacrity. His mind is complete master of his body. This sheer mass of gorbellied fat-guts is as a feather when his wit is the lever. . . . Intolerable as his deal of sack may be, the man is always above his liquor. Sodden as he must always have been, Falstaff is never fuzzy in mind. In the most unexpected situations, however the old Adam may rebel, the flesh, the nerves, the blood, and the sinews are always entirely at the command of his mind.

There is the famous occasion of his seeming cowardice at Shrewsbury. He has openly vowed that he does not deliberately seek encounters with fire-eating enemies. But if the encounter came, he will meet it as he may. "Re-enter Douglas, he fights with Falstaff, who falls down as if he were dead, and exit Douglas." It looks, and indeed is, a travesty of all received notions of heroism. But is it cowardice? When in your nursery stories, the big-game hunter, his last shot fired, feigned death to escape the oncoming lion, you admired his perfect control of nerves, his amazing heroism. Why not Falstaff's? A heroic Hotspur has no such superb self-command. His nerves get the better of him. . . . The sheriff and officers are at the tavern-door to arrest Falstaff on a capital charge. There is no quaking, no strange motions in his face. On the contrary a superb nonchalance, a magnificent indifference to such stupid interruptions of gaiety. . . .

(p. 67): One need not, of course, claim "courage" for Falstaff. But one cannot indict him of cowardice. Neither is a relevant term. What he has is absolute self-possession and an aptitude to employ all the elements of his being for the furtherance of his own welfare. His counterfeiting death was policy, just as was the king's scheme for having many others disguised in his clothes. . . .

(p. 69): Prince Hal, of course, has a hereditary prerogative to deal some smart blows in his bouts with Falstaff. But even in these Falstaff always wins on points, though the round after Gadshill may seem at first view to have gone against him. . . . The Gadshill episode itself will bear closer scrutiny. To think for a moment that the string of lies about the men in buckram was put out as even nominally credible is to set down Falstaff as a half-wit. They are,

and were meant to be, gross, open, palpable lies. But they are finely hit on to serve an unexpected purpose. As soon as the robbers have been robbed, a makeshift excuse has to be concocted: there being no suspicion in their minds that a trick has been played on them, an obvious and, so they believe, an uncontestable tale can easily be rigged up—they were overwhelmed by numbers. . . . So Falstaff begins the story in the proper key—"a hundred upon poor four of us" . . . But immediately he discovers that his confederates are not skilful players at this game of bluff, hard as they may try. . . . He discovers that the original scheme is a failure. . . . He must improvise on it. He has prepared the way for open lying. Abandoning all thought of plausibility, he can restore his own confidence by running into a riot of lies. But the lie to serve his turn must be one capable of limitless progression: one, four, nine, eleven, and so forth. The infinity of such a mathematical series is its real worth. It assures him of a stretch of time long enough to make him confident that within it some other shift will suggest itself. As indeed it does—"upon compulsion?" When the argument has turned from facts to reasons, reasons for Falstaff will be plentiful as blackberries. The opponents know it, and realizing that defeat is imminent on the main issue, they fall back on vituperation: but that is another game at which Falstaff has the odds. There is nothing now for them to do but to return to a recital of the plain facts. It looks like a trump suit: "We two saw you four, &c." But they have now for the first time disclosed all their cards: and Falstaff can easily outbid them by an unexpected lead. "By the Lord, I knew ye as well as he that made ye!" Hence the winning trick—"Instinct." He can almost make a grand slam of it, turning it to prove that he himself is a valiant lion, and Hal a true prince—no inconsiderable escape from a predicament in which Hal seemed to have overwhelming odds to prove Falstaff an arrant coward.

That is the way with Falstaff. He can wrest every circumstance to his own advantage. . . .

(p. 72): Yet in the end, Falstaff is rejected. Moreover, as Mr. Bradley has pointed out, though the rejection is devastatingly abrupt, yet, in retrospect, the Falstaff of *II Henry IV* is somehow not the complete victor of *I Henry IV*. His early frolics are the spontaneous and irrepressible exercise of his nature, scrapes and difficulties often sought for the zest of practising his genius for turning them to advantage. But the later escapades are schemes, deliberate plans forced on him by necessities as mean as any which drive a "sharper," living on his wits. Robbing the king's exchequer in Falstaff's early way is plainly his vocation, his thefts of later days are petty filchings. The Gadshill robbery is "for sport's sake, to do the profession some grace." This is recreation. But practising upon the spineless spirit of Mrs. Quickly to make her purse serve his turn is in another order of exploits. Indeed, after Shrewsbury, Falstaff is perpetually on the watch for gulls whom he can temper between his finger and his thumb and soften into disbursing. . . .

The wit may be the same, and its agility. But the setting is different. . . .

(p. 79). It might be, and has been, claimed that the original Falstaff overgrew his part, and had to be turned out of the cycle at the point when Hal became king. There is matter in *II Henry IV* to suggest that Shakespeare was leading Falstaff to his dismissal. But if Sir John had necessarily to go, could he not have been allowed a death-bed before Hal's coronation? . . . His re-

removal by mere royal edict brought technical troubles with it, the dubieties surrounding the character of Hal. . . Is it indeed Henry, or is it Shakespeare, who rejects Falstaff? Throughout *II Henry IV* Falstaff is falling from Shakespeare's grace; by the end of the play, he has almost forced his author, though reluctantly, to face up to the situation. Falstaff has in fact displayed his inability to be what he had seemed to be. He has disqualified himself as a comic hero. He has let Shakespeare down.

The figure which the dramatist's imagination had intuitively compounded had seemed infinitely better provided than any of his predecessors with the gifts of the comic hero. With such a spirit, such a mind, such intuitions, and such an outlook on life, he appeared to bear within his own nature a complete guarantee of survival and of mastery of circumstance, the pledge of the perfect comic hero. But somehow or other, when the intoxication of creating him is momentarily quieter, hesitations begin to obtrude and the processes of creation are different. The clogging becomes stronger. Falstaff must be cast off, as he is cast off at the end of *II Henry IV*. But a pathetic hope persists, and is spoken in the Epilogue "our humble author will continue the story with Sir John in it, and make you merry with fair Katherine of France . . ." But before the play with Katherine in it is written, the issue is settled. Falstaff is irrevocably discredited, fit for nothing more but Windsor forest.

(p. 81) A comic dramatist shapes a world semblably like our own, and releases into it from his intuitions a figure equipped to be comfortably at home in it and skilled to adapt himself to its material and human conditions, a figure possessing as by instinct the secret of worldly wisdom and thereby gifted to turn existence to his own security and happiness. No earlier creation of Shakespeare's was so eminently endowed as was Falstaff with these attributes. He appeared to solve the problem of the comic dramatist: one could pledge one's faith to him entirely. From such an artistic faith, it is an easy step to an unquestioning belief that Falstaff has achieved a mastery of life itself, of life, that is, as a thing to be lived, and, within its own conditions, as a thing to be prized above all else.

Conviction in such ranges of value comes to the artist, and to the watcher of the plays, not by argument, but by imaginative demonstration. And it is abundantly clear that the Falstaff of *I Henry IV* shows himself in every act to be worthier in this respect than the other many sorts of men who confront such problems as he does in the world of which they are all inhabitants.

The situations of *I Henry IV* continually bring the immediate and pertinent worth of Falstaff into comparison with that of Hal, of Hotspur, and of Henry IV. The comparison is usually enriched by dramatic contrasts, and to secure these contrasts it is generally Falstaff's rôle to be placed at first at a signal disadvantage. But he invariably comes out best. Of his relations with Hal little more need be said. . . .

In contrast with Falstaff, Hotspur has all the gifts which count in the world's admiration. His beliefs, no less than his temperament, appear to secure him in our affections. He dedicates his vigour and his life to the service of humanity's most inspiring ideal—honour—the very ideal which for Falstaff is a mere scutcheon. . . .

Yet Hotspur's honour would be scanned. Not only because, pursued as a stimulant to life, it nevertheless leads directly to death. Not even because, lead-

ing him winking to leap into destruction, it carries his troops with him to their death. But, appearing as a shining example of pure chivalric honour, it yet shows itself contaminated with inglorious elements of sheer selfishness. He will pluck drowned honour from the deep.

"So he that doth redeem her thence might wear
Without corrival all her dignities."

Such honour rests largely on a personal pride which measures itself by the prestige gained in the world . . .

Whatever be the ultimate moral basis of Hotspur's honour, the immediate conviction brought by the action of the play is that honour renders Hotspur a menace to himself, to his friends, and to the world of his time . . . Falstaff fights when he cannot help it, and then no longer than he need. Hotspur rushes into a fight before he is ready for it, on the specious plea that unpreparedness, shortage of numbers, and so forth, are in themselves an advantage in the assessment of honour. But the end tries all. Falstaff comes with "honours" from Shrewsbury, Hotspur is left there a corpse. And with Hotspur lie his cause, and the bodies of his adherents. He is indeed utterly unable to adapt himself to circumstances. . .

In efficiency, indeed, efficiency to live the life to which one is called, there is only one person in the play to set beside Falstaff, namely the king himself . . . The king's immediate task is to maintain the welfare of the state of England, Falstaff's is to preserve the well-being of the corporation of Sir John. . . . The wit of Falstaff and the policy of the king are the instruments which rest on similar assumptions. Morality enters into the scheme of neither. Each in his own sphere is the perfect exponent of expediency. . . . The political necessities which are the king's sphere require him to purchase success by the complete subjugation of personal affection, human sentiment, and natural instinct . . . But Falstaff can employ his wit without renouncing the instinctive promptings of his humanity. At the end, he emerges no less successful than the king, and insuperably superior to this cold-blooded politician in his claims on our regard. Falstaff without doubt has demonstrated his right to be considered a matchless victor in the world which is the world of affairs and of comedy. But, no less certainly, he has been cast out of it.

Why then did Shakespeare reject him? Remembering that doubts as to Falstaff's validity began to be an undercurrent in *II Henry IV*, it may be well to seek a clue at the latter end of *I Henry IV*. In that place, Falstaff's great display is on the battlefield of Shrewsbury, and it reaches its comic climax in his catechism concerning honour. Formulating his objections to Hal's assertion that he should regard death as a due, he remarks that the only motive to urge him to pay the debt before it is due is honour. And . . . what is honour? A word! . . . It is all as pertinent as could be, and Hotspur's conventionally heroic greeting to death which follows almost at once—"if we die, brave death, when princes die with us"—comes as a patent irrelevance. "I like not such grinning honour as Sir Walter" and other corpses have. Honour is palpably not an objective but an accident of life. "Give me life: which if I can save, so; if not, honour comes unlooked for." And there, inevitably, appears to be an end.

But is it an end? The question persists: "wherein is Falstaff good, but to

taste sack and drink it? . . . Wherein worthy, but in nothing?" Even in Falstaff's own world, are there no things not to be assessed by the yardstick with which he measures everything? His own instinct, for instance? Or the rationally unaccountable impulse which makes him go counter to his purpose and stick to Poms: "I have foresworn his company hourly any time this two and twenty years, and yet I am bewitched with the rogue's company." . . . These are forces which Falstaff's yardstick cannot measure. Yet he is dependent on their reality. "Instinct" saves him from one mischance, "love" is, in the last resort, his plea to Hal to avoid another . . . If these elements of life be admitted to such power, then not only is *homo* no longer the common name of all men, it is indeed inadequate to any one sort of man. The meanest band of ragamuffins is something more than food for powder, and that something is infinitely more valuable, humanly, than the monies Falstaff got by working on his own premises about them, something which is altogether outside the compass of Falstaff's scales . . . Honour, faith, love, truth, self-sacrifice—these are things in the light of which men have lived joyously,—the matter for comedy, and at the bidding of which they have happily died,—the matter for tragedy, or, may be, for a divine comedy. But for Falstaff they have no existence. "Surrah, there's no room for faith, truth, nor honesty in this bosom of thine; it is all filled up with guts and midriff."

That is Falstaff's failure. It was in this realization of Falstaff's incompleteness on the eve before Shrewsbury that Shakespeare felt the wine of life begin to taste like gall and wormwood on his tongue . . . But, though for a moment the memory of Falstaff as he had seemed to be excited a sense of disillusionment, yet with wider imaginative experience something of Falstaff was finally saved—his common sense, his intuitive apprehension of the facts of existence within the limits which life itself imposes, and his insatiable thirst for such a life amongst the rest of mortals. . . .

FALSTAFF ALLUSIONS

Almost one hundred allusions to Falstaff between the years 1599 and 1700 are listed in *The Shakespeare Allusion-Book*. The following are representative:

BEN JONSON (*Every Man Out*, acted 1599, pub. 1600, sig. Q₄, verso). I will not do as Plautus, . . . begge a Plaudite for Gods sake; but if you will bestow it, why, you may (in time) make leane Macilente as fat as Sir John Fall-staffe.

COUNTESS OF SOUTHAMPTON (?1599, *Appendix to 3rd Report of Historical MSS. Commission*, p. 148): I reade in a letter from London that Sir John Falstaff is by his Mrs. Dame Pintpot made father to a godly milers thum, a boy that is all heade and veri litel body; but this is a secret.

ANTHONY MUNDAY, & AL. (*Sir J. Oldcastle*, 1600, sig. F₂): Falstaffe that villaine is so fat, hee cannot get on's horse. . . . when that foule villanous guts, that led him [Prince Hal] to all that Roguery, was in's company, here, that Falstaffe.

W I 1601, *The Whipping of the Satyre*, sig. D3): I dare here speake it, and my speech mayntayne, That Sir Iohn Falstaffe was not any way More grosse in body, then you are in brayne But whether should I (helpe me nowe, I pray) For your grosse brayne, you like I[ohn] Falstaffe graunt, Or for small wit, suppose you Iohn of Gaunt?

ANON (1604; *Meeting of Gallants*, sig. B4). Did I not tell you he was a madde round knave, and a merrie one too' and if you chauce to talke of fatte Sir John Old-castle, he wil tell you, he was his great Grandfather, and not much unlike him in Paunch

OVERBURY (*Characters*, 1615, sig. M₈): Sir John Falstaffe robb'd with a bottle of Sacke

SHIRLEY (*The Example*, 1637, sig. C4 verso). Falstaffe, I will beleeeve thee, There is noe faith in vilanous man.

CLEVELAND (*Rupethsmus*, c. 1644, p. 53) The terror of whose Name can out of seven, Like Falstaf's Buckram-men, make fly eleven.

DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE (*Letters*, 1664, cxxiii): So well hath [Shakespeare] expressed all sorts of persons as one would think he had been transformed into every one of those he hath described. . . . Who would not think he had been such a man as Sir John Falstaff? And who would not think he had been Harry the Fifth?

WYCHERLEY (*Country Wife*, 1675, *Epilogue*): Next you Fallstaffs of fifty, who beset Your Buckram Maidenheads, which your friends get; And whilst to them, you of Atchievements boast, They share the booty, and laugh at your cost.

OTWAY (*Soldier's Fortune*, 1681, *Dedication*): They know true Bawdy, let it be never so much conceal'd, as perfectly as Falstaff did the true Prince by instinct.

MRS. BEHN (2nd *Prolog. to Rochester's Valentinian*, 1685): Like Falstaffe let 'em conquer Heroes dead, And praise Greek Poets they cou'd never read.

FALSTAFF—OLDCASTLE—FASTOLF

ROWE (ed. 1709, p. ix). The part of Falstaff is said to have been written under the name of Oldcastle, some of that family being then remaining, the Queen was pleased to command him to alter it; upon which he made use of Falstaff. The present offence was indeed avoided, but I don't know whether the author may not have been somewhat to blame in his second choice, since it is certain that Sir John Falstaff [Fastolfe], who was a Knight of the Garter and a Lieutenant-General, was a name of distinguished merit in the wars in France in Henry the Fifth's and Henry the Sixth's times.—GILDON (*Remarks*,

1710; vol. vii of Rowe's edition of Shakespeare): Though History makes Sir John Falstaff [Fastolfe] a man of figure in the army; yet . . . his cowardice lost the battle and betrayed the brave Talbot, as Shakespeare himself gives account in *I Henry VI* [I, 1, 131] And such a cowardice ought to stigmatize any character to all posterity.

THEOBALD (ed 1733): "Old lad of the castle" [I, 11, 40] seems to have a reference to Oldcastle. Besides if this had not been the Fact (before the change was made to Falstaff) why, in the Epilogue to *II Henry IV*, where our Author promises to continue his Story with Sir John in it, should he say. "Where, for any Thing I know, Falstaff shall dye of a Sweat, unless already he be kil'd with your hard Opinions for Oldcastle dy'd a Martyr, and This is not the Man"? This looks like declining a Point that had been made an Objection to him [Theobald then suggests that Shakespeare took the name Oldcastle from *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, see Sources of the Plot — ED] . . . I'll observe but one thing more in Support of the Tradition, which will go near to put the Matter out of Question I have an Edition printed in 1600 of the First Part of the True and Honourable History of the Life of Sir John Oldcastle, the Good Lord Cobham There is a Prologue prefix'd, which expresses some Fears in the Author lest the "doubtful Title" upon the Argument in hand should breed Suspence in the Spectators: "To stop which Scruple," says the Prologue, "let this Brief suffice; It is no pamper'd Glutton we present, Nor aged Counsellor to youthful Sin" Every Body must agree that Falstaff's Character is here hinted at, and that there could be no Room for such a palliating Caution in this Prologue unless Oldcastle's Name had once suffer'd by supporting Falstaff's Vices

WARBURTON (ed 1747): Fuller takes notice of this matter in his *Church History* [IV, 168]: "Stage poets have been bold with, and others merry at, the memory of Sir John Oldcastle, whom they have fancied a boon-companion, a jovial royster, and a coward to boot. The best is, Sir John Falstaff hath relieved the memory of Sir John Oldcastle, and of late is substituted buffoon in his place."

CAFELL (*Notes*, 1779): If in reading these *Henries*, the passages in which the word *Falstaff* occurs be attended to by those who have ears, they will give abundant conviction that *Oldcastle* never stood in place of *Falstaff*, unless we suppose a new-penning of nearly all the passages in which it is now met with.

FARMER (Var. '73, Appendix II of Vol. X): There is a passage in an old play called *Amends for Ladies*, by Field the player, 1639 [probably written 1609-10: see R. E. Brinkley's *Nathan Field*, in *Yale Studies in English*.—Ed.], which may seem to prove that Falstaff first appeared under the name Oldcastle, unless Field confounded different performances: "Did you never see The play where the fat knight hight Oldcastle Did tell you truly what this Honour was?" [Cf. Falstaff's Honour Soliloquy, *I Henry IV*, V, 1, 127-139.—Ed.]

STEEVENS (Var. '78, I, 299): The character alluded to [in the Prologue to

Sir John Oldcastle, see Theobald's note above], which the author was apprehensive the audience might confound with his virtuous peer, appears to have been one that had been exhibited in the *old* play of Henry V [*The Famous Victories of Henry V*]. In this play are the outlines of some of the characters introduced by Shakespeare into *Henry IV*. The Oldcastle of the old play was probably the prototype of Falstaff. [See also Steevens's note on I, ii, 40—ED]

MALONE (*Suppl to Var* '78, 1780): From the following passage in *The Meeting of Gallants at an Ordinarie*, 1604, it appears that Sir John Oldcastle (not, I conceive, the lord Cobham) was represented on the stage as a very fat man: "Now signors, how like you mine host? did I not tell you he was a madde round knave and a merrie one too? and if you chaunce to talk of Sir John Oldcastle, he will tell you he was his great-grandfather and not unlike him in paunch" [Is this perhaps an echo of II, ii, 62, 63?—ED] . . . From the first appearance of *King Henry IV*, the old play [*The Famous Victories*] was probably never performed. Hence it is that Fuller says [see quotation under Warburton, above.—ED] . . . which being misunderstood, probably gave rise to the story that Shakespeare changed the name of his character. Falstaff having thus grown out of, and immediately succeeding, the other character, the two names might have been indiscriminately used by Field and others without any mistake or intention to deceive

RITSON (*Remarks*, 1783): Fuller has, in his *Worthies*, p. 253, the following passage: "Sir John Oldcastle was first made a *thrasonical puff*, an emblem of mock valour, a *makesport* in *all plays* for a coward." Speed in his *Chronicle*, 2nd ed., p. 178, says: "The author of *The Three Conversations* hath made Oldcastle a ruffian, robber, and rebel; and his authority, taken from the *stage-players*. . ."

MALONE (ed. 1790): A passage in Fuller's *Worthies*, 1662, p. 253, will serve to point out the source of the mistakes on this subject: "Sir John Falstolfe, knight, was a native of this county (Norfolk) To avouch him by many arguments valiant is to maintain that the sun is bright; though, since, the stage has been over-bold with his memory, making him a thrasonical puff, and emblem of mock valour. True it is, Sir John Oldcastle did first bear the brunt of the one, being made the makesport in *all plays* for a coward. It is easily known out of what purse this black penny came. The papists railing on him for a heretick, and therefore he must be also a coward, though he was a man of arms . . . and as valiant as any of his age Now as I am glad that Sir John Oldcastle is put out, so I am sorry that Sir John Fastolfe is put in, to relieve his memory in this base service. . . . Nor is our *comedian* excusable by some alteration of his name, writing him Sir John Falstaffe, seeing the vicinity of sounds intrench on the memory of that worthy knight." Here, we see, the assertion is, not that Oldcastle did first bear the brunt in Shakespeare's play, but in all plays, that is on the stage in general before Shakespeare's character had appeared; owing to the malevolence of Papists, of which religion it is plain Fuller supposed the writers of those plays to have been; nor does he complain of Shakespeare's *altering* the name from Oldcastle to Falstaff, but of the

metathesis of Fastolfe to Falstaff . . . Oldcastle might have been a cant appellation for Falstaff for a long time. Hence the name [*Old*] prefixed inadvertently in some playhouse copy to one of the speeches in *II Henry IV*. If the verses be examined in which the name of Falstaff occurs, it will be found that Oldcastle could not have stood in those places. The only answer that can be given to this is that Shakespeare new-wrote each verse in which [Oldcastle's] name appeared—a labor which only those entirely unacquainted with our author's history and works can suppose him to have undergone.

RITSON (1793; Steevens's edition). The verses [in which Falstaff's name occurs] are in number seven; and why he who wrote between thirty and forty plays with ease cannot be reasonably supposed to have submitted to the drudgery of new-writing seven lines to introduce an alteration commanded by his sovereign, is to me incomprehensible. But what need, after all, of new-writing? There was but a single syllable in difference between the two names, which might surely be effected in some places at least without an entirely new line. The verses in question are as follows:

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|-------------------|
| | 1. Away, good Ned. Falstaff sweats to death; | [II, II, 99, 100] |
| <i>originally</i> | " " " Oldcastle " " " | |
| " | 2. And asking everyone for Sir John Falstaff; | [II Henry IV] |
| " | " " " " " " " Oldcastle; | " |
| " | 3. Give me my sword and cloak; Falstaff, good night; | " |
| " | " " " " " " " good night, Oldcastle, | " |
| " | 4. Now, Falstaff, where have you been all this while? | " |
| " | Oldcastle, " " " " " " " " | " |
| " | 5. Fare you well, Falstaff, I, in my condition, | " |
| " | Farewell, Oldcastle, " " " " " | " |
| " | 6. Well, you must now speak Sir John Falstaff fair; | " |
| " | You must now speak Sir John Oldcastle fair; | " |
| " | 7. Go, carry Sir John Falstaff to the Fleet; | " |
| " | Carry Sir John Oldcastle to the Fleet. | |

Now it is remarkable that of these seven lines, the *first* actually requires the name of Oldcastle to perfect the metre.

REED (Var. '13): I take this opportunity of expressing my concurrence with Mr. Ritson. . . . It may be sufficient to rely on two authorities which have been too slightly attended to. The first is Weever, writing at the very period, who describes Oldcastle, as Shakespeare does Falstaff, as page of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, a circumstance which could hardly have happened if Falstaff had not originally been Oldcastle . . . (Var. '13, xii, 125): In a poem by J. Weever, entitled *The Mirror of Martyrs, or the Life and Death of that thrice Valiant and most Godly Martyr, Sir John Oldcastle, Knight, Lord Cobham*, 18mo, 1601, Oldcastle, relating the events of his life, says: "Within the spring-time of my flowering youth He . . . Made means . . . That I was made Sir Thomas Mowbrais page." Again, in a pamphlet entitled *The Wandering Jew telling Fortunes to Englishmen* [1640] is the following passage in Glutton's speech: "I do not live by the sweat of my brows, but am almost dead

with sweating. I eate much but can talke little Sir John Oldcastle was my great-grandfather's father's uncle I come of a huge kindred."

STEEVENS (Var. '13, xii, 126): Because Shakespeare borrowed a single circumstance from the life of the real Oldcastle and imparted it to the fictitious Falstaff, does it follow that the name of the former was ever employed to cover the vices of the latter?

MALONE (Var. '13, xii, 126): I entirely concur with Mr Steevens There is no doubt that the Oldcastle of [*The Famous Victories*] suggested the character of Falstaff to Shakespeare . . . If actors were sometimes called by the names of the persons they represented (as appears from Camden's *Remains*, 1614, p. 146), what is more probable than that Falstaff should have been called by the multitude and by the players, Oldcastle, not only because there had been a popular character of that name in a former piece, but because, as Shakespeare intimates in the Epilogue to *II Henry IV*, a false idea had gone abroad that the jolly knight was, like his predecessor, the theatrical representative of the good Lord Cobham?

HALLIWELL (*Char. of Fal.*, 1841) [reviews all the evidence cited above, and adds the testimony of] "Dr. Richard James [1592-1638], librarian to Sir Robert Cotton, a contemporary of Shakespeare and an intimate friend of Ben Jonson." He may thus have had access to the best sources of information for the account which he gives in the following dedicatory epistle prefixed to his work entitled *The Legend and Defence of the Noble Knight and Martyr, Sir John Oldcastle*, never published [published, 1880, in A. B. Grosart's edition of the *Works of Richard James*], but preserved with his other manuscripts in the Bodleian Library:

"To my noble friend Sir Henrye Bouchier"

Sir Harrie, you are descended of Noble Ancestrie . . . Wherefore to you I dedicate this edition of Ocleve, where Sir Jhon Oldcastell apeeres to haue binne a man of valour and vertue. . . . A young Gentle Ladie of your acquaintance, having read the works of Shakespeare, made me this question How Sir John Falstaffe, or Fastolf, could be dead in Harrie the Fifts time and againe lue in the time of Harrie the Sixt to be banisht for cowardize? Whereto I made answeare that this was one of those humours and mistakes for which Plato banisht all Poets out of his commonwealth, that Sir Jhon Falstaffe was in those times a noble valiant souldier as apeeres by a book in the Herald's office dedicated vnto him by a herald whoe had binne with him for the space of 25 yeeres in the French wars. . . . That in Shakespeare's first shewe of Harrie the Fifth, the person with which he undertook to playe a buffone was not Falstaffe, but Sir Jhon Oldcastle, and that offence beinge taken by personages descended from his title . . . the poet was putt to make an ignorant shifte of abusing Sir Jhon Falstophe, a man not inferior of virtue though not so famous in pietie as the other."

With respect to this important letter it will be observed that by "the first shewe of Harrie the Fifth" James unquestionably means Shakespeare's *Henry*

IV. . . . The "young Gentle Ladie" had read the works of Shakespeare. . . . James and his lady friend also confuse the characters of Fastolf and Falstaff. [Halliwell's conclusions are 1. That the stage was in possession of a rude outline of Falstaff, before Shakespeare wrote either part of *Henry IV*, under the name of Oldcastle 2. That the name Oldcastle was retained for a time in Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, but changed to Falstaff before the play was printed 3 That in all probability some of the theatres in acting *Henry IV* retained the name Oldcastle after the author had made the alteration 4 That Shakespeare made the change before the year 1593, for, according to Halliwell, *The Merry Wives* dates from that year.—ED.]

J GAIRDNER (*Hist. Element in Fal*, 1873): It is clear that Falstaff has some slight feeling of religion. In fact he is a demoralised Puritan or Lollard . . . His conversation bespeaks a familiarity with Scripture that we do not find in most of Shakespeare's characters. He finds cant excuses for his immorality. . . . These touches indicated, not obscurely to the audiences that first witnessed the acting of the plays at the Globe Theatre, that Sir John Falstaff was a Lollard . . . and not merely a Lollard but a particular Lollard. Sir John Oldcastle was by tradition reported to have been fat, and Oldcastle was a familiar figure on the stage at the time that Shakespeare substituted Falstaff in his place . . . Oldcastle had been condemned as a heretic and committed to the Tower, from which he managed to make his escape. Soon afterwards there was a tumultuous assemblage in St Giles's Fields of men from different parts of England who were said to have been instigated by him to seize the king [Henry V] and make Oldcastle regent . . . Sentence of death was passed upon him and executed in a manner peculiarly barbarous. . . . Whatever may have been the merits or demerits of his conduct, he left behind a reputation which showed that he was as little an object of sympathy in his own day or for a long time after, as Guy Fawkes has been in later times. After-generations did not burn him in effigy, but they laughed at his bloated figure on the stage. Nevertheless there was probably always a small section of the community to whom the memory of Oldcastle was dear as that of a martyr for religion, and after the Reformation they were encouraged to speak their sympathy more freely. . . . John Foxe enrolled him in his *Book of Martyrs*, and so great was the popularity of that work that it was esteemed a mark of popish sympathies to speak of it in terms of disparagement. We need no other explanation of the reasons which induced Shakespeare to get rid of the name Oldcastle. The Puritan party had grown strong in the time of Archbishop Grindal. . . . But having struck out Oldcastle, why did the dramatist insert Falstaff? The name was but a very slight modification of that of Sir John Fastolf, a notable warrior of the days of Henry VI . . . Indeed the dramatist has introduced this character into his *I Henry VI*, although he makes Falstaff die of a sweat in the beginning of Henry V's reign. . . . In the folio of 1623 and of 1632 Fastolf's name is given as Falstaffe, the same spelling as in *Henry IV*. . . . Fastolf, like Oldcastle, did not live on good terms with his own generation; so that he may have left an unmerited bad name behind him. Although no coward, he was once accused of cowardice. . . . To aggravate his unpopularity, he was, like Oldcastle, a Lollard. . . . It seems also to have been remembered in tradition that Fastolf was connected with a certain Boar's Head

Tavern; for we find by the *Paston Letters* that he was owner of a house of that name in Southwark. . . . Fastolf's guardian was precisely that nobleman in whose household, Shakespeare tells us, Falstaff passed his boyhood, namely Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. . . . There were reflections on Fastolf's patriotism, and if he was not accused of having "misused the king's press damnably," it was rumoured that he had caused the loss of Normandy by reducing the strength of the English garrisons

R. SIMPSON (*Religion of Sh*, 1899, p. 136). Did Shakespeare intend to reproduce the Lollard champion, Oldcastle, in Falstaff? . . . His portrait of Falstaff as a Puritan and sanctimonious hypocrite is in keeping with his ordinary treatment of that sect, and explains why the public so readily identified Falstaff. The pharisaical Lord Angelo [*Measure for Measure*] is outwardly a "sainted deputy, within foul as hell" Malvolio [*Twelfth Night*] is outwardly morose, secretly amatory. Falstaff is drawn on these lines, and is essentially Shakespeare's own creation. . . . His speeches and repartees teem with Scriptural allusions—the special characteristic of the Lollards, who made the Bible their weapon of attack against the Church, and his arguments abound with that peculiar amplification and affectation of Hebrew parallelism distinctive of Puritan pulpit oratory. We will quote some of them: I, ii, 80–86, parallelism, and quotation from *Proverbs*, i, 20. Then comes a gibe at free-will and good works in the person of Poins, I, ii, 103. Again to Poins, on his undertaking to enlist the prince in the robbery, is addressed a travesty of St. Paul's words to the Romans (cf. I, ii, 145–8 with *Romans*, x, 14, 17). His marvellous expostulation with Hal (II, iv, 101 ff.) teems with texts "I would I were a weaver, I could sing psalms, &c" (*James*, v, 13); "Watch tonight, pray tomorrow" (*Mark*, xiv, 38), "pitch . . . doth defile" (*Ecclesiastes*, xiii, 1); "not in words only but in woes also" (*Romans*, xiii, 13); "tree known by fruit" (*Matthew*, xii, 33), "Pharaoh's lean kine" (*Genesis*, xli, 19). Of Bardolph's red nose he says, "Hell fire and Dives" (cf. III, iii, 29–32 with *Luke*, xvi, 19), and of his soldiers "slaves as ragged as Lazarus" (IV, ii, 23, *Luke*, xvi, 19) and "tatter'd prodigals" (*Luke*, xv, 19)

BAESKE (*Oldcastle—Fal*, 1905) demonstrates Shakespeare's debt to the historical and legendary Sir John Oldcastle in his presentation of Falstaff. He presents, first, a detailed study of the presentation of the character of Oldcastle in the writings of his contemporaries, and in the Catholic and Protestant propaganda of the centuries between Oldcastle and Shakespeare. He then proceeds to show what aspects of the Falstaff story are related to the Oldcastle of history and literature, and to what extent certain literary and dramatic conventions have been combined with Oldcastle material in the development of Falstaff. Special notice is taken of the stage figure of the Braggart Warrior, the Miles Gloriosus of Plautus and Latin Comedy. The following is Baeske's summary of his findings:

I Henry IV, I, ii.

1. *Falstaff's friendship with the prince.* Oldcastle's friendship with Henry V confirmed by history. According to contemporaries, this friendship lasted up to the time of Henry's accession. Catholic writers stress this

- friendship lightly: Protestant writers dwell upon it. The author of *The Famous Victories* and Shakespeare follow, in general, Catholic writers: hence tragi-comic conclusion of the Falstaff-Hal plot. In *Famous Victories* the friendship not quite so great. Falstaff as Hal's friend, synthesis of Parasite of Latin comedy and Court-Fool of English drama.
2. *Falstaff's riotous life* Oldcastle's immorality stressed by Catholic writers. The Protestant Bishop Bale attributes his "lewdness" to his unregenerate youth. [BALE (*Brief Chron. . . of Oldcastle*, 1548: *The Later Examination of Lord Cobham*). With that he kneeled down . . . and sayd: "I shryve me here vnto thee, eternall God, that in my frayle youth I offended thee most greuously in pryde, wrath, gluttony, couetousnesse, and lechery."]
 3. *Falstaff as Thief*. Oldcastle, greedy heretic, in writings of Catholic contemporaries; as robber in 15th century lyrics directed against Lollards; robs to acquire wherewithal for riotous living, in *Famous Victories*. Falstaff as thief treated humorously by Shakespeare.
 4. *Falstaff speculates on time when Hal shall be king* Oldcastle in *Famous Victories*
 5. *Old lad of the castle* Play on Falstaff's original name in play.
 6. *Falstaff's age* Oldcastle was 39 years old when executed, same age as Hal. Lollard lyrics, playing on prefix of his name, increase his age. More youthful in *Famous Victories*. Shakespeare brings out comic contrast between his habits and his years.
 7. *Falstaff as future hangman*. Oldcastle in *Famous Victories*
 8. *Falstaff's spirit and wit*. Oldcastle represented as wise and eloquent by his contemporaries, but not cultivated. Catholic writers call him a foolish prattler: Protestant writers, learned and quick at repartee. Humorous additions in *Famous Victories*.
 9. *Falstaff as misleader of Hal* Oldcastle so represented by Catholic writers, but in field of religion only; by Shakespeare, in field of morals. Shakespeare heightens comic effect by making Falstaff pretend he has been misled by Hal.
 10. *Citations of Bible, unctuous speech, etc.* Oldcastle ridiculed for sanctimoniousness in Catholic writings. Used for satire in *Famous Victories*, for mere humour by Shakespeare.
 11. *Falstaff has seen better days, and has been brought low by low company*. So with Oldcastle in Catholic writings and in *Famous Victories*.
 12. *Falstaff has sold his soul to the devil* So with Oldcastle in Catholic writings. Used humorously by Shakespeare.
 13. *Falstaff threatens the prince that he will betray him* So Oldcastle in Catholic writings. Used jestingly by Shakespeare.

I Henry IV, II, ii.

1. *Falstaff's threatening speech*. The Miles Gloriosus tradition.
2. *Falstaff's pot-belly*. Oldcastle not corpulent according to authorities. Corpulence a characteristic of Miles Gloriosus, resting upon ancient comic contrast of outer physique with inner weakness; cf. the Greek Kleonymos, Plautus, Herod of the English Mystery Plays, Roister Doister, Lyly's *Thopas*.

- 3 *Falstaff's excessive timidity.* So, with Oldcastle, in Catholic writers. Survives in *Famous Victories* Stressed by Shakespeare with excellent humour
- 4 *Falstaff's curses and abusive language to terrify the timid.* Humorous development by Shakespeare of suggestion in *Miles Gloriosus* tradition

I Henry IV, II, iv.

- 1 *Falstaff's arrogance* Oldcastle in Catholic writings *Miles Gloriosus*.
- 2 *Falstaff's swagger and lies.* Oldcastle in Catholic writings *Miles Gloriosus*.
- 3 *Falstaff's exaggerations: out of 2 soon develops 4, 7, 9, 11* Plautus: *Miles Gloriosus*, I, 1, 42-48
- 4 *Falstaff's sentimentality* Shakespeare's addition
- 5 *Tickling noses to make them bleed.* *Famous Victories*.
- 6 *Play extempore.* Germ in *Famous Victories*.
- 7 *Vanity and self praise.* *Miles Gloriosus*.
- 8 *"If I become not a cart, &c."* Historical reminiscence
- 9 *Falstaff asleep behind the arras* Shakespeare's invention.

I Henry IV, III, iii

- 1 *Falstaff's moralizing and grief over past life* Oldcastle in Protestant eulogies. Cf. *Ralph Roister Doister*
- 2 *The rôle of Bardolph.* Parasite of *Miles Gloriosus* Merygreke of *Roister Doister*. Oldcastle's servant in accounts by Elyot and Hall. Cuthbert Cutter in *Famous Victories*
- 3 *Falstaff's attempts to appear cultivated, and Falstaff slanderous and abusive.* *Miles Gloriosus*

I Henry IV, IV, ii.

- 1 *Enlistment of troops* *Miles Gloriosus*.
- 2 *Falstaff as commanding officer in war.* Historical Oldcastle and *Miles Gloriosus*.

I Henry IV, V, i.

- 1 *Falstaff's base conception of honour.* Oldcastle according to contemporaries; *Miles Gloriosus*; *Famous Victories*.

I Henry IV, V, iii and iv.

- 1 *Falstaff and Hal together in battle.* Historical Oldcastle and Prince Henry
- 2 *Falstaff when attacked falls down and pretends death; and Falstaff takes the dead Hotspur on his back.* Typical clown-stunts in English comedy; cf. *Strumbo* in *Lochrine*.

ADAMS (*Life of Sh*, 1923, p. 228); Shakespeare's gratification at the success of *I* and *II Henry IV* was marred by an unlucky accident. The name he originally gave to Falstaff was Sir John Oldcastle, taken over directly from *The Famous Victories* There it had provoked no comment. But the extraordinary notoriety of the character as portrayed by Shakespeare led to resentment on the part of Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham (especially occasioned, it would seem, by the performance of the two plays at Court during the Christ-

mas of 1597-8), who was a lineal descendant of Oldcastle, the Lollard martyr. Lord Cobham made complaint, probably to the Master of the Revels, who was responsible for licensed plays, or, possibly, to his near neighbor, the Lord Chamberlain, who had general oversight of dramatic affairs, and who was patron of the company acting the offending plays. In order to avoid giving further distress to the Cobham family Shakespeare, readily no doubt, agreed to change the name of his comic hero. Casting about in his mind for a new name, he stumbled upon Sir John Fastolfe, who figured as a coward in *I Henry VI*, a play he was then engaged in refurbishing . . . Shakespeare had done what he could to right a wholly unintentional wrong against the Cobham family. Yet so indelibly had the "old lad of the castle" stamped his name upon the minds of the public during the short interval preceding the birth of "Falstaff" that it could not be easily effaced. For many years afterwards writers of the best intelligence allude to Falstaff as Oldcastle . . . On March 6, 1600, Shakespeare's company presented *Henry IV* at the Lord Chamberlain's house, before Vereken and the other ambassadors from the Spanish Low Countries. Rowland Whyte wrote in a gossip letter to Sir Robert Sidney: "Thursday my Lord Chamberlain feasted him and made him a very great and delicate dinner, and there in the afternoon his players acted before Vereken Sir John Oldcastle, to his great contentment." [*Sidney Papers*, II, 175]

CHAMBERS (*Wm. Sh.*, 1930, I, 382, II, 353). Even in an official document the play [*I Henry IV*] seems to be called Ould Castel in 1638 (from *Bill* evidently submitted by the King's [Company] as basis for the Lord Chamberlain's warrant for payment: 1638. At the Cocpit the 29th of May the princes berthnyght—ould Castel. Printed with facsimiles, G. R. Wright, *Brit Arch. Ass. Journal*, xvi, 1860, 275, 340. Tannenbaum, *Shakespeare Forgeries*, 60, believes the document to be fabricated. The original is not available for comparison, but Greg, *Rev. Eng Stud.*, v, 356, shows that there is no ground for suspicion in the letter forms, and that the substance is consistent with the Treasurer of the Chamber's Declared Account for 1638-9).

FALSTAFF—FASTOLF

DUTHIE (*Case of Fastolf*, 1907) contends that Shakespeare had Sir John Fastolf in mind in his characterization of Falstaff, and indicates the following points of resemblance: 1. Both were of the household of the Duke of Norfolk; 2. Both were natives of Norfolk—Falstaff shows his county in his reminiscences; 3. Both were distinguished warriors—Falstaff, in *II Henry IV*, I, II, says, "I would to God my name were not so terrible to the enemy"; 4. The stigma of cowardice was fastened on both; 5. Both were of immense girth: Fastolf's size is shown by an old print in the Free Library of Great Yarmouth; 6. Falstaff frequents the Boar's Head in Eastcheap: Fastolf owned the Boar's Head in Southwark; 7. The language of both is testy and full of invective; 8. Both are connected with the law; 9. "Old lad of the Castle" may refer to Fastolf's great achievement in building Caister Castle; 10. *Bardolph* Manor contained some of the best acres on the Caister estate. . . . Both Fastolf and Falstaff were fortunate in securing the devotion of their adherents.

HEYLYN (*Hist. St George*, 1631, p 344) Sir John Fastolfe . . . was a wise and valiant captaine, though on the stage they have been pleased to make merry with him.

OLDYS (*Sir J Fastolf*, 1750) [sees no reason to believe that Shakespeare had Fastolf in mind]: The poet first drew the figure of Falstaff in Oldcastle's name, but was obliged to change from a name that might have implied the *old battered* bravo we see, to one that might as well express the other parts of the same character, by a *Staff* that was *False* in its soundness

JOSEPH HUNTER (*New Illust*, 1845) quotes an anonymous poem of 1649, called *Trinarchodia* (James MSS, Bodleian, 34), Stanza 136:

Here, to evince that scandal has been thrown
Upon a name of honour (charactered
From a wrong person, coward and buffoon)
Call in your easy faith from what you have read
To laugh at Falstaff, as a Humour, named
To grace the stage, to please the age, misnamed
.
Live Falstaff, then, whose trust and courage once
Merited the first government in France.

FALSTAFF—OTHERS

FRANK HARRIS (*Man, Sh*, 1909, p. 143) suggests Chettle as the prototype of Falstaff.—ACHESON (*Lost Years*, 1920, pp 181 ff.) suggests Florio as prototype of Armado (*Love's Labour's Lost*), Parolles (*All's Well*), and Falstaff.—DAWTREY (*Falstaff Saga*, 1927) proposes Capt. Nicholas Dawtrey, who received a royal pension in 1597.—B. MAXWELL (*Orig. of Fal*, 1930) quotes Gabriel Harvey's attack on Robert Greene for dissolute living, thrasonical braving, profaning of Scriptural texts, departing in his hostess's debt, etc., and shows that all these charges are appropriate to Falstaff. Maxwell continues his argument by showing that Greene referred to actors who attacked him as "buckram gentlemen," and that both Greene and Falstaff died attended only by their respective hostesses. Falstaff's constant professions of repentance may echo the reputation of the author of "*A Groat's Worth of Wit, Bought with a Million of Repentance.*" Wit was the saving grace of each.

PRINCE HAL

KINGSFORD (*Life of Henry V*, 1911, pp. xiv ff) gives an account of the earliest records of the life and character of Henry V. The most important documents are:

1. Thomas Elmham: *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 1417; published as an anonymous work, by the English Historical Society, 1850.
2. Titus Livius (Tito Livio da Forlì): *Vita Henrici Quinti*, 1438 or 1439; probably known in later times by Polydore Vergil, and by Stowe and Holinshed through the 1513 version. Tito Livio was "poet and orator" to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, at whose suggestion the *Vita* was written and who supplied the author with "all the monuments of his hero's exploits that could be

obtained." Official records and chronicles were also used, especially a version of *The Brut*, compiled in 1436 from earlier narratives

3. Translator of Livius' *The First English Life of Henry V*, 1513. This includes material from Monstrelet's *Chronicle*, and Caxton's *Polychronicon*, published 1482, and is based on a version of *The Brut*, which preserves contemporary opinion of events, and on "the report of the honourable and ancient person, the Earl of Ormonde," who was born in 1392 and was intimately associated with the royal family—a "report" not preserved elsewhere.

4. Pseudo-Elmham: *Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti*, about 1446, published in 1727 by Hearne as "by Thos Elmham." An expansion of the *Vita* by an unknown hand.

The following excerpts from the *First English Life* are taken from Kingsford's edition:

(p 11): He was right deare and wellbeloued of the Kinge, vntill such time as his fame appeared by the sinister report of some euell disposed people which laboured to make discension betweene the Kinge and the prince his sonn; by reason whereof, and by th'actes of youth, which he exercised more then meanly . . . the Kinge suspected that he would vsurpe the Crowne . . .

(p 16): Prince Henrie exceded the meane stature of men; he was beawtious of visage, his necke was longe, his body slender and leane, his boanes smale Neuerthelesse he was of maruelous greate strenght. he was passinge swift in runninge. . . . He delighted in songe and musical Instruments, he exercised meanlie the feates of Venus and of Mars [Tito Livio: "Veneria et martilia medio-criter secutus"] and other pastimes of youth. [The story of his lying in wait, with other young *Lords and Gentlemen*, for his own Receivers, follows. After robbing them, the prince would restore the money to them, and would give "great and bounteous reward" to the receiver who had "best and most manlie" resisted him.]

KINGSFORD (*Ibid.*, 1911, p. xxxvi). The stories preserved by the Earl of Ormonde are concerned so much with the traditions of the youthful career and character of the prince that it is not out of place to touch briefly on those popular stories which do not appear among them. . . . The most noteworthy account of the "hurling in Eastcheap" in 1410, wherein Henry's brothers Thomas and John were concerned, is given by Stow (*Survey of London*, 1598, i, 217, previously in his *Summary*, 1570, and *Annales*, 1565), who related that upon St. John Baptist eve, 1410, Thomas and John were at supper in Eastcheap, when there happened a great debate between their men and other of the court, until the Mayor and sheriffs . . . appeased the same. For this they were called to answer before the king, when William Gascoigne, Chief Justice, required them to put them in the king's grace.

HOLINSHED (*Chron.*, ed. 1587; *Henrie Fift*, *An. Reg.* 1): Whereas aforetime he had made himselfe a companion vnto misrule mates of dissolute order and life, he now banished them all from his presence.

LUDERS (*Essay on Henry V*, 1813) endeavors "to regain the truth of history for the character of this great prince" and finds no sufficient authority for "the wanton and dissolute character assigned to him in the plays of Shake-

speare." He attempts to discredit the testimony of Pseudo-Elmham, see above, by citing some of the narrator's fantastic stories and striking inconsistencies

SKOTTOWE (*Life of Sh*, 1824). Mr Luders is eminently successful in exposing the exaggerations with which successive historians have adorned their portraits of the prince. But, in truth, after stripping the tale of all its meretricious colouring, enough remains in the report of Henry's original biographer to justify the idea of his having been a "Corinthian" of the highest order

TYLER (*Henry of Monmouth*, 1838) is another apologist of the prince. In chapter 4 he shows that "at that period of his life (1400) when the poet describes him as revelling in the deepest and foulest sinks of riot and profligacy" the Council was petitioning Parliament to provide a home for him. . . . (chap 5). Henry Percy, Hotspur, had been appointed Chief Justice of North Wales and Chester. . . . His letters are beautifully corroborative of his character as we have received it from historian and poet. . . . It is to a letter of Hotspur, dated at Caernarvon, May 3, 1401, that anyone interested in ascertaining the real character of Henry of Monmouth will find his mind drawn. . . . In the fictions of our dramatic poet, Hotspur is the very first (*Richard II*, V, iii) to bear testimony to the reckless, dissolute habits of Henry of Monmouth. But Hotspur is the first whom the TRUTH OF HISTORY declares to have given direct and voluntary evidence to the military talents and the kindness of heart of this same prince. . . . Hotspur writes: "They will be well chastised by the force and governance which my redoubted lord the prince has sent against them. . . . The commons of the same country have humbly offered their thanks to my lord the prince for the great exertions of his kindness and good will" . . . Occleve bears witness to the tastes of the young prince: "Write him no-thing that souneth vnto vyce."

KNIGHT (ed. 1839). Mr. Tyler, instead of blaming Shakespeare for the view of the prince which he took, ought to have called our attention to the fact that Shakespeare was the only man of his age who rejected the imperfect evidence of all the historians as to the character of Henry, and nobly vindicated him even from his own biographers and from the coarser traditions embodied in a popular drama of Shakespeare's day. . . . Shakespeare's Henry is indeed the "madcap Prince of Wales," but he is not the "sword and buckler prince" whom Hotspur would "have poisoned with a pot of ale." He is a gentleman; a companion, indeed, of loose revellers, but one who infinitely prefers the excitement of their wit to their dissipation. How graceful, how devoid of meanness and hypocrisy, is his apology to his father for his faults [III, ii]! How gallantly he passes from his revels to preparations for battle! How just are his praises of Hotspur!

HALLAM (*View of the State of Europe*, ed. 1853, iii, 96): The records afford a strong presumption that some early petulance or riot has been much exaggerated by the vulgar minds of the chroniclers. One can scarcely understand that a prince who was three years engaged in subduing Glendower, and who

in his father's reign presided at the Council, was so lost in a cloud of low debauchery as common fame represents

JOHNSON (ed. 1765, iv, 355). The prince . . . is a young man of great abilities and violent passions, whose sentiments are right, though his actions are wrong, whose virtues are obscured by negligence, and whose understanding is dissipated by levity. In his idle hours he is rather loose than wicked, and when the occasion forces out his latent qualities, he is great without effort, and brave without tumult. The trifier is roused into a hero, and the hero again reposes in the trifier. This character is great, original, and just.

HORN (*Sh. Schauspiele*, 1826): The prince has been drawn with special affection. It even seems probable that the author was describing himself in many respects. . . . The prince is in complete contrast to his father, he is so clearly conscious of his high position, that he exuberantly throws dignity to the winds. . . . Like a true Briton, the prince likes, next to deep earnestness, nothing so much as wit and humour.

GERVINUS (*Sh. Commentaries*, 1849; translation Bunnètt, 6th ed., 1903, p. 313): Frivolity in Prince Henry seems to be accompanied with prudence and reflection. Let us attentively follow out this double part, in order to discover the true nature of this chameleon. . . . When we first meet him, he is in friendly association with thieves and rogues . . . and assists at their robberies. But he compensates for the base trick by paying back, with advantage, the money taken; and he joins the base trick only when a mad trick accompanies it; he undertakes it once, when a good joke is gained by it forever. . . . There may even be some prudent calculation mingled with the joviality of the Prince. . . . It is not even the intellectual excellence of wit that charms him. His game with the young drawer [II, iv, 25 ff.] shows his harmless delight in innocent jokes.

VICTOR HUGO (ed. 1859-67, xi, 58): Shakespeare has accepted, and transformed, the traditional stories about Prince Henry. The Prince, as the Poet conceives him, is of a profoundly good and generous nature: gentle and forceful, energetic and gracious, expansive and reserved, indulgent and yet firm, modest and brave and serene.

MÉZIÈRES (*Sh., ses Oeuvres, &c.*, 1860, p. 218): The scenes of Prince Henry's lively encounters with Poins and Falstaff make us think of the combats of wit between Shakespeare, Jonson, Beaumont, and Fletcher at the Mermaid Tavern. . . . When the prince does a foolish thing, the poet must perforce warn us that he has wisdom and prudence even in his folly. . . . I prefer a more ardent character, who gives himself up to the enjoyment of his pleasures rather than observing himself and setting a limit in advance.

HUDSON (*Sh., his Life, Art, &c.*, 1872; ed. 1882, ii, 78): An extraordinary conversion was generally thought to have fallen upon the prince on coming to the crown. . . . Shakespeare, in a far wiser spirit, and more religious too, brings

the prince's conduct within the ordinary rules of human character; representing whatever changes occur in him as proceeding by the methods and proportions of nature . . . Even in his wildest merry-makings, we taste in him a spice of manly rectitude. . . . Great without effort, and good without thinking of it, he is indeed a noble ornament of the princely character

DOWDEN (*Sh., a Crit Study*, 1875; ed. of 1918, p. 66). It is clear and unquestionable that Henry V is Shakespeare's ideal of the *practical* heroic character. He is the king who will not fail. He will not fail as the saintly Henry VI, his son, failed, nor as Richard II failed, a hectic, self-indulgent nature, a mockery king of pageantry and sentiment and rhetoric; nor will he only partially succeed by prudential devices, and stratagems and crimes, like his father . . . With his glorious practical virtues, his courage, his integrity, his unfaltering justice, his hearty English warmth, his modesty, his joyous temper, . . . Henry is indeed the ideal of the king who must attain a success, complete, real, and sound. But is this practical, positive, efficient character . . . the highest ideal of our supreme poet? . . . We turn to the great tragedies, and what do we discover? In these Shakespeare is engaged in a series of studies not concerning success in the mastery of events and things, but concerning the higher success and the more awful failure which appear in the exaltation or the ruin of the soul . . . (*Sh. Primer*, 1877, p. 98): May there not have been a young fellow remembered by Shakespeare, who went by night on deer-stealing frolics near Stratford, who yet kept from waste and ruin a true self?

SWINBURNE (*A Study of Sh.*, 1880, p. 112): Henry Percy is, as it were, the true Sir Bedivere, the last of all Arthurian knights; Henry V is the first, as he is certainly the noblest, of those equally daring and calculating statesmen-warriors whose two most terrible, most perfect, and most famous types are Louis XI and Caesar Borgia. Gain, "commodity," is evidently the main-spring of Henry's enterprise and life. . . . No completer incarnation could be shown us of the militant Englishman; but it is not only with the highest, purest, noblest quality of English character that his just and far-seeing creator has endowed him. His typical English hero is a man of their type who founded the Empire in India; not less daringly sagacious and not more delicately scrupulous, not less indomitable or more impeccable than they. A type by no means immaculate, a creature not at all too bright and good for English nature's daily food.

BRADLEY (*Refect. of Fal*, 1902, pp. 256 ff.): Henry has been described as Shakespeare's ideal man of action, and it has even been declared that here for once Shakespeare plainly disclosed his ethical creed, and showed us his ideal, not only of a man of action, but of a man. But Henry is neither of these. The poet who drew Hamlet and Othello can never have thought that even the ideal man of action would lack that light upon the brow, which at once transfigures them and marks their doom. . . . Even poor Timon, the most inefficient of the tragic heroes, has something in him that Henry never shows. Nor is it merely that his nature is limited: if we follow Shakespeare and look closely at Henry we shall find with the many fine traits a few less pleasing. Henry IV describes him as the noble image of his own youth; and for all his

superiority to his father, he is still his father's son, son of the man whom Hotspur calls a "vile politician." The strain of policy is what Shakespeare marks in Henry's first soliloquy [I, ii, 186 ff., see Notes]. It implies that readiness to use other people as means to his own ends which is a conspicuous feature in his father; and it reminds us of his father's plan of keeping himself out of the people's sight while Richard was making himself cheap by incessant public appearances [cf. *I Henry IV*, III, ii, 46 ff.]. And if I am not mistaken, there is a further likeness. Henry is kindly and pleasant to everyone, . . . but there is no sign in him of a strong affection for anyone. . . . We find a liking for Falstaff and Poins, but no more: there is no more than a liking, for instance, in his soliloquy over the supposed corpse of his fat friend [*I Henry IV*, V, iv, 102 ff.], and he never speaks of Falstaff to Poins with any affection. The truth is that the members of the family of Henry IV have love for one another, but they cannot spare love for anyone outside their family.

SCHELLING (*Eng Chron Play*, 1902, p. 116) Shakespeare has given us brief suggestions of the home life of the Percies further to heighten the contrast between Hotspur and the prince. The court of Henry IV is represented as totally without the grace of woman's presence. Bereft of a mother's love, with a father absorbed in cares of state and a brother precociously betraying that hardness and abstractedness of character which had estranged the prince from his father, it was inevitable that one of so warm and expansive a nature should seek for light and sustenance beyond the somber precincts of the court.

COURTHOPE (*Hist Eng. Poetry*, 1903, iv, 111): The philosophic and ironic side of Henry's nature, which attracts him to the company of Falstaff, is strongly expressed in the half-humorous emotion with which he surveys the supposed dead body of the fat knight on the field of Shrewsbury [V, iv, 102]. . . . A manly energy and sense of reality in Henry prevents him from falling into such irresolution as destroyed Hamlet through over-reflection. On the other hand, he is raised above the impetuous Hotspur by the power of philosophic thought; both qualities combined render him the spiritual antithesis of Falstaff. A higher achievement of genius was never accomplished than the association of these three contrasted characters in a single play.

YEATS (*Ideas of Good and Evil*, 1903, pp. 155 ff.): I have turned over many books in the library at Stratford-on-Avon, and I have found in nearly all an antithesis, which grew in clearness and in violence as the century grew older, between two types, whose representatives were Richard II, "sentimental," "weak," "selfish," "insincere," and Henry V, "Shakespeare's only hero." . . . I know that Professor Dowden first made these emotions eloquent and plausible. He lived in Ireland, where everything has failed, and he meditated on the perfection of character which had, he thought, made England successful. . . . He forgot that England was made by her adventurers, by her people of wildness and imagination and eccentricity; and thought that Henry V, who only seemed to be these things because he had some commonplace vices, was not only the typical Anglo-Saxon, but the model Shakespeare held up before England. . . . In Professor Dowden's successors this apotheosis went further;

and it reached its height at a moment of imperialistic enthusiasm, of ever-deepening conviction that the commonplace shall inherit the earth. . . . To poise character against character was an element in Shakespeare's art . . . and so, having made the vessel of porcelain, Richard II, he had to make the vessel of clay, Henry V. He makes him the reverse of Richard. He has the gross vices, the coarse nerves, of one who is to rule among violent people, and he is so little "too friendly" with his friends that he bundles them out of doors when their time is over. He is as remorseless and undistinguished as some natural force . . . Shakespeare has given him a resounding rhetoric that moves men as a leading article does today. His purposes are so intelligible to everybody that everybody talks of him as if he succeeded, although he fails in the end, as all men great and little fail in Shakespeare

G. B. SHAW (*Dram Opinions*, 1906, 1, 426): One can hardly forgive Shakespeare for the worldly phase in which he tried to thrust such a Jingo hero as Henry V down our throats. The combination of conventional propriety and brute masterfulness in his public capacity with a low-lived blackguardism in his private tastes is not a pleasant one. No doubt he is true to nature as a picture of what is by no means uncommon in English society, an able young Philistine, inheriting high position and authority, which he holds on to and goes through with by keeping a tight grip on his conventional and legal advantages, but who would have been quite in his place if he had been born a game-keeper or a farmer. . . . He repeatedly makes it clear that he will turn on his friends later on, and that his self-indulgent good-fellowship with them is consciously and deliberately treacherous. His popularity therefore is like that of a prizefighter; nobody feels for him as for Romeo or Hamlet . . . (p. 428). His humour is seasoned with sportsmanlike cruelty and the insolence of conscious mastery and contempt to the point of occasionally making one shudder.

SIR W. RALEIGH (*Shakes*, 1907, p. 186): Over against Richard II it was Shakespeare's plan to set, not the crafty and reserved Bolingbroke, but his son, Henry V, the darling of the people, a lusty hero, open of heart and hand, unthrifty and dissolute in his youth, in riper age the support and glory of the nation . . . It was a contrast of brilliant promise, and, if a choice must be made, it is not hard to determine on which side Shakespeare's fuller sympathies lay. The king who was equal to circumstance was the king for him. Yet Henry V is not so inwardly conceived as Richard II. His qualities are more popular and commonplace. Shakespeare plainly admires him, and feels toward him none of that resentment which the spectacle of robust energy and easy success produces in weaker tempers. If Henry, as Prince and King, falls short in some respects of the well-knit perfection that was intended, it is the price which he pays for admitting to his companionship a greater than himself, who robs him of his virtue and makes him a satellite in a larger orbit. Less tragic than Richard, less comic than Falstaff, the poor prince is hampered on both sides. . . . Yet the prince, if he loses first place in our affections, makes a brave fight for it. He is valorous, generous, and high-spirited. . . .

MASEFIELD (*Wm. Sh.*, 1911, pp. 111 ff.): Hotspur learns too late that a

passionate longing to right the wrong goes down before the rough and stupid something that makes up the bulk of the world . . . The man who kills him says a few trite lines over his body, and leaves the stage talking of Falstaff's bowels. Prince Henry has been famous for many years as "Shakespeare's only hero." Shakespeare was too wise to count any man a hero. Prince Henry is not a hero, he is not a thinker, he is not even a friend, he is a common man whose incapacity for feeling enables him to change his habits whenever interest bids him. Throughout the first acts he is careless and callous, though he is breaking his father's heart and endangering his father's throne. He chooses to live in a society as common as himself. He talks continually of guts, as though the belly were a kind of wit. Even in the society of his choice his attitude is remote and cold-blooded. There is no good-fellowship in him, no sincerity, no whole-heartedness. He makes a mock of the drawer who gives him his whole little pennyworth of sugar. His jokes upon Falstaff are so little good-natured that he stands upon his princehood whenever the old man would retort. He impresses one as quite common, quite selfish, quite without feeling. When he learns that his behaviour may have lost him the crown, he passes a sponge over his past and fights like a wildcat for the right of not having to work for a living.

DE SELINCOURT (*Eng Poets and the National Ideal*, 1915, p. 30). There can be little doubt that when Shakespeare drew the portrait of Henry V, his eye was firmly fixed in reprobation upon another ideal current at the time. . . . That policy was Machiavellianism. . . . Shakespeare's delineation of Henry V becomes more significant when we see the political and national teaching to which Henry is, as it were, the counterblast [but see Swinburne, above — Ed.].

CUNLIFFE (*Char. of Henry V*, 1916). The earliest authority for the story of Henry's sudden conversion upon his accession is Walsingham, writing within six years of the accession [*v.e.*, in 1418]: "Repente mutatus est in virum alterum." The phrase is repeated in one chronicle after another. Through Fabian the tradition passed to Hall, and through Hall to Holinshed, who also had access to the 1513 *Life*, as he himself tells us, in a copy belonging to John Stow. It was no doubt in Holinshed that Shakespeare found his historical authority, but he must long have been familiar with the popular tradition which Holinshed's lines embody. . . . Indeed Shakespeare's whole conception of Henry's character is based on Holinshed. Youthful indiscretion, foolhardy enterprises, random adventures, low companionships, both admit; but no vices. . . . This is in striking contrast with the picture presented in . . . *The Famous Victories of Henry V*. This old play begins with the robbery of the receivers, who, after giving Henry a sound thrashing, are later bullied by him into silence in his character as true prince. He goes off with his companions to spend the proceeds of the robbery in the old tavern in Eastcheap, remarking: "There is good wine; besides there is a pretty wench." . . . Shakespeare, following the lead of Holinshed, deals with the matter very differently. Vice is condoned by humor in the inimitable creation of Falstaff, and the prince's exchanges of banter with him in the first act are a mixture of wit and sound morality. Henry at first declines the invitation to highwaymanship . . . and

is only persuaded "for once" in his days to be a madcap by the proposal that "for recreation's sake" he and Poins shall rob the other four of their ill-gotten gains. After the adventure has served its purpose of developing Falstaff's humor to its fullest extent, Henry says "the money shall be paid back with advantage"; but Shakespeare does not allow even the introductory scene to close without making clear to his audience the light in which Henry's youthful escapade was to be regarded. The prince's soliloquy at the end of I, ii [see Notes] brings out the underlying seriousness of Henry's character. Shakespeare's apparent vindication of Henry's character in this passage is very far from satisfying modern critics [see Bradley, 1902, Yeats, 1903, and Masfield, 1911, above]. These three criticisms of Henry's character were written during the first decade of the present century, and so far as Professor Bradley and Mr. Yeats are concerned were worked out independently . . . Mr. Masfield acknowledges general indebtedness to the other two, but he is too original a thinker not to have his own opinion . . . It will be convenient at this point to suggest some of the reasons that underlie the change from the generous appreciation of Henry's character, as Shakespeare depicts it, to this attitude of cold or hostile criticism. In the first place we are no longer sensible of the "divinity that doth hedge a king," and we apply to Henry the same standards as to other men. . . . Similarly Prince Henry's wildness must be justified or excused like the wildness of any other young man; if he were merely self-indulgent, we should be inclined to make the customary allowances for youth. . . . But when the prince pleads, in soliloquy, that his loose behavior is not idle at all, but a deliberate scheme for political ends, this avowal of a cold disposition alienates our sympathies more than any idle flashes of youth . . . It must be confessed that to the modern taste Henry's sallies of wit, whether as prince or king, are not of the most refined sort. He has a love for that most detestable kind of joke called practical. . . . Bradley has hit upon the right word when he calls Henry the most *efficient* character drawn by Shakespeare. The word carries with it familiar connotations and limitations . . . He is efficient after the manner of a modern captain of industry. . . . One may ask, "How far did Shakespeare approve of Henry's character, regarded not as an artistic achievement but as a living soul he had himself created?" . . . There is nothing to show that he drew Henry lovingly, as we are inclined to fancy he did his great tragic characters. . . . It appears rather that he accepted Henry as a national hero, and presented him as such to the public of his day. Henry's character had solid qualities which Shakespeare must have admired . . . It is his common humanity that endears him to us, his high courage, his modesty, his plain-speaking, his good-humor, and his practical common-sense.

R. M. ALDEN (*Shakes.*, 1922, p. 186): It must often have been felt as a paradox that the greatest Englishman whom Shakespeare undertook to depict is by no means one of his chief creations. One difficulty may have been the very fact that the character was too fully made ready to his hand. . . . Another may be that he had an instinctive interest in people who fail, greater than in those that succeed. That he does not realize the character as a vital whole, in the manner of his best work at this period, can scarcely be doubted. . . . This want of vital characterization . . . is most serious in Henry's rejection of Falstaff in *Part II*. This problem has been explained on the ground that Shake-

Shakespeare was representing Henry V as the son of Henry Bolingbroke, thinking only of self and its interests when occasion required; while an occasional reader has even gone so far as to suspect that the dramatist secretly despised his hero and ironically portrayed his faults in a kind of psychological cipher for the discerning observer, while seeming to glorify him before the people. This is to attribute to Shakespeare a type of art quite modern in temper, of which he never gives any unmistakable sign. The probabilities all lie elsewhere. As Falstaff, having no right to greatness, attained it, dramatically speaking, by the mysterious processes of creative art, so Henry, having every claim to it, displayed it with brilliant formal success yet failed of it as a spiritual creation. Shakespeare made him a brilliant figure in his pageant, but did not quite make him a living man.

E. E. STOLL (*Poets and Playwrights*, 1930, p. 41): Was Prince Henry, then, as some have thought, Shakespeare's ideal? . . . It is more to the point to say that he is the ideal of England, not Shakespeare's but his country's notion of their hero-king. This is particularly true as regards what we now consider his bragging, his priggishness, and cant. The obtrusive morality and piety were expected, for that matter they are like the sort of thing you find in a Speech from the Throne or our American Thanksgiving Proclamations. Officially piety has been ever in favor; even in ungodly America ceremonies so diverse as the laying of a cornerstone and the conferring of the German degree of Ph D. are performed in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

HOTSPUR

GILDON (*Remarks*, 1710): Though the humour of Falstaff be what is most valuable, . . . Hotspur is the next in goodness.—JOHNSON (ed. 1765, iv, 356): Percy is a rugged soldier, choleric and quarrelsome, and has only the soldier's virtues, generosity and courage.—MRS. MONTAGU (*Writing and Genius of Sh.*, 1769): The poet hath divested the rebel of the hateful crimes of premeditated revolt and deep-laid treachery. He is hurried by an impetuosity of soul out of the sphere of obedience, and, like a comet, though dangerous to the general system, is still an object of wonder and admiration. . . . The wrath of Achilles in Homer is not sustained with more dignity. . . . Hotspur's misdemeanours rise so naturally out of his temper, and that temper is so noble, that we are almost as much interested for him as for a more virtuous character.

TYRRELL (*Intr.* to "Halliwell" ed. 1850): Hotspur, though brave and chivalric, is too much the warrior; his manners are rough, self-willed, impetuous, and unconciliating. Haughty and ambitious to excess, he would break all things to his will; he laughs at the small courtesies and elegancies of life—for them he has no time. He is abrupt, if not unkind, to his wife, who is too gentle [as, for example, in II, iii, 77–85; III, i, 233, 235?—ED.] to need correction or reproof; impatient and defiant to Glendower, for his behaviour to whom his uncle gently chides him. But we forget his faults in his misfortunes; he expiates all errors on the blood-stained field of Shrewsbury.

CLARKE (*Sh. Characters*, 1863): The manner, as well as the language, of

Percy is sustained with wonderful consistency of individuality. One of the most prominent features of his personal character is that of *perpetual restlessness*, to which may be added abundant determination, always combined with rashness and indiscretion. . . . We have constant allusion to some peculiarity or other which makes us feel as if we had known him. First, there is the total lack of repose; . . . then his impetuosity showing itself in perpetual interruption during consultations. . . . It is worth noting that the poet has made a marked point of his "roan horse." He has used it as a means of drawing attention to a point of individuality in Hotspur, who manifests a true soldierly interest and judgment concerning his horse. . . . His soldierly bluntness and restlessness are again confirmed in his indifference to music. . . . Another striking personal characteristic is his thick and inarticulate utterance—a blemish which Lady Percy says was turned into a grace [II *Henry IV*, II, III] Glendower fleers at him for this defect [III, I, 123, 124], and he himself alludes to it twice in the space of half a page [V, II, 78, 92]—IBID. (ed. 1864, II, 111). We learn not only Hotspur's personal courage, his indomitable spirit, his bravery in action, his hotness of will, but we look into his waywardness of mood and playfulness of manner toward his wife, we hear him fiery and rapid in speech, quick of temper, witness him rash of deed, elastic of heart, unconquerable in hope and energy. . . . We see the very man in his mode of speaking, walking, riding; his abrupt breaks, short, swift strides, his every hasty tone, look, movement.

D. J. SNIDER (*System of Sh. Dramas*, 1877, II, 355): Hotspur is that which he thinks he despises. He professes to hate poetry, yet he uses, throughout the play, the most imaginative and intense speech, chiefly, his character and his figure are poetical in the highest degree. . . . He is poet in the old sense of the word—the *doer*.

HUDSON (*Sh. his Life, Art, &c*, 1872 ed. 1882, II, 73). Whatever thought strikes him, it forthwith kindles into an overmastering passion that bears down all before it. We see that he has a rough and passionate soul, great strength and elevation of mind, with little gentleness and less delicacy, and a "force of will that rises into poetry by its own chafings" . . . These qualities unfit him, in great measure, for military leadership in regular warfare. . . . He is qualified to succeed only in the hurly-burly of border wars, where success comes more by fury of onset than by wisdom of plan. . . . His contempt of poetry is highly characteristic; though it is observable that he has spoken more poetry than any one else in the play. Poetry is altogether an impulse with him, not a purpose, as it is with Glendower; and he loses all thought of himself and his speech in the intensity of passion with which he contemplates the object or occasion that moves him.

BOAS (*Sh. and his Predecessors*, 1896, p. 266): Honour is to Hotspur the end and aim of life; honour blazes on his brow, and makes him the lode-star of all the noble youth of his day. . . . Honour is the very law of his being, and it becomes essential to understand in what sense he conceives it, and how it affects his actions. That it implies personal heroism is shown in the opening scene,

and throughout the play he is the very model of gallantry in action . . . How is it then that his death at the hands of Prince Henry does not jar upon our sense of poetic justice? The answer is that Hotspur's honour is based upon a selfish principle, which never hesitates to sacrifice the general good to his sense of personal dignity, while this sense is apt to be constantly inflamed by the play of an impetuous imagination. . . This knightly Paladin does not scruple, for the sake of avenging private wrongs, to enter into a league with his country's hereditary foes. He consents to see England broken up, and claims a third share of the booty . . . Though there is in his own nature a highly imaginative vein, it plays round the one subject of honour, and for all that is sentimental, exaggerated, and artificial, he has a soldier's contempt. . . The scene with Lady Percy at Warkworth shows how he dislikes all outward signs of emotion . . . But though beneath their banter there is full proof of genuine affection, can it be that Shakespeare, the writer of the Sonnets, intended this decidedly Philistine relationship to be the ideal of married intercourse? . . . (p. 268). Hotspur is the principal figure drawn by Shakespeare from that world of chivalry which was still furnishing Spenser with ideal types of manhood. But while the poet of *The Faerie Queene* fixed his gaze upon those elements which tended "to fashion a noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline," the dramatist, while recognizing these elements, yet laid bare the fatal flaw of the mediaeval system—its glorification of individual honour at the expense of national well-being.

HERFORD (ed. 1899, p. 257): Hotspur, in his way, not less than Prince Henry, rebels against the traditions of his order. His blunt petulance, his disdain for music and poetry, his somewhat bourgeois relations with his wife, infringe as rudely as Henry's choice of comrades on the code of chivalrous breeding. But Hotspur's unconventionalities spring from mere insensibility to other ambitions than that of snatching "honour" by heroic exploits; while Henry's most questionable compliances with the ways of mean men betray only a somewhat crude exercise of that "liberal eye" which in later days discovered still "some soul of goodness in things evil." . . Henry is of kin with all Englishmen, a living embodiment of England; Hotspur is so far from embodying England that he conspires without a qualm to break it up.

CROCE (*Arso, Sh., &c*, 1920, p. 211): The personages of these plays arise like three-dimensional statues, that is to say they are treated with full reality, and thus form a perfect antithesis to the figures of the romantic plays. . . . A Hotspur, introduced upon the scene of the romantic dramas, would break through like a statue of bronze placed upon a fragile flooring of boards and painted canvases. He is the true "formal" hero, volitional, intruding, disdainful, impatient, exuberant.

MRS. GRIFFITH (*Morality of Sh.*, 1775): Hotspur and the Prince are equally brave; but the courage of Hotspur has a greater portion of fierceness,—the prince's magnanimity is more heroic. The first resembles Achilles, the latter is more like Hector. . . . They both possess a sportive vein of humour in their scenes of common life. . . . Hotspur's festivity resembles Hamlet's, as-

sumed merely to relieve anxiety of mind; the prince's gaiety appears to be more genuine, arising from natural temper and a healthful flow of spirits

DRAKE (*Sh. and his Times*, 1817)· Percy has but the virtues and accomplishments of the military adventurer, for in society he is boisterous, self-willed, and unaccommodating; while Henry, to bravery equally gallant and undaunted, adds all the endearing arts of social intercourse. He is gay, witty, gentle, and good-tempered

HAZLITT (*Characters of Sh.*, 1817)· The characters of Hotspur and Prince Henry are two of the most beautiful and dramatic, both in themselves and in contrast, that ever were drawn. They are the essence of chivalry. We like Hotspur the best upon the whole, perhaps because he was unfortunate . . . After all, notwithstanding the gallantry, generosity, and good temper of the Prince of Wales, we should not have been sorry if Northumberland's forces had come up in time to decide the fate of the battle of Shrewsbury

MASEFIELD (*Wm Sh.*, 1911, p. 109) Hotspur is the uncommon man, whose uncommonness is unsupported by his father at a critical moment. Henry, Prince of Wales, is a common man, whose commonness props his father, and helps him to conquer. The play is about a son too brilliant to be understood, and a son too common to understand.

E. E. STOLL (*Sh. Studies*, 1927, p. 76)· Hotspur is testy and splenetic and impatient of pretence, as are the characters in later English novels, and Henry V, how English he is—so practical, sportsmanlike, moral, and pious, so manly and stalwart, and yet free and easy, so serious, and yet simple and humorous. . . Both of them, professing taciturnity and scorning loquacity, talk like a torrent, and yet certainly Shakespeare does not mean to intimate that they do not know themselves. . . Of the inconsistency he seems not aware, and really there is none. The Elizabethan drama is rhetorical, and the principal characters must speak often and at length.

KING HENRY

DRYDEN (*Pref. to Troilus*, 1679). Our Shakespeare, having ascrib'd to Henry the Fourth the character of a King, and of a Father, gives him the perfect manners of each relation, when either he transacts with his son or with his people.

MRS. MONTAGU (*Writing and Genus of Sh.*, 1769): The character of Henry IV is perfectly agreeable to that given by the historians. The play opens by his declaring his intention to war against the infidels, which he does not undertake from a religious enthusiasm, but is induced to it by political motives: that the martial spirit may not break out at home in civil wars, nor peace and idleness give men opportunity to enquire into his title to the crown. . . . Henry had the specious talents which assist a man to usurp a kingdom. . . . The popular arts by which he captivated the multitude are

finely described in the speech he makes to his son in the third act [III, ii, 39-59].

HUDSON (*Sh., his Life, Art, &c.*, 1872, ed. 1882, ii, 70). We have at full length, and done to the life, the portrait of a man in act prompt, bold, decisive; in thought sly, subtle, far-reaching, a character hard indeed to the feelings, but written all over with success; which has no impulsive gushes and starts, but is all study, forecast, and calm suiting of means to pre-appointed ends. And this perfect self-command is in great part the secret of his strange power over others. . . . But though policy was the leading trait in this man, it was not so prominent but that other and better traits were visible. Even in his policy there was much of the breadth and largeness which distinguishes the statesman from the politician. Besides, he was a man of prodigious spirit and courage, had a real eye to the interests of his country as well as of his family, and in his wars was humane beyond the custom of his time.

DOWDEN (*Sh., a Crit. Study*, 1875; ed. 1918, p. 182). Henry IV possesses every element of power except those which are spontaneous and unconscious. He is dauntless, but his courage is under the control of his judgment; it never becomes a glorious martial rage like that of the Greek Achilles, or like that of the English Henry, Bolingbroke's son. He is ambitious, but his ambition is not an inordinate desire to wreak his will upon the world, and expend a fiery energy like that of Richard III; it is ambition which aims at definite ends, and can be held in reserve until these seem attainable. . . . He is wholly lacking in genius of the heart; and therefore he obtains the love of no man. He is indeed formidable, and is aware of his strength, but there is in his nature no fund of incalculable strength of which he cannot be aware. All his faculties are well organized and help one another; he is embarrassed by no throng of conflicting desires and sympathies. . . . The honour of England he cherished, not with passionate devotion, but with strong considerate care. . . . There is nothing infinite in his character, but his is a strong finite character.

R. SIMPSON (*Pol. Use of Stage*, 1874, p. 434): The "vile politician, Bolingbroke" is incomparably a better ruler than Richard had been, or than Hotspur would have been. . . . He looks on the crown not as a birth-right, but as a prize for the ablest and most popular competitor.

STUBBS (*Const. Hist. of Eng.*, 1874, iii, 6 ff.): Richard's tyranny deserved deposition, had there been no Henry to avenge a private wrong; Henry's qualifications for sovereign power were adequate, even if he had not had a great injury to avenge and a great cause to defend. The experiment of governing England constitutionally seemed likely to be fairly tried. Henry could not, without discarding all the principles he had ever professed, even attempt to rule as Richard II or Edward III had ruled. He had great personal advantages: if he was not spontaneously chosen by the nation, he was enthusiastically welcomed by them; he was in the closest alliance with the clergy; and of the greater baronage there was scarcely one who could not count cousinship with him. . . . He was a man of high reputation for all the virtues of chivalry and

morality. . . . His character has been drawn by later historians with a definiteness of outline altogether disproportionate to the details furnished by contemporaries . . . There is scarcely one in our whole line of kings of whose personality it is so difficult to get a definite idea. The impression produced by his earlier career is so inconsistent with that derived from his later life and from his conduct as king, that they seem scarcely reconcilable as parts of one life . . . As Henry of Derby he is the adventurous, chivalrous crusader; prompt, energetic, laborious; the man of impulse rather than of judgment. . . . As king we find him suspicious, cold-blooded, and politic, undecided in action, cautious and jealous in private and public relations, and, if not personally cruel, willing to profit by the cruelty of others. Throughout his career he is consistently devout, pure in life, temperate and careful to avoid offence, faithful to church and clergy, unwavering in orthodoxy, keeping always before his eyes the design with which he began his active life, hoping to die a crusader.

PATER (*Appreciations*, 1889, p. 207): No, Shakespeare's kings are not, nor are meant to be, great men: rather, little or quite ordinary humanity, thrust upon greatness, with those pathetic results, the natural self-pity of the weak heightened in them into irresistible appeal to others as the net result of their royal prerogative. One after another, they seem to lie composed in Shakespeare's embalming pages, with just that touch of nature about them, making the whole world akin, which has infused into their tombs at Westminster a rare poetic grace . . . (p. 196): Henry IV is presented in general outline as an impersonation of "surviving force." He has a certain amount of kingcraft also, a real fitness for great opportunity.

BOAS (*Sh. and his Predecessors*, 1896, p. 261): The king, though titular hero, is not the dramatic center of the play. He claims precedence, however, as the main link with *Richard II.* . . . Under the royal robe and crown we see the figure of the old Bolingbroke, in all essentials unchanged. But while hitherto he has been shown in contrast to characters who threw his higher qualities into effective relief, henceforward he is tried by harder tests . . . With all his talents and virtues, he lacks the integrity of nature and the personal magnetism which rivet permanently the attachment of men.

MASEFIELD (*Wm. Sh.*, 1911, p. 110): The play opens at a time when the oaths of Henry Bolingbroke to do justice have been broken on all sides, lest the injustice of his assumption of kingship should be recognized and punished by those over whom he usurps power. The king is no longer the just, rather kind, man of affairs who takes power in the earlier, much finer, play. He is a swollen, soured, bullying man, with all the ingratitude of a king and all the baseness of one who knows that his cause is wrong.

H. B. CHARLTON (*Sh., Politics*, 1929, pp. 13 ff.): It is plain to see what makes Henry IV an efficient governor. As a man, he is unattractive, cold, secretive. He can suppress or hide every tremor of personal sentiment and natural instinct. . . . The principles of policy by which he has conferred so much good on the nation are plain to be seen: absolute expediency and resolute prag-

matism . . . This, of course, means the suspension of all moral considerations except as they may be tools of expediency. The natural and the moral man must be overcome, all impulses of conscience, all promptings of humane instinct, must be rigorously controlled, so that the perfect official, the ideal civil servant, may emerge . . . The sources of Henry's political worth are thrown into clearer light by dramatic comparison and contrast. He is set over against Hotspur, who, as a man, has the irresistible attractiveness of high-spirited nobility . . . But because Hotspur is so much at the mercy of his human and manly instincts, he is a complete political failure. He cannot govern, because he cannot control and organize even himself. . . . He is always so passionately himself, and so enthusiastically the man, that he can never conduct himself as the unfailing official.

GLENDOWER

GILDON (*Remarks*, 1710). Glendower is fine comedy

VERPLANCK (*Sh Plays*, 1847, 1, 56) Briefly and transiently as Glendower's character is presented, it seems to me one of Shakespeare's most original conceptions . . . He is made a boasting enthusiast, a very quick-tempered and positive gentleman, and something of a bore—all traits fitted for comedy. Yet Shakespeare has shed round the whole a halo of poetic glory

CLARKE (ed. 1864, 11, 111): We learn not merely of Glendower's tenacity of purpose and warlike constancy, but we are permitted to see into his Welsh pepperiness and superstition, his weakness of egoism, his tenderness of paternity

HUDSON (*Sh his Life, Art, &c*, 1872, ed. 1882, 11, 75). He is represented, with great art and equal truth, according to the superstitious belief of his time, a belief in which he doubtless shared. . . . Crediting the alleged portents of his nativity, Glendower might well conclude that he was not in the roll of common men. . . . He would naturally become egotistical, long-winded, and tedious . . . He is, however, no ordinary enthusiast. A man of wild and mysterious imaginations, he has a practical skill that makes them tell against the king . . . His behaviour in the dispute with Hotspur approves him as much superior in the external qualities of a gentleman as he is more superstitious . . . I must not leave this strange being without remarking how sweetly his mind nestles in the bosom of poetry, as appears in III, 1, where he acts as interpreter between his daughter and her husband

A. E. HUGHES (*Sh. and the Welsh*, 1918) contends that Shakespeare's presentation of Glendower is inconsistent: that he started with English prejudice against the Welsh. Up to the end of Act II the references to him are all derogatory, "the irregular and wild Glendower," "the devil, Glendower," "the damned magician." In Act III he begins to scorch him with ridicule. . . . For the purpose of stage-effect, and to provide a contrast to Hotspur, Shakespeare had two alternatives. The contrast to the plain, blunt, brave warrior, coarse in fibre and feeling, unintellectual and overbearing, must be either a

man of dreams and superstitions, a garrulous braggart, or a refined, intellectual, sensitive gentleman Shakespeare chose the first alternative, and if III, 1 had followed a natural development, cudgelling or some equivalent would have followed But it is remarkable that from line 189 on, although Hotspur does not leave the stage, he speaks no word to Glendower, nor does Glendower address him. The explanation is not the self-restraint of Hotspur, for he has none, but a far more subtle reason. Conceive that at this point Shakespeare went to an intelligent Welshman to discuss what was possible in the way of Welsh colouring, songs and speeches, and reading to him what he had written, what would the Welshman say? He would say "this is not Glendower" . . . I shall show that Shakespeare required the services of a Welsh boy actor for this scene, and that the actor who played Glendower certainly knew Welsh, and from this point forward he gives us the real Welsh Glendower without trace of mockery or ridicule There were several Welsh actors in London A Welshman would inform Shakespeare that Glendower was a gentleman, a landed proprietor, generous to the aged, a patron of troubadours, his home a haven to bards Also he was a man of learning These features, all undramatic from the standpoint of Shakespeare's first plan, were not to be found in any English authority [Few students of the play will admit any such glaring inconsistency in Shakespeare's presentation of Glendower It is true that we see him at first through the eyes of his enemies, and then through the eyes of the contemptuous Hotspur; but we at last see him through the eyes of the poet, Shakespeare, who saw, as always, the whole man.—ED.]

R. J. LINDABURY (*Patriotism in Elizabethan Dram*, 1931, p. 98) There is a marked difference in the treatment of the Welsh [in Elizabethan drama; *v. e.*, from the treatment of the Scotch and Irish]. They are often comic figures, never villains, and if the comedy provokes a smile, it is a good-humoured one They had qualities that could not be neglected there were too many valiant Welshmen, for instance, to make up a base or even a ridiculous people Of course they had preposterous long names, and were absurdly superstitious, but they were proud of their country, and Welsh pride had grown to be a part of English pride.

JOHN OF LANCASTER

STEEVENS (Var. ed., 1778). It should be Prince John of Lancaster. The persons of the drama were originally collected by Mr. Rowe, who has given the title Duke of Lancaster to Prince John, a mistake which Shakespeare has been nowhere guilty of in the first part of the play, though in the second he has fallen into the same error. King Henry IV was himself the last person who ever bore the title Duke of Lancaster. But all his sons ('till they had peerages, as Clarence, Bedford, Gloucester) were distinguished by the name of the royal house, as John of Lancaster, Humphrey of Lancaster, etc., and in that proper style, the present John, who became afterwards so illustrious by the title of Duke of Bedford, is always mentioned in the play before us.—FRENCH (*Sh. Geneal.*, 1869): Prince John of Lancaster, third son of Henry IV, born in 1389, did not receive any other style until the reign of his brother, who created him

Duke of Bedford, under which name he is a character in Shakespeare's *Henry V*; but he figures more prominently in *I Henry VI* as the Regent of France.

SIR WALTER BLUNT

COWL (*Sources*, 1929). Holinshed barely mentions Sir Walter Blunt as the king's standard-bearer at Shrewsbury, where he was slain by Douglas. . . . In *I Henry IV*, Sir Walter is represented as playing a conspicuous part throughout the action of the piece, and is eulogized by friend and foe alike. . . . The sympathetic rôle there assigned to Blunt by the dramatist may well have conveyed a compliment to Sir Walter's lineal descendants, Lord Mountjoy, and Sir Christopher Blunt . . . who was Essex's stepfather and valued adviser.

POINS

R. CUMBERLAND (*Remarks*, 1785, ed. 1803, p. 200). Poins is contrasted from the rest of the gang, and as he is made the companion of the prince, is very properly represented as a man of better qualities and morals than Falstaff's more immediate hangers-on.—CLARKE (*Sh. Char.*, 1863). Ned Poins is a "younger brother". "the worst they can say of me is that I am a second brother" [*I Henry IV*, II, ii]; he is therefore a gentlemanly link between the royal thief-general and his plebeian subalterns. He is Prince Hal's shadow.—FRENCH (*Sh. Geneal.*, 1869): It is probable that Shakespeare intended Poins for a cadet of the family of Poyntz, one of high antiquity in Gloucestershire . . . They were sheriffs of the county from the time of Richard II to that of Elizabeth.—GAYE (*Good Sir John*, 1930): Ned Poins was a Public School type. He had the supreme and necessary quality of being a "good mixer," and his brain was as undeveloped as the day it had first hardened into bone. . . . Of no particular class, he was equally familiar with all classes, and, combining the vices and virtues of all, typified . . . a healthy, wealthy, young ne'er-do-well.

BARDOLPH

COURTENAY (*Comm. on Sh.*, 1840): I have some doubt whether Shakespeare intended to represent the companions of the prince as persons originally in low life. My doubt is partly grounded on the names which he has selected, being mostly the names of good families of the period. . . . Falstaff, Fastolfe, Oldcastle, was certainly the name of a gentleman. Bardolph was a noble name. Poins had gentle blood. . . . I cannot but conclude that though these good names occurred to him, he intended to draw professional thieves.—HALLIWELL (ed. 1859): Bardolph was not an unusual name in the 15th century. A canonier so named served in Normandy in 1435. There was a William Bardolph who held military office at Calais in 1410.—FRENCH (*Sh. Geneal.*, 1869): The poet evidently does not imply that this person's name had any affinity with that of the noble house of Bardolf. It was probably suggested by that of a townsman of Shakespeare's native place, who is known to have been a contemporary.

PETO

FRENCH (*Sh. Geneal.*, 1869): The name "Peito" occurs in the Roll of Battle Abbey, and the family appears to have been seated in the county of War-

wick from an early period. . . . In the reign of Elizabeth, Sir Humphrey Peyto was of Chesterton, . . . and Sir Edward Peyto was governor of Warwick Castle It is therefore likely that the poet selected the name from its connection with his native county, and that he intended Peto to take a better rank than Bardolph, Pistol, and Nym; thus he is classed, in the List of Characters of *II Henry IV*, with Poins, as "Attendants on Prince Henry," whilst the others are called "formerly servants to Falstaff" in *Henry V*.

LADY PERCY

MRS JAMESON (*Char. of Women*, 1832): In this admirable play there is no female character of any importance, but Lady Percy, wife to Hotspur, is a very lively and beautiful sketch. She is sprightly, feminine, and fond, but without anything energetic or profound in mind or feeling [Shall we refuse to call her energetic in *II*, iii, 77-85? Mrs Jameson herself pays tribute to the profundity of her grief when she hears of her husband's death, in *II Henry IV*. —Ed] . . . Almost everyone knows by heart Lady Percy's celebrated address to her husband [in *II*, iii] beginning "O, my good lord, why are you thus alone?" and that of Portia to Brutus in *Julius Caesar*. "You've ungently, Brutus, stole from my bed." The situation is exactly similar, the topics of remonstrance nearly the same, the sentiments and style are as opposite as are the characters of the two women. Lady Percy is evidently accustomed to win more from her husband by caresses than by reason: he loves her, in his rough way, "as Harry Percy's wife," but she has no real influence over him

AGNES MACKENZIE (*Women in Sh*, 1924, p. 95): By this time Shakespeare had learned most thoroughly that great secret of the dramatist, the use of one character to throw up and reveal another. Prince Henry is thus revealed by Hotspur. . . . Altogether he makes an excellent foil to the cool and politic prince; and to project him ineffaceably, once for all, Shakespeare presents him in relation to his wife. We have seen something of him in contact with the king Now in a scene [*II*, iii] of deliciously Meredithian comedy we get the whole of him in 114 lines. . . . Lady Percy's first words show their relation, for he has told her nothing of the plot, but has taken no pains to hide that there is something toward. He is fond of her, and in his fashion kind, but does not dream of taking her seriously as a human being.

MISTRESS QUICKLY

B. MATTHEWS (*Sh as Playwright*, 1913, p. 126). Mrs Quickly, own sister to Juliet's Nurse, and obviously designed for the same performer. . . . (p. 200); It is not difficult to believe that Queen Margaret [*Richard III*], who curses so copiously, was impersonated by the young fellow who was soon after to appear as Kate the curst [*The Taming of the Shrew*]. What became of this lad, and of the others also, when their voices cracked and they grew to manhood? Probably most of them remained in the company and took to male characters, returning on occasion to the other sex when there arrived a strongly marked part for an "old woman"—a part that did not demand actual youth. One such actor, boy or man, must have created the Nurse in *Romeo and Juliet*,

the various Mrs Quicklys in *Henry IV*, *Henry V*, and *The Merry Wives*, and Mrs Overdone in *Measure for Measure*, characters closely akin in oily humor.

JOHN B. PRIESTLEY (*Eng Comic Characters*, 1925, p 77). Hostess Quickly, though no better than she should be, is at least something better than a ruffianly old trull . . . She is the mother of a great line of comic Cockney landladies, charwomen, and the like, in her wandering but vehement speech, her absurd mispronunciations, her oscillation between a native delight in mirth and easy living and an equally innate desire for respectability and a good name in the parish . . . There is not a moment when she is not alive, nor a sentence of her speech that does not ring with truth to nature. How admirable is her oscillation between anger at Falstaff's debts and continued borrowings and lies, and her pride in his patronage and delight in his society. He has her under a spell . . . She has all her sex's delight in a plausible and ingratiating rascal, particularly when he bends, like Jove, from a superior social station.

STAGE HISTORY

1596-1638

HALLIWELL (*Outlines of Life of Sh*, ed 1882, p. 58) and ADAMS (*Life of Sh*, 1923, p. 226) conjecture that *I Henry IV* was first given at The Theatre in 1597, and at Court the following Christmas, when the Chamberlain's Men played before the Queen. They assume that it was at the performance of the two parts of *Henry IV* at this time that the Queen was so pleased with Falstaff that she called for the author and requested him to write a play in which Falstaff should be made to fall in love—BALDWIN (*Organ. and Personnel of Sh. Company*, 1927, chap. ix) assigns the play to the summer of 1596, and "after careful sifting of the present evidence" distributes the parts as follows: The King, Augustine Phillips; to whom Baldwin also assigns the part of Berowne in the 1588 production of *Love's Labour's Lost* and Holofernes in the 1597 revival of that play, the king in *Hamlet*, Theseus in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Bolingbroke in *Richard II*, etc. Prince Hal,* Burbadge; who also played Romeo, Richard II, Richard III, Henry V, Hamlet, Brutus, etc. Hotspur, William Sly, who in his youth had played the principal female parts, and later Laertes, Octavius, etc. Falstaff, Thomas Pope; who also played Armado, Parolles, Sir Toby, Mercutio, Benedick, Shylock, Jaques, Casca, etc Baldwin's argument for Pope as the original Falstaff is as follows: "There were but two principal 'lines' in Shakespearean comedy before 1600. The broadly clownish type belonged to Kemp and his successor, Armin. The other started as Armado, Speed, and Quince, but ended as Oldcastle and Toby. . . . We have the witness of Samuel Rowland in 1600, and of John Taylor, a little later, that Thomas Pope was a famous comedian of the company. Rowland, in his *Letting of Humours Blood* (1600), asks: 'What means Singer, then, And

* G B. Harrison (*Sh. Actors*, 1927) assumes that Burbadge, who played Hamlet who was "fat and scant of breath," could not have played the tall, thin prince; cf. II, iv, 225-228.

Pope, the clown, to speak so boorish, when They counterfaite the clownes upon the stage?'. . . We have one genuine assignment of a part to Pope, Arbactus in *The Seven Deadly Sins*, a soldier who overcomes the effeminate young king . . . Further evidence is found in the fact that Lowin, Pope's successor in the company, is known to have acted the part of Falstaff. [Cf JAMES WRIGHT (*Hist. Histrion*, 1699, p. 4): In my time, before the wars, Lowin used to act, with mighty applause, Falstaff, Morose, Volpone, and Mammon] Malone [ed. 1821, iii, 187] says he remembers reading that Heminges was the original Falstaff, but Chalmers [*Apology*, 1796, p. 436] says there is only a tradition that Heminges performed the arduous part of Falstaff. . . It seems to me a striking confirmation [of my theory] that the Falstaff type, which had been given with variations for so many years, does not extend beyond 1602, about the time of Pope's withdrawal, while Heminges continued to act till 1611."—H. D. GRAY (*Rôles of Kemp*, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, 1930, p. 265) argues for Kemp in the part of Falstaff on the ground that "the large proportion of space given to the prince and Falstaff scenes may have been due to some extent to the essential fact that Burbadge and Kemp were there . . . In the Epilogue to *II Henry IV*, the author promises to continue the story with Sir John in it . . . But *Henry V* was composed in the autumn of 1599, after Kemp had gone. . . . There was no Kemp in the company, and so there was no Falstaff in the play" [The possibility that Shakespeare himself may have played the part of the king is suggested by the following lines from *The Scourge of Folly*, Epig. 159, by John Davies (c. 1610). "*To our English Terence, Mr Will Shakespeare* 'Some say (good Will) which I, in sport do sing, Hadst thou not playd some Kingly parts in sport, Thou hadst been a companion for a king.'"—ED.]

WHYTE (*Sidney Papers*, Mar. 8, 1600, ii, 175) records a performance of the play at Hunsdon House, Blackfriars, by the Lord Chamberlain his Men. See Appendix. Falstaff-Oldcastle. Adams, p. 456.

1600

LORD TREASURER STANHOPE (*Accompt*, 1613): Item, paid to Iohn Heminges vppon the Cowncell's warrant, dated att Whitehall xx die Maij, 1613, for presentinge before the Princes Highnes the Lady Elizabeth and the Prince Palatyne Elector fowerteene . . . playes, viz . . . *Much adoe aboute nothinge*, . . . *The Tempest*, . . . *The Winters Tale*, . . . *Sir Iohn ffalstaffe*, *The Moor of Venice*. . . . Item, paid to the said Iohn Heminges vppon the like warrant, dated att Whitehall xx die Maij, 1613, for presentinge sixe seuerall playes, viz . . . *The Hotspur* And one other called *Benedicte and Betteris*—STEEVENS (Var. ed. 1778) assumes that *The Hotspur* was *I Henry IV*, and *Sir Iohn Falstaff* either *II Henry IV* or *The Merry Wives*; but RHODES (*Sh. First Folio*, 1923, p. 67) points out that in Sir Henry Herbert's records for 1624–5 *I Henry IV* is called *The First Part of Sir John Falstaff*.*

1613

* Allison Gaw (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept. 1935, p. 717) brings evidence to bear to show that the *Sir John Falstaff* of the first entry may well have been *I Henry IV*. The payment per play for the plays in the later list was larger than for those in the earlier list, which would indicate that certain plays were repeated for the benefit of the King himself.

- 1625 SIR HENRY HERBERT (*Records*, 1623-73, ed. 1917, p. 52): 1624/5, Jan 1
Upon New-years night, the prince only being there, *The First Part of Sir
John Falstaff*, by the king's company. Att Whitehall, 1624.

- 1638 A performance at the Cockpit on the "Princes berthnight", see Appendix
Falstaff-Oldcastle, p. 456

[The popularity of *I Henry IV* on the public stage during Shakespeare's lifetime is indicated not only by the five quarto editions of the play, but by the following lines by Leonard Digges, written about 1623, and prefixed to *Shakespeare's Poems*, 1640: "And though the Fox and subtil Alchemist, Long intermitted, could not quite be mist, Though these have sham'd all the Ancients, and might raise Their authours merit with a crowne of Bayes, Yet these sometimes, even at a friends desire Acted, have scarce defrai'd the seacoale fire And doore-keepers when let but *Falstaffe* come, *Hall*, *Poines*, the rest—you scarce shall have a roome, All is so pester'd."—ED.]—ADAMS (*Life of Sh*, 1923, p. 227): But perhaps the most convincing evidence of the success of Falstaff is to be found in the two lines quoted below. One should remember that throughout the performance of a play the Elizabethan spectators were continuously eating nuts, the noise of the cracking shells being, according to Ben Jonson, "most damnable." Yet the entrance of Falstaff produced a sudden stillness. . . . "I could praise Heywood now; or tell how long Falstaff from cracking nuts hath kept the throng." (Verses by Sir Thomas Palmer, prefixed to the first folio of Beaumont and Fletcher, 1647.)

1660-1670

- 1660 JAMES WRIGHT (*Hist. Hist. Hist. Hist.*, 1699, p. 10): After the Restauration the King's Players Acted publickly at the Red Bull for some time, and then Remov'd to a New-Built Playhouse in Vere street, near Clare market There they continued for a year or two, and then remov'd to the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane—SIR HENRY HERBERT (*Records*, 1623-1673, ed. 1917, p. 116): Nouember 1660. This is a List of plays acted by the Kings companie at the Red Bull and the new house in Gibbon's Tennis Court near Clare Market. . . . Thursday the 8 No[v]. Henry the fourthe. First Play Acted at the new Theatre.—PEPYS (*Diary*, Dec. 31, 1660): In Paul's Churchyard I bought the play of Henry the Fourth, and so went to the new Theatre . . . and saw it acted; but my expectation being too great, it did not please me as otherwise I believe it would; and my having a book I believe did spoil it a little.
- 1661 PEPYS (*Diary*, June 4, 1661): To the Theatre and saw Harry the 4th, a good play.
- 1663 DOWNES (*Rosc. Angl.*, 1708, p. 7) gives the cast for the 1663 production at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane: The king, Mr. Wintersell; Prince Hal, Mr. Burt; Hotspur, Mr. Hart; Falstaff, Mr. Cartwright; Poins, Mr. Shotterel.
- 1667, 1668 PEPYS (*Diary*, Nov. 2, 1667): To the King's Playhouse, and there saw Henry the Fourth: and contrary to expectation was pleased in nothing more than in

Cartwright's speech about "What is Honour?" (Sept. 18, 1668): To the King's house, and saw a piece of Henry the Fourth.

[William Cartwright is generally spoken of as the first Falstaff after the Restoration; but it is probable that this distinction belongs to Walter Clun, who was murdered in 1664. PEPYS (Aug 4, 1664) refers to him as "one of their best actors, . . . the house will have a great miss of him." He is known to have played Iago and Subtle, and in an anonymous elegy on his death, reprinted in Thorn-Drury's *A Little Ark*, 1921, reference is made to his Falstaff: "And when we frown'd at some prodigious birth, Thou in a moment changed that scene to mirth; Then Smug and Bessus, Faulstaff and the rout Broke from thy lips, to make us face about " The words "Henry 4" are printed in the margin of this passage, opposite Falstaff's name.—ED.]—GILDON (*Lives of Eng. Dram. Poets*, 1698, p. 127) refers to "Henry the Fourth, the first Part containing . . . the comical part, the Character of Falstaff, which has been played by the late Mr. Lacey, to Admiration." [This specific reference to Part One, and Pepys's reference to Cartwright's delivery of the Honour Soliloquy are sufficient evidence that the many references to "*Henry IV* by the King's Players" are references to *I Henry IV*—ED.]—DAVIES (Additions to Downes's *Rosc. Angl.*, 1789, p. 15): Mr. Hart became soon so superior to Burt that he took the lead of him in almost all the plays acted at Drury Lane Lacy played Falstaff [even] during the life of Cartwright; on account, I suppose, of his superior excellence [Pepys's testimony, cited above, is the only definite comment we have on Cartwright's acting. Downes calls him a good actor; Davies says that little is known of him; Aubrey (*Hist. Surrey*, 1719) calls him excellent. He apparently retired soon after the union of the two companies; see below —ED.]

1670-1710

DAVIES (*Dram. Misc.*, 1785): For some time after the union of the King's and the Duke of York's Companies [in 1682], Betterton with general approbation acted Hotspur.—CIBBER (*Apol.*, 1740, p. 87): An excellence in Betterton was that he could vary his spirit to the different characters he acted. Those wild, impatient starts, that fierce and flashing fire, which he threw into Hotspur, never came from the unruffled temper of his Brutus . . . (p. 171): In his declining age he was as eminent in Falstaff as in his vigour in Othello — GENEST (*Acct. Eng. Stage*, 1832, ii, 219): Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1700. At the latter end of the past year, or the beginning of this, Betterton revived *Henry IV*—the Wits of all qualities (says a contemporary) have lately entertained themselves with a revived humour of Sir John Falstaff in *Henry IV*, which has drawn all the town more than any new play. . . . The Critics allow that Betterton has hit the humour of Falstaff better than any that have aimed at it before. . . . Falstaff, Betterton; Hotspur, Verbruggen; King, Berry; Prince of Wales, Scudamore.—GILDON (*Comp. between Two Stages*, 1702, p. 42): Every one runs now to renew their acquaintance with Shakespeare, . . . for no Author ever writ with such Felicity, or had such a prodigious Compass of Thought; and tho' some of these Plays that Batterton [*sic*] Acted were Historical, and consequently highly irregular, yet they never failed to please. . . . Well, this lucky hit of Betterton's put Drury-Lane to a non-plus. . . . Then

1682

1700

they fell to task on *The Fox*, *The Alchymist*, and *The Silent Woman*, who had lain twenty years in Peace, they drew up these in Battalia against *Harry the Fourth* and *Harry the Eighth*, and then the Fight began —ASTON (*Brief Suppl to Cibber's Lives*, 1747, p. 3) Betterton labour'd under an ill figure, being clumsily made, having a great head, a short thick neck, stoop'd in the shoulders, and had fat short arms which he rarely lifted higher than his stomach. . . . He had little eyes, a broad face, a corpulent body, thick legs, large feet. . . . His aspect was serious, venerable, majestic His voice was low and grumbling. . . In the character of Falstaff, he wanted the waggery of Estcourt, the drollery of Harper, and the salaciousness of Jack Evans —But then, Estcourt was too trifling, Harper had too much of the Bartholomew-Fair, and Evans misplaced his humour. . . (p. 16) Jack Verbruggen [the Hotspur to Betterton's Falstaff, see Genest, above], that rough diamond, shone more bright than all the polished brilliants that ever sparkled on our stage . . . He had the words perfect at one view, and Nature directed 'em into voice and action, in which last he was always pleasing—his person being tall, well-built, and clean; only he was a little in-kneed, which gave him a shambling gait, which was a carelessness and became him.—DAVIES (*Dram Misc*, 1785) In the beginning of this, or the end of the last, century, Ben Jo[h]nson, the actor, saw in Dublin a comic actor whom he much admired, one Baker, a master-paviour. He excelled in Sir Epicure Mammon, and more especially in Falstaff He would study his parts while surveying his workmen in the streets. . . . Johnson communicated to Betterton this actor's manner of personating Falstaff, which he not only approved but adopted, and frankly owned that the paviour's drawing was more characteristic than his own [For a description of Betterton's Acting-Version, see Appendix, p 502.—Ed.]

1704

[Before Betterton's death in 1710, at least two other actors had attempted the part of Falstaff in *I Henry IV*: Estcourt, at Drury Lane, on Nov. 25, 1704 (GENEST, v, 598), and George Powell, who, according to DAVIES (*Dram. Misc*, 1785), was malicious enough to envy the great actor, and who acted Falstaff in Betterton's peculiar manner, even mimicking him in those acute pains of the gout which sometimes surprised him in the time of action.—GENEST (v, 598) records Powell's first appearance as Falstaff at Drury Lane on April 7, 1712; Estcourt's second appearance having occurred there on Dec. 2, 1710.—Ed.]

1710

1712

1710-1740

MALONE (Var. ed 1821, iii, 291): From 1709, when Mr. Rowe published his edition of Shakespeare, the exhibition of his plays became more frequent than before. Between that time and 1740, Hamlet, Julius Caesar, Henry VIII, Othello, Richard III, King Lear, and the two parts of Henry IV were frequently exhibited. [Malone's statement is well substantiated, in the case of *I Henry IV*, by the list of performances recorded in Genest, supplemented by the record in *The Play-Accounts of Lincoln's Inn and Drury Lane from 1714 to 1723* (unpublished MS. in the Folger Shakespeare Library). Genest records 45 productions in the thirty years now under consideration; *The Play-Accounts* record 29 additional productions in the ten years covered by that volume. I append a list based on Genest and the Folger *Play-Accounts*. See pages 482, 483.—Ed.]

[The receipts at performances of *I Henry IV*, as recorded in *The Play-*

Accounts, are relatively low. One exception is the performance at Lincoln's Inn on Mar 15, 1716, for the Benefit of Mr Pack, when the receipts were £137. The next month, at Mr. Bullock's Benefit, the receipts were only £47, and at Drury Lane, Oct. 2, 1716, at the Benefit for Wilks, Booth, and Cibber, receipts fell to £21. During this same year, receipts at *Hamlet* were £50, £57, at *Timon*, £86, at *Macbeth*, £52, £15, £26. However, in 1723, at Lincoln's Inn, the receipts at the April performance were £121, and in May, £114. During this year *Macbeth* netted only £21, *Hamlet* £27, and *Measure for Measure* £15.—ED.]

DAVIES (*Dram. Misc.*, 1785): Since the death of Betterton in 1710, many comedians have tried their skill in Falstaff, but most of them with indifferent success. By the particular command of Queen Anne, Booth ventured to put on the habit of Falstaff for one night only. . . . The elder Mills would also try his skill in comic archery. But, alas, in vain! Harper's fat figure, full voice, round face, and honest laugh, rather . . . than his intelligence, fixed him at last in the jolly knight's easy chair

(Booth)
(Mills)
(Harper)

. . . The first play acted at Lincoln's-inn Fields which fixed the attention of the public was *The Merry Wives*. The great applause Quin gained in this, the feeblest portrait of Falstaff, encouraged him to venture on the most high-seasoned part in *I Henry IV*. Of this large compound of lies and bragging, this inexhaustible fund of wit and humour, Quin possessed the ostensible or mechanical part in an eminent degree. In person he was tall and bulky, his voice strong and pleasing; his countenance manly; and his eye piercing and expressive. In scenes where sarcasm and satire were poignant, he greatly excelled. In the whole part he was animated, though not equally happy. His supercilious brow, in spite of assumed gaiety, sometimes unmasked the surliness of his disposition, however, he was esteemed the most intelligent and judicious Falstaff since the days of Betterton.—VICTOR (*Hist. Theatr.*, 1761, II, 67). Harper was the Falstaff of Drury Lane, when Booth in Hotspur, Wilks in the Prince, and Cibber in Glendower, never failed to bring crowded houses, so that Harper was more seen in Falstaff than Quin, though less admired. And yet a leading critic gave Harper the preference, as, though he wanted the marking eye, and some judicious strokes of Quin, yet he had what Quin wanted, that jollity and natural pleasantry which Shakespeare gave to the character.—GENTLEMAN (*Dram. Cens.*, 1770): Mr. Quin was in his representation of Falstaff a true disciple of Momus; his comely countenance, his expressive eye, his happy swell of voice, and his natural importance of deportment, all united to make up a most characteristic piece of acting. To point out one stroke may seem superfluous; yet it would be ingratitude not to mention [II, iv, 246 ff] . . . There was in this place such a glow of feature and expression as we shall never see equalled.—ANON. (*Life of Quin*, 1887, p. 93): Quin's last appearance was at Covent Garden . . . Mar. 19, 1753, in *I Henry IV*, when his success was so great that Ryan was induced to solicit the same favour again the next year, . . . a request, declined because of the loss of his teeth, which drew from him the reply, that "he would play for Tom if he could, but would not whistle Falstaff for him."

(Quin)

(Harper)
(Booth)
(Wilks)
(Cibber)
(Quin)
(Harper)

(Quin)

VICTOR (*Mem. of Barton Booth*, 1733, p. 29): In the part of Hotspur, Booth

(Booth)

<i>Drury Lane</i>	<i>Lincoln's Inn</i>	<i>Covent Garden</i>	<i>Goodman's Fields</i>	<i>Haymarket</i>
Apr. 1712. Falstaff-Powell.				
May 1713. Falstaff-Bullock.				
Feb. 1715. Falstaff-Evans,	Apr. 1715. Falstaff-Hall			
Hotspur-Elrington, King-Mills,				
Prince-Wilks.				
Feb. 1716. Falstaff-Booth.				
Mar. 1716. Falstaff-Mills,	Mar. 1716. Falstaff-Bullock			
Hotspur-Booth,	Apr. 1716.			
King-Boman,				
Prince-Wilks.				
May 1716. King-Thurman.	Oct. 1716.			
Oct. 1716.	Nov. 1716.			
Sept. 1717.	Apr. 1717.			
Jan. 1718.	Jan. 1718. Hotspur-QUIN.			
May 1718.	May 1718.			
Sept. 1718.	Sept. 1718.			
Jan. 1719.	Apr. 1719.			
May 1719.	Oct. 1719.			
Oct. 1719.	Feb. 1720.			
Sept. 1720.	Apr. 1720.			
Nov. 1720. Glendower-	Jan. 1721. Falstaff-Bullock,			
Cibber.	Hotspur-Ryan,			
	King-QUIN,			
	Prince-Leigh.			
	Oct. & Nov. 1721. (3 performances)			
Sept. 1721.				
Jan. 1722.	Apr. 1722.			
May 1722.	Sept. 1722.			
	Jan. 1723.			
	Apr. 1723.			

<i>Drury Lane</i>	<i>Lincoln's Inn</i>	<i>Covent Garden</i>	<i>Goodman's Fields</i>	<i>Haymarket</i>
May 1723. Falstaff-Harper, Hotspur-Booth, King-Thurmond, Prince-Wilks.	May 1723. Oct. 1723.			
Oct. 1724.	Nov. 1724.			
Oct. 1725.				
May 1726. Hotspur-Booth, Prince-Giffard.	Sept. 1727.			
Jan. 1729.	Nov. 1729. (3 performances) Sept. 1730. Falstaff-QUIN.			
Dec. 1730.				
Mar. 1731.	Sept 1731.		Oct 1732. Falstaff- Hulett, Hotspur- Delane, Prince- Giffard.	
Oct. 1732.				
				{ Falstaff- Oct. 1733. Harper, Nov. 1733. Hotspur- Millward.
	Apr. 1733.	Nov. 1733.		
Sept. 1734. Falstaff-QUIN, Hotspur-Millward, King-Mills, Poins-MACKLIN			Sept. 1734.	
		Apr. 1735. Falstaff- Bridgewater, Prince-Hallam.		
		Mar. 1736. Falstaff-Delane.		
		Apr. 1737 Falstaff-Stephens.		
		Dec. 1738.		
Jan. 1737.				
Jan. 1738.				
Oct. 1738.				
Nov. 1739.				
Oct. 1740.				

preserved the fire of that character, without those distortions of countenance we so frequently see in other actors . . . I am informed that he once acted Falstaff before the late Queen Anne, to the delight of the audience.—T CIBBER (*Lives of Actors*, 1753) Some years ago on Mr. Giffard's coming from Ireland (then a young actor) Mr Booth presented the character of Hotspur one night when Mr Giffard played the Prince of Wales; Mr Booth, knowing Mr. Giffard must be prejudiced in favour of Mr. Elrington, to whose performance of Hotspur he had many times attended with admiration—Mr Booth, piqued on this occasion, exerted himself and played the part with such fire, and energy of spirit, as roused his auditors to an extravagance of applause, and made Mr Giffard confess that . . . Mr. Booth in power and spirit went far beyond Mr Elrington . . . Some years later Mr Elrington came over [from Ireland] and frequently played Hotspur, during Mr Booth's indisposition. I often attended his performances—as did Mr Quin whose superior judgment confirmed my opinion of Mr Booth's excellence; yet Mr Quin's first impression was made by Mr. Elrington, as was Mr Giffard's.—DAVIES (*Dram Misc*, 1785) Booth's Hotspur was one of the most perfect exhibitions of the stage His strong yet harmonious pipe reached the highest note of exclamatory rage without hurting the music of its tone . . . His tread was quick, accompanied with princely grandeur. . . . But though a fine portrait of courage, humour and gallantry, it was not superior to the Prince of Wales by Wilks . . . [who quickly] threw aside the libertine gaiety of Hal, when he assumed the princely deportment of Henry At the tavern he was lively and frolicsome; in the reconciliation with his father, his penitence was gracefully becoming, and his resolution of amendment affecting In his challenge of Hotspur, his defiance was equally gallant and modest. In his combat with Hotspur, his fire was tempered with moderation, and his reflections on the death of the great rebel were generous and pathetic.

FLOOD (*Sh. in Dublin*, in *Rev. Eng Stud*, 1926) records performances in Dublin in 1719, 1723, 1733, 1734, and 1736.

1740-1790

[From 1740 to 1753, Quin appeared regularly, at Covent Garden in the part of Falstaff, often performing the two parts of *Henry IV* on consecutive nights. In the performance on Dec. 6, 1746, Garrick appeared for the first time as Hotspur.—ED.]—DAVIES (*Dram., Misc.*, 1785): On this evening the advantage was greatly on Mr. Quin's side; the part of Hotspur was not suited to Mr. Garrick's figure or style of acting.—J. KNIGHT (*Life of Garrick*, 1894, pp. 101, 332) Garrick gave Hotspur in "a laced frock and Ramillies wig," a costume which even in those days was found insignificant, and the part did not count among his successes. . . . He gave it five times in all, and then resigned it, never to be resumed. [When the play was next given at Covent Garden, in April 1748, Ryan played Hotspur to Quin's Falstaff; and in Oct. 1748, Delane succeeded Ryan, and Ryan undertook the part of the Prince. Barry succeeded Delane in 1752. During these years only three productions are recorded by Genest at Drury Lane: Apr. 1742; Feb. 1743; and Jan. 1747. In the first of these Shepard was Falstaff; in the second and third, Barry played Falstaff. Barry was the Hotspur of the 1747 performance, and Giffard the prince.—

ED.]—DAVIES (*Dram. Misc.*, 1785): The house [at the 1747 performance] was far from crowded, for the public could no more bear to see another Falstaff, while Quin was on the stage, than they would now fly to see another Shylock so long as Macklin represents the Jew . . . Berry was neither exact in his outline nor warm in his colouring. He was indeed the Falstaff of the beer-house, whilst Quin was the dignified President where choicest viands and best-flavoured wines were to be had

(Berry)
(Giffard)

(Berry vs.
Quin)

[Shuter succeeded Quin at Covent Garden, and the production of *I Henry IV* continued annually at that theatre from 1753 to 1763, and thereafter at intervals until Shuter's death in 1776. Meanwhile, in 1762, James Love had begun his Drury Lane career as Falstaff. Genest records the following Drury Lane productions with Love as Falstaff: Sept. 1762, Nov. 1763, Oct. 1764, May 1765, Jan. 1766, Oct. 1769.—ED.]—GENTLEMAN (*Dram. Cens.*, 1770): Mr. Shuter's common fault of being too comical lies much against him. Mr. Love stands next to Mr. Quin. His figure, features, eyes, and manner are agreeable to criticism, but we wish him a little more animation, a little of that luxuriance of which Mr. Shuter has too much.—DAVIES (*Dram. Misc.*, 1785): Love wanted not a good share of *vis comica* . . . What Ned Shuter wanted in judgment, he supplied in archness and drollery

(Shuter and
Love)

[From 1772 to 1785, Henderson was a popular Falstaff. He first appeared in the part in Bath in December 1772, and later at the Haymarket (July 1777), at Drury Lane (Oct. 1777 and Sept. 1778), at Covent Garden (1779, 1780, 1781, 1783, and 1785), and frequently at Bath and Liverpool.—ED.]—DAVIES (*Dram. Misc.*, 1784): Henderson had many difficulties to contend with. Neither in person, voice, nor countenance did he seem qualified for the part. By the assistance of excellent judgment, he has contrived to supply all deficiencies. In the impudent dignity of the character Quin greatly excelled. In the frolicsome, gay, and humorous situations Henderson is superior to every man. . . . Quin's supercilious manner was of use in scenes where he wished to overawe his companions into compliance with his humour. Henderson's gay levity was best suited to riotous mirth. The master-action of Quin was the detection of his cowardice; and though in this Henderson shows much art and true humour, yet his soliloquy in describing his ragamuffin regiment, and his enjoying the misuse of the king's press-money, are not inferior to any comic representation of the stage.

(Henderson
and Quin)

[Ryder succeeded Henderson at Covent Garden on Nov. 22, 1786; and in 1787 Pope appeared with him as Hotspur. Palmer had first appeared as Falstaff in 1780 at Drury Lane, but did not reappear in the part until 1791. Smith was a popular Hotspur at Covent Garden from 1753 to 1774, and "Gentleman Lewis" a famous Prince Hal in the same company from 1773 to his retirement in 1809 at the age of sixty-one. Charles Lee Lewes, grandfather of George Henry Lewes, played Bardolph at Covent Garden in 1763. In 1786, Mrs. Webb essayed the rôle of Falstaff at the Haymarket (see Boaden, *Memoirs of J. P. Kemble*, 1825, p. 189).—ED.]

1790-1826

Genest records 45 productions in this period. Among the more notable were:

[1791. June and November. The Drury Lane Company at the Haymarket.

- (Palmer)
(J. P. Kemble)
Palmer played Falstaff; and, in November, John Philip Kemble played Hotspur.—BOADEN (*Mem of Kemble*, 1825, p. 432): Palmer had the bustle and the roar, but not the brain, of Falstaff. . . I thought Kemble's Hotspur quite on a par with his fifth Harry.—J. W. COLE (*Life of Kean*, 1859, i, 113) lists Hotspur among Kemble's greater parts. [Palmer and Kemble, however, did not attempt these parts again until 1802.—ED.]
- (King and Bensley)
[1792. December. The Drury Lane Company at the Haymarket. King as Falstaff, Bensley as Hotspur.]—DIBDIN (*Reminisc.*, 1836, i, 147) quotes a letter from his grandmother, Mrs. Pitt, who had played with many Falstuffs. "I went to see King in Falstaff . . . He understood the author well: the rest was lacking. I knew his physical disability for the part."
- (Fawcett)
[1795. December. Covent Garden. Fawcett as Falstaff, Holman as Hotspur, "Gentleman Lewis" as Prince Hal.]—G. DANIEL (ed. c. 1829). Messrs S. Kemble, Mathews, Bartley, Fawcett, Dowton, and C. Kemble and Cooke have amused the public with their versions of the part of Falstaff, and Mr. John Kemble advertised his own attempt in the part, but relinquished the idea. . . We know what his *reading* of the part was; his acting would have partaken of the dry sarcastic humour of Quin. Of these representations those of Fawcett and Dowton came nearest to our conception, . . . but this is only comparative praise. They were far from the Falstaff of Shakespeare. We have him at last in Mr. Elliston [see below, 1826.—ED.]—J. DORAN (*Knights and their Days*, 1856, p. 301) calls Fawcett the worst Falstaff the world had yet seen.—J. KNIGHT (*Fawcett, D. N. B.*, 1889) says that his Falstaff in *The Merry Wives* "eclipsed all save Cooke's." [Fawcett played the Falstaff of *I Henry IV* again at Covent Garden in 1799, 1810, and 1814, and at the Haymarket in 1796.—ED.]
- (C. Kemble)
[1796. August. Haymarket. Charles Kemble as Hotspur, Fawcett as Falstaff.]—J. KNIGHT (*C. Kemble, D. N. B.*, 1892). Charles Kemble rose in favour with his performance of Hotspur
- (Cooke)
[1802. Jan. Drury Lane. Palmer as Falstaff, J. P. Kemble as Hotspur, C. Kemble as Prince Hal.]
- [1802. Feb. Covent Garden. Cooke as Falstaff, H. Siddons as Hotspur.]—G. DANIEL (ed. c. 1829): Cooke's Falstaff was not one of his happiest rôles.—W. DUNLAP (*Mem of Cooke*, 1813, ii, 166): Cooke said he could never please himself as Falstaff, and acknowledged that he had borrowed all his best points from Henderson. . . (p. 168): Cooke and Falstaff both were professed sensualists, drank inordinately and eat little. Both were braggarts, romancers, and quarrellers, and both unparalleled for backing out when an antagonist was provoked to dangerous opposition. Both were spend-thrifts, both actors, both soldiers, and both not only witty themselves but the cause of wit in others. [Cooke appeared again as Falstaff in 1803 (with J. P. Kemble as the King), in 1808, and 1809.]
- (S. Kemble)
[1802. Oct. Drury Lane. S. Kemble as Falstaff.]—DORAN (*op. cit.*, 1856, p. 302): I have said that Quin was the greatest of all Falstuffs, but the greatest in the physical acceptance of that word was Stephen Kemble. . . . Banister, jr., prefaced his first London performance with these lines: "A Falstaff here tonight by nature made, Lends to your fav'rite bard his pond'rous aid; No man in buckram he! no stuffing gear, No feather-bed, nor e'en a pillow-bere, But all good honest flesh and blood and bone, And weighing more or less some thirty

stone"—T. PLAIN (*Letter*, 1800, p. 158): Mr Kemble has an inflexibility of feature which cannot mark the sudden transitions required for Falstaff. When his companions steal Falstaff's horse, Mr. Kemble is singularly unfortunate. He ought to "fret like gummed velvet," but his exclamations are uttered with a lamentable howl. [Plain refers to Kemble's first appearance as Falstaff, in Edinburgh, in 1799.—ED.]—P. H. FITZGERALD (*The Kembles*, 1871, ii, 109): Stephen Kemble obtained the doubtful notoriety of playing Falstaff "without stuffing" . . . To the end of his life this was his claim to the attention of the public.

[1805. Sept. Drury Lane. Elliston's first appearance as Hotspur, to the Falstaff of S. Kemble, and the Prince of H. Siddons.]—LEIGH HUNT (*Crit. Essays*, 1807, p. 200) I consider Mr Elliston, not only with respect to his versatility, but in general excellence, the greatest actor of the present day . . . If he possessed the fine countenance of Mr. [J. P.] Kemble he would outshine him . . . Mr. [J. P.] Kemble's studiousness damps his enthusiasm; Mr. Elliston's enthusiasm overcomes his study. If the one has more judgment, the

(Elliston)

other has more genius.—IBID. (p. 35): Mr. Henry Siddons is *respectable*, and he should undertake characters that inspire us with nothing more than respect, but what do the newspapers mean when they say such an actor performs the Prince respectably? To represent such men respectably is to represent them badly, for they should raise our wonder and admiration.

(H. Siddons)

[1812. Nov. Drury Lane. Dowton's first appearance as Falstaff in *I Henry IV*. Constantly repeated in England and America for the next forty years. His Falstaff of *The Merry Wives* was more popular.]—J. W. COLE (*Life of Kean*, 1859, i, 320). Dowton's Falstaff was sound and judicious, but lacked rich, overflowing humour.—BOASE (*D.N.B.*, 1888) Dowton's was a quiet and natural style of acting.

(Dowton)

[1812. Oct. Covent Garden. Young as Falstaff.]

(Young)

[1814. July. Haymarket. Mathews as Falstaff. Repeated at Covent Garden, 1815, 1816. A not too successful experiment.]

(Mathews)

[1815. April. Drury Lane. Bartley's first appearance as Falstaff in *I Henry IV*. Constantly repeated in England and America until Bartley's retirement in 1852. His Falstaff of *The Merry Wives* was more popular.]—J. W. MARSTON (*Recent Actors*, 1888, ii, 302): Bartley was dull and mechanical as Falstaff. One missed the sharp twinkle of the eye, the vivacity and self-enjoyment. He was correct in design, but carved out methodically and fell short on impulse.

(Bartley)

[1817. May. Covent Garden. J. P. Kemble's last appearance as Hotspur, Young as Falstaff.]—J. KNIGHT (*D.N.B.*, 1900): Young was the most distinguished member of the Kemble school. He held his place creditably when compared with Kemble, Kean, and Macready.

(Young)

[1818. June. Covent Garden. Macready's first London appearance as Hotspur. Young as Falstaff.]—MACREADY (*Reminisc.*, 1875, p. 70) tells us that he had won golden opinions as Hotspur, in Bath, in 1814-15; and that (p. 17) he had won a prize, as a schoolboy at Rugby, for his delivery of the part of Hotspur in Act I, scene iii.

(Macready)

[1819. March. Drury Lane. Edmund Kean's first appearance as Hotspur, to the Falstaff of S. Kemble. Repeated in April, 1820.]

(Kean)

[1819. Apr. and Oct. Covent Garden. Macready's Hotspur to the Falstaff of Yates.]

(Yates)

- (Wallack) [1823 Oct Drury Lane. James Wallack's first appearance as Hotspur, to Dowton's Falstaff and Elliston's Prince]
- (C. Kemble) [1824 May. Covent Garden Charles Kemble's first appearance as the Falstaff of *I Henry IV*, Young as Hotspur, Cooper as the Prince]—GENEST (*Actt Eng. Stage*, 1832). A gentleman who was present said: "Kemble had studied the part thoroughly. He endeavoured to rescue it from the coarseness with which it had been usually represented. In the presence of the king, and in conversation with Westmoreland, he invested it with gentility and courtly bearing." This gentleman had never seen Henderson. They who remembered that great actor would be disgusted with Kemble's attempt at refinement and novelty. Henderson made Falstaff neither very vulgar nor very polite—THEATRICAL OBSERVER (May 3, 1824): In the Gadshill story, and in the scene with the dead Percy, Kemble was eminently successful . . . "There is Percy" was spoken with such an attitude, tone, and look as convulsed the house—IBID (May 10): We remember seeing Fawcett as Falstaff, Kemble as the Prince, and we think that this old cast, with Young's Hotspur, would render the play still more attractive. (May 18): Kemble acts Falstaff with more buoyancy of body and more playfulness of tone than any other performer. . . His rogueries and humour sit lighter on him for the rapidity of his tongue. [This production was very elaborate. The play-bill boasts (see ODELL, *Sh from Bellerton to Irving*, 1920, II, 173) that "every character will be dressed in the precise habit of the period, the whole of the dresses being executed from indisputable authorities, i.e., monumental effigies, painted glass, illuminated manuscripts, sepulchral brasses, etc."] The *Theatrical Observer* records nine performances in two months. There were further performances in Jan. and Feb. 1825, with Bennett replacing Young; and in 1827 and 1828.
- (Cooper) Cooper, who played Hotspur in 1824, had made his reputation in America, and in 1828 was beginning an engagement in New York. He "possessed extraordinary beauty of face and form," and in 1798 had been acclaimed "the unrivalled tragic actor of America." (See O. S. Coad, in *D. A. B.*).—THEATRICAL OBSERVER (Oct. 6, 1828): We cannot account for the infatuation which induces Mr. Kemble to imagine that he can play Falstaff. . . . We have never seen Covent Garden on a Monday night so deserted; the performance was as melancholy as the house.—DORAN (*Knights and their Days*, 1856, p. 304): Charles Kemble made the ghost of Shakespeare very uneasy by attempting a part for which he was wholly unfit. He persevered, however; but the success of Elliston in 1826 settled the respective merits of the two performers.
- (C. Kemble) [1826 May. Drury Lane] J. W. COLE (*Life of Kean*, 1859, I, 183): Elliston's last appearance at Drury Lane occurred in May, 1826, when he twice performed Falstaff in *I Henry IV*. Great expectations were excited, which were not realized. He possessed every requisite for the part, and ought to have surpassed Henderson. . . . He rehearsed splendidly, but failed when it came to the acting. Long habits of dissipation had impaired his powers, and he had become careless, vulgarized in style, and slovenly in delivery.—DANIEL (ed. c. 1826): We have the Falstaff of Shakespeare, at last, in Mr. Elliston. . . . He looks Falstaff admirably; his sly humour, his roguish twinkle, all the hilarity and fun that play about this midnight reveller. He is never thoroughly out of temper. . . . He is more humourist than coward.—MACREADY (*Reminisc.*, p. 232): Elliston was an actor highly distinguished by the versatility

and power of his performances . . . His rehearsal [of Falstaff] gave me great pleasure . . . I was satisfied that he had made the nearest approach to the joyous humour and unctuous roguery of the character that I had ever witnessed; . . . but alas! whether from failure of voice or deficiency of power, the attempt fell ineffectively upon the audience. The play was repeated on May 15. Before the curtain rose, Elliston complained of feeling ill. . . . As the evening wore on, he gave signs of extreme weakness . . . In the fifth act he fell prostrate . . . He was conveyed to his dressing-room, and never appeared upon the stage again [The cast, as given in Cumberland's *British Theatre*, no. 23, included Wallack as the Prince and Macready as Hotspur]

1826-1846

[Until Phelps's first appearance as Falstaff in 1846, at Sadler's Wells, no notable new production of *I Henry IV* occurred. At Drury Lane, Dowton played Falstaff to the Hotspur of Macready in 1830, 1832, 1833, and 1834. John Cooper played the King in 1830, and the Prince in the later productions (see *Theatrical Observer*, Nov. 12 and 19, 1830; Dec. 1, 1832; Oct. 22, 29, and Dec. 13, 1833, and Feb. 3, 1834).—THEATRICAL OBSERVER (Nov. 13, 1830). Mr. Macready was in his element, his impetuous declamation was in perfect accord with the character. It is impossible that his picture of Hotspur could be improved. [Bartley replaced Dowton at Drury Lane in the autumn of 1834, with Vandenhoff as Hotspur, and again in the spring of 1837, with Bullen as Hotspur and John Cooper as the Prince; Macready having relinquished the part of Hotspur in 1834, when he began his long career as the King in *II Henry IV*. Dowton replaced Bartley at Drury Lane in the autumn of 1837, with the rest of the cast unchanged. Dowton also played Falstaff at the Surrey Theatre in the autumn of 1838 (see *Actors by Daylight*, Sept. 22, 1838). James H. Hackett, the American actor, who had been playing Falstaff in *I Henry IV* for eleven years in the States, undertook the part at Drury Lane for three performances in November 1839, with Elton as Hotspur, and Henry Marton as the Prince.]—THEATRICAL OBSERVER (Nov. 2, 1839): We have never seen the part of Falstaff so well acted since Dowton's performance in his meridian.

(Macready)

H. B. BAKER (*Hist. London Stage*, 1904, p. 287): On Jan. 22, 1844, The English Opera House became The Theatre Royal Lyceum. The season opened with *I Henry IV*, an aspiring amateur, Captain Harvey Tuckett, playing Falstaff. . . . A fortnight's trial, to empty benches, cured the Lyceum of its ambition for the legitimate.—H. S. WYNDHAM (*Annals of Cov. Gard.*, 1906, ii, 178): Mr. Laurent took a lease of Covent Garden in February, 1845. He opened with *I Henry IV*, and a cast which included Mr. and Miss Vandenhoff, and "Mr. Betty," presumably "the infant Roscius" of forty years before, or his son, as Hotspur. The opening night was well attended. [Hackett was the Falstaff of this performance. The reviewer for the *Athenaeum* (Feb. 8, 1845) characterizes Hackett's interpretation as "the best that has been seen for many a day"; but calls Betty's Hotspur "hard and crude, deficient in study and wanting in discrimination."—ED.]

1846. W. PHELPS (*Life of Samuel Phelps*, 1886, p. 87): The third season at

(Phelps)

Sadler's Wells opened 25 July, 1846 . . with *I Henry IV*, Phelps playing for the first time the character of Falstaff, in which he was very successful. It was ever after one of his most famous parts: he must have played it three or four hundred times. I have seen every other Falstaff of my time, but none of them approached him. From what we read of Henderson, Phelps must have been his real successor in the rôle, no one between them having played the part in so intellectual a manner. Some critics have spoken of his lack of unction. . . . If any word more than another characterized his action, it is unctuousity.—J. W. MARSTON (*Recent Actors*, 1888, II, 25). Phelps's Falstaff hardly conformed to the general ideal. He lacked unction. To judge from his humour, his sack must have been extra dry. But there was a pith, a Yankee "cuteness" in his delivery. If much of Falstaff's self-enjoyment was missing, it was atoned for by so much phlegm, such an air of caustic shrewdness, and of ease and conviction in mendacity, that his effrontery convulsed his hearers . . . In the last act the dissertation on Honour seemed to emanate from a mind so penetrated by its truth, that the gravity of delivery was more mirth-provoking than obvious humour would have been. [The cast included Creswick, who made his debut as Hotspur, and Henry Marston as the Prince. At a repetition, in Nov. 1849, Marston played Hotspur. Later repetitions at Sadler's Wells occurred in 1852, 1856, and 1860 (see *Life of S. Phelps*)]

1850-1930

(Kean)

1850 J. W. COLE (*Life of Kean*, 1859, II, 1, 12): In August, 1850, Charles Kean, in partnership with Mr. Keeley, entered on a two-year lease of the Princess's Theatre. . . During the first season the Shakespearean plays represented were *Hamlet* (14 performances), *Twelfth Night* (40), *As You Like It* (4), *Merchant of Venice* (12), *I Henry IV* (22) [Kean played Hotspur; Bartley, Falstaff; and Walter Lacey, the Prince. Bartley played his farewell, with this cast, in 1852 at the Princess. "Bartley, that fine old actor, perhaps the last of the Falstaffs" (cf. Baker, *Hist. Lond. Stage*, 1904, p. 483).]—LONDON ATHENÆUM (Dec. 21, 1850): Bartley played Falstaff with a vigour and unction not exceeded in his best days. Mr. Kean was the Hotspur. His fire and passion suit the demands of the character, and his reading of the part in other respects evinced diligent study. In its comic, as in its tragic, phases, not a point was missed. The scene with Lady Percy (Mrs. Kean) was admirably performed.

1850. [Meanwhile Drury Lane was offering a rival production.]—LONDON ATHENÆUM (Jan. 4, 1851): On Dec. 31, 1850, *I Henry IV* was well placed on the stage at Drury Lane. The Prince was played by Mr. Anderson, with genial aptitude. Hotspur in the hands of Mr. Vandenhoff was a fine classical study. A Mr. Barrett appeared as Falstaff with considerable success. There is much promise in his acting.

1855 and 1860. [The next noteworthy production was at Sadler's Wells in Sept., 1855. Creswick played Hotspur, and restored to the stage the great Hotspur-Glendower scene (III, i). G. A. Calvert played the Prince, and a Mr. Voltaire, Falstaff. On Sept. 22, at Sadler's Wells, Samuel Phelps played Hotspur to the Falstaff of Barrett. See *Lond. Athen.*, Sept. 22 and 29, 1855; and Sept. 29, 1860.—Ed.]

1864. [*I Henry IV* was given at Drury Lane on March 28, 1864, to celebrate

the tercentenary of Shakespeare's birth, with Phelps as Falstaff, Walter Montgomery as Hotspur, Walter Lacey as the Prince, and Ryder as the King.] —LONDON ATHENAEUM (Apr. 2, 1864): A costly revival The enthusiasm of the audience boundless . . . There are in Mr. Phelps's Falstaff no random impulses, no accidental hits, no special oiliness; but all has been wrought out of the actor's brain

(Phelps)

The young Mr. Montgomery has created a strong interest, and his performance was marked by intelligence and feeling, and had besides dash and vigour

The Glendower scene was acted for the first time [but see 1855, above —ED] —THE READER (Apr. 2, 1864): The grand stage revival is a success, but in spite of noble writing, variety of character, boundless wit, and the profoundly English spirit of the play . . . there is so complete a lack of interesting story that sustained interest is hardly to be expected . . .

All that brain-power and admirable acting can do, Mr. Phelps brings to bear upon his presentation of the witty knight; but he cannot obliterate all trace of his own individuality . . . In many respects Phelps's presentation is superior to that of Hackett, the American actor, or to that more recently given by Mr. Barrett. He has far less unctuousness than either, but his rendering is marked by scholarly point and depth, a clearness of definition at once original and commendable.—ODELL (*Sh. from Betterton*, 1920, II, 257): This revival was a great success and ran for several months.

1865. ATHENAEUM (Nov. 4, 1865): The revival of *I Henry IV* at the Standard Theatre, with Mr. Creswick as Hotspur, and Mr. Ryder as Falstaff, could not fail to be efficient.

1868. W. MAYNARD (*Gent. Mag.*, Nov. 1868): Mr. Mark Lemon [editor of *Punch*] as Falstaff has been the talk of the town for five weeks. . . . He realized all expectations by discarding all conventional usages and presenting a living portrait . . . The performances took place at The Gallery of Illustration in Regent-street, and consisted of selected scenes from *I* and *II Henry IV*, so chosen as to relate the story of Falstaff's career. . . . Mr. Lemon contrived to convey an impression of Falstaff's superiority to his associates.

(Lemon)

1869. ATHENAEUM (Mar. 13): Drury Lane, Mar. 6. Mr. Phelps's Falstaff is dry and hard. Witty men are not always merry. . . . Mr. Charles Dillon presents Hotspur minus chivalry . . . Mr. Sinclair plays the Prince as a modern young gentleman of dissipated habits.

(Phelps)

1879. ATHENAEUM (May 10): On May 3, a portion of *I Henry IV* was revived at the Olympic for the purpose of showing Mr. Henry Murray as Falstaff. The performance was not satisfactory, the wicked old knight being presented as a pleasant bourgeois. . . . A Falstaff in whom devilry is replaced by a species of good nature, almost pathetic in its homeliness, is not likely to find favour.

1885. BOAS (*Sh. and the Univs.*, 1923, p. 39): The Oxford University Dramatic Society revived *I Henry IV* in the Lent term, 1885.

1886. [The Cambridge University Amateur Dramatic Club produced a re-arrangement of the play in 1886. See *Acting Versions*, p. 503.—ED.]

1890. ATHENAEUM (Apr. 5): Lyceum Theatre. Afternoon performance by the Irving Amateur Dramatic Club To the present generation *I Henry IV* is practically unknown. . . . Even in an amateur performance it shows itself a great play, and managers who turn from it are misled.

1896. [A noteworthy and elaborate London production was that of Herbert

(Tree)

Beerbohm Tree at the Haymarket in May, 1896]—ATHENÆUM (May 16): The performance comes as an agreeable surprise. A generation has passed since it was last seen at Drury Lane, and during that period all the traditions of so-called tragic acting have passed away. In the loss of these lies our gain. Nothing worse can be recalled than the style in which, in the middle of the century, the words of Shakespearean tragedy were ladled out at the big houses. The painstaking conscientious talent of Phelps, the morbid genius of Macready, the intellectual flashes that lit the sky of the younger Kean, won a certain consideration for a style which, vicious as it was, was supposed to transmit tradition from Betterton, Barry, Garrick, and the elder Kean. . . . We have now at the Haymarket a presentation of one of the most splendid and chivalrous of the chronicle plays, in which there is much to praise and little to condemn. . . . Mr. Lewis Waller is quite heroical in Hotspur. Mr. Frank Gullmore's Prince has a boyish jauntiness not wanting in distinction. . . . In Mr. Tree's Falstaff we have the sly, plausible rogue, who, in spite of all that is base, crapulous, and ignoble, has given us "medicines to make us love him." . . . Not a moment in the entire performance is there when the actor is recognizable behind the man. Voice, gait, bearing are all changed; and it is the fat knight himself that comes before us. . . . It is the best Falstaff the modern stage has seen.—G. B. SHAW (*Dram. Opin.*, 1906, i, 429): Mr. Tree only wants one thing to make him an excellent Falstaff, and that is to get born over again as unlike himself as possible. No doubt in the course of a month or two, when he begins to pick up a few of the lines of the part, he will improve on his first effort; but he will never be even a moderately good Falstaff. . . . The basket-work figure, the lifeless mask, the voice coarsened, vulgarized, and falsified without being enriched and coloured,—Mr. Tree might as well try to play Juliet. . . . (p. 431): The chief merit of the production is that the play has been accepted from Shakespeare mainly as he wrote it. There are cuts, of course, the worst of them being the sacrifice of the nocturnal inn-yard scene [II, 1], a mutilation which takes the reality and country midnight freshness from the Gadshill robbery, and reduces it to a vapid interlude of horse-play.

[Since 1896, there has been no English production of note.*]—CHILD (*Rev. Eng. Stud.*, Apr. 1926, and Apr. 1927) records the following revivals: May 1906, The Benson Company at The Memorial Theatre at Stratford; a "Cos-

* A revival at His Majesty's Theatre, London, on February 28, 1935, "had the magic effect," according to *The Manchester Guardian* (March 1), "of making Shakespeare fashionable. Everybody of note was there. . . . Mr. Edmund Willard gave Hotspur the right vehement humour to cool his right vehement rage. Mr. John Drinkwater's King had music to discourse, and did not miss the chance. Mr. Lewis Casson as Glendower would have been elected arch-druid at any well-conducted eisteddfod. Mr. Patrick Waddington had a gallantry for both phases of the dissolute and martial prince. . . . Mr. [George] Robey is unquenchable, and his Falstaff is Robey. . . . It was a Falstaff most native to the Boar's Head; he trailed no glory of a past gentility; he had lived on sack and spoken the speech of the streets since boyhood." "The evening was divided," says *The New Statesman and Nation* (March 9), "between Mr. Drinkwater's clear but rather lugubrious enunciation as the King, and the spectacle of Mr. George Robey fidgeting, forgetting his part,

tume-Revival" by Chas. Fry, at St. George's Hall, in Nov. 1901; The Marlowe Society, Cambridge, 1909, a revival by Tree at His Majesty's Theatre, Nov. 1914; Birmingham Repertory Theatre, Apr. 1921; a revival at "The Old Vic.," London, 1923. [*I Henry IV* became part of the repertory of the present Stratford-upon-Avon Festival Company in 1930. Wilfred Walter's Hotspur is striking. Roy Byford's Falstaff is conventional and undistinguished — ED.]

AMERICAN PRODUCTIONS

[ODELL (*Annals of N. Y. Stage*, 1931) records almost one hundred productions of *I Henry IV* in New York City between 1761 and 1864. The first of these (the sixth Shakespearean production in New York) was at the Theatre in Chapel Street, on Dec. 18, 1761. Lewis Hallam played Hotspur, and David Douglass, Falstaff. These actors appeared again in these parts at the John Street Theatre in Feb. 1768. A performance advertised for Jan. 29, 1781, was cancelled; for "the departure of the fleet on Monday last deprived the theatre of several gentlemen who were to have taken part" (*Mercury*, Feb. 5). Later performances at the John Street Theatre occurred in 1792, 1793, 1794.

In Jan. 1798, at the Park Street Theatre, T. A. Cooper, who "possessed extraordinary beauty" and was considered "the unrivalled tragic actor of America" (see *Dict. Amer. Biog.*), made his first appearance as Hotspur, a part that he was to undertake almost annually until he attempted Falstaff in 1831 at the Bowery Theatre.—N. M. LUDLOW (*Dram. Life*, 1880, p. 371) says that Cooper was uneasy in the part of Falstaff, and played it only a few times. Harwood, Hilson, White, Green, and Warren were among the Falstaffs who played to Cooper's Hotspur. Cooper also appeared with Cooke on his American tours in 1810, 1811, and 1812, and with Bartley when he visited America in 1818 and 1819.—ED.]—COAD AND MIMS (*Amer. Stage*, 1929, p. 59): Until the arrival of Cooke in 1810, John E. Harwood was recognized as the greatest Falstaff America had yet seen. (p. 63). William Twaits, low-comedian with Cooper, at times insisted on playing the Prince, to the great amusement of the critics (p. 71): Thomas Hilson, London actor, made his American debut in 1811 and remained until 1818. His parts ranged from Falstaff to Richard III (p. 78). In 1821, Henry Wallack made his New York debut, [playing Hotspur among other rôles].

(Cooper)

(Cooke)

On May 13, 1828, James H. Hackett made his first appearance as the Falstaff of *I Henry IV* at the Park Theatre. Undoubtedly the most popular Falstaff that America has produced, he appeared regularly in the part, in England and America, for over forty years. Henry Wallack was his first Hotspur. In 1832, in Philadelphia, and in 1840, in London, Hackett played Falstaff to Charles Kean's Hotspur. Hield and Dyott were popular Hotspurs, with Hackett, in the '30s and '40s. Vandenhoff made a sensation in New York as Hotspur in 1846. Charlotte Cushman played Lady Percy, with Hackett and Hield, in 1838.

getting laughs in the wrong places, and, apparently, mesmerizing his critics into saying what an excellent performance it was. . . . His swagger suggests the old soak rather than the fallen gentleman. . . . At his best he never rose to be anything more than a super-Bardolph."

(Hackett)

Hackett's own view of the character of Falstaff is given in his reply to criticisms published in the London *Times* and *Chronicle* after his first London appearance (see J. H. Hackett: *Falstaff, A Shakespearean Tract* 1840). He has been reminded by his critics that Falstaff is a gentleman, as well as a humourist, and that he was not lacking in courtesy. Hackett replies "Very little courtesy of any sort can be expected from an 'impudent embossed rascal' Falstaff a gentleman! I should like to know in what one respect, beyond the ideal quality associated with knighthood . . . Is he not mean, cowardly, selfish, overbearing to his humble dependents and cruel in his treatment of his ragamuffins? Shakespeare has invested this 'compound of vice and sensuality' with no amiable or tolerable quality except a surpassingly brilliant wit and a spontaneous flow of humour. That the character was designed for stage-effect is evident from the many practically-dramatic scenes, and the idea that Falstaff is beyond the reach of histrionic art can only originate in a hypercritical and fantastic imagination."—WILLIAM WINTER (*Sh. on the Stage*, 1916, p. 356) gives the most laudatory account of Hackett's Falstaff "The best performance that has been seen on the American stage in my time, and I doubt whether it has ever been surpassed or often equalled on any stage . . . Hackett was not misled by any fastidious notion of latent refinement in the character. His Falstaff was a symmetrical blending of intellect and sensuality. The sensuality, the ignominious grossness of the character, has been shown in various modern performances, the intrinsic *mind* of Falstaff was shown by Hackett."

The *N. Y. Tribune*, of Sept. 3, 1856, is less enthusiastic: "The striking feature of Hackett's personation is his lack of success in identifying himself with the character in its more genial and redeeming points. The joviality and good-nature of Mr. Hackett have a certain shallowness about them; they are not sufficiently unctuous and overflowing . . . Every attempt at jollity by Mr. Hackett is an exact facsimile of its precursor; the same shake of the sides, the same number of *hal has!*, and the same crocodile smile showing the same number of teeth . . . A very good proof of the limited success of this personation is the fact that long before the end of the piece, the attention of the audience is concentrated on Hotspur and Percy [*sic*], and Falstaff is tolerated rather than enjoyed."

1850. ODELL (*Annals*, 1931) records a successful production at the Bowery Theatre in April 1850, with W. H. Gilbert as Falstaff, Wallack as Hotspur, Mrs. Wallack as Lady Percy. Other competitors of Hackett were Bass (Park, 1846); Lynne (Bowery, 1848); Johnston (Bowery, 1855); Henry Wallack (Wallack's, 1858) with J. W. Wallack, jr., as Hotspur; Henry Warwick (Hoym's, 1859); and Pearson (Academy of Music, Apr. 23, 1861).]

(Jack)

1869. WILLIAM WINTER (*Sh. on the Stage*, 3rd ser., 1916, p. 367): John Henry Jack acted the Falstaff of *I Henry IV* for the first time at the Broadway Theatre, New York, on Apr. 26, 1869, with F. Maeder as the Prince, D. H. Harkins as Hotspur, and Mrs. G. H. Gilbert as the Hostess. In the course of the next thirty years he was seen and applauded as Falstaff in many cities of the United States.

1896. [For Augustin Daly's proposed revival, see *Acting Versions*, p. 504.—ED.]—WINTER (*op. cit.*, 1916, p. 382): The announcement that Ada Rehan would appear as Prince Hal [in the Daly production] prompted Julia Marlowe

(Marlowe)

to assume that part. (p. 370): A production was accomplished at Palmer's Theatre, New York, on Mar. 19, 1896, by Julia Marlowe and Robert Taber, Miss Marlowe as the Prince and Mr. Taber as Hotspur. But the principal feature was the personation of Falstaff by William F. Owen. That comedian possessed both eccentricity and broad mirth, his personality was genial, kindly, winning, and to the comic side of Falstaff he gave effective and enjoyable expression. The mind, the victorious joy, the bewitchment—these were not more than suggested. (p. 371) Owen, in his droll way, elicited much of the superficial fun of the part; yet his impersonation seemed laboured and long, because it lacked *Falstaff's* humour. The stage-business caused laughter; the man, seldom or never . . . Miss Marlowe was a "pretty fellow enough" in male attire, but she wanted distinction. Her languid, female manner (p. 380) Daly's production would have been exceedingly opulent . . . James Lewis was to have been Falstaff, and Charles Richman, Hotspur. (Owen)

[Two productions by the Yale University Dramatic Association, in 1906 and 1920, respectively, and a revival by the Players' Club of New York, in June 1926, are the most notable twentieth century productions of this play in America.—ED.]

STAGE VERSIONS

A. THE DERING MANUSCRIPT

The earliest acting-version of *Henry IV* is preserved in a manuscript written not earlier than 1613 (see section on *The Uncorrected Manuscript*, below), and revised about 1623 by Sir Edward Dering (1598–1644) of Surrenden, Kent, probably for a private performance at his house. The manuscript was discovered in the library of the Dering family at Surrenden in 1844, and was published by Halliwell, in 1845, in the Publications of the Shakespeare Society. It is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington. It consists of selections from the two parts of the play, about three-quarters of the composite play being taken from *I Henry IV*, and the rest from *II Henry IV*. The adapter has made few significant omissions from the text of *Part I*, but has eliminated most of the Falstaff element in the selections from *Part II*.

The Uncorrected Manuscript. The manuscript is undated. Halliwell (p. xi) asserts that "the watermarks in the paper of the Dering MS. belong to the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, and the other criteria [handwriting, spelling, and colour of ink] to the first half of the reign of James I. The MS. has been shown to several eminent palaeographers, who have assigned its latest date to that period." Dr. J. Q. Adams, Director of Research at the Folger Shakespeare Library, writes me: "The watermark, the pitcher device, with initials P. O., surmounted by a crescent, might occur much later than the reign of Elizabeth. It is impossible to say that the handwriting and spelling indicate a date in the first half of the reign of James." The first page of the manuscript is written in a clear, flowing, and unprofessional hand; the remainder in a more cramped, but more professional, hand. The text is from the 1613 quarto of *I Henry IV*, and from the second issue of the 1600 quarto of *II Henry IV* (see section on Variants, below). Halliwell (p. xii) suggests that it may have been prepared for use in one of the city theatres. It may

equally well have been prepared for one of the performances at court in 1613 (see Stage-History, p 477).

Dering's Revision. How and when the manuscript came into the hands of the Dering family is not known. In the early 1620's, Sir Edward, looking forward to preferment at court, wooed and married, in London, a kinswoman of the Duke of Buckingham, Anne, daughter of Sir John Ashburnham. Perhaps it was at this time that he acquired the manuscript. At any rate it was in his possession, as will be shown, sometime after 1622. Many marginal corrections and emendations are in his hand. He was the first to divide the play into acts and scenes, and it is to be noted that his divisions do not always correspond with those of the First Folio, 1623. His most extensive addition to the text—nine original lines substituted for I, 1, 25-27—gives us our only clues to the probable date of his revision. These lines are written on a torn scrap of paper attached to the first page of the manuscript; and on the other side of this scrap we find written, also in Sir Edward's hand, a partial list of the characters in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Spanish Curate*, with two separate casts in parallel columns. The actors are, for the most part, relatives, friends, and neighbors of Sir Edward's. The lists are as follows:

Leandro.	Sr Tho Wotton	Francis Manouch Thom. Slender.
Octauio	Sr Warrhā St leger	Mr Kemp.
Bartolus	Sr Edw: Dering	Mr Donne.
Jamy	Robt Heywood	Jhon Deryng.
Henrique	Edw: Dering	Jhon Carlile.
Lopez	Tho: Slender.	Thom: Deryng.
Deigo.	Mr Donne.	Jacke of ye butterye
Assistent.	Jhon Dering	Anthōy Deryng.
	Mr Kemp.	Georg Perd.

Lines have been drawn through the names of all the actors, except "Kemp," after "Slender," in the first list of actors. The list of characters is incomplete; but as the paper is torn diagonally from under "A" of "Assistent," we may assume that there were originally additional names. It is inconceivable that *The Spanish Curate* could have been presented with all the women's parts, for example, omitted.

It is obvious that this piece of paper was first used by Dering for tentative lists of actors for a private production of *The Spanish Curate*, and that he later wrote his addition to the text of *I Henry IV* on the back of this discarded scrap. He would hardly have listed an incomplete cast for *The Spanish Curate* on a piece of paper that had become part of a manuscript of *Henry IV*. We may therefore safely assume that the revision of *Henry IV* occurred after October 24, 1622, at which time *The Spanish Curate* was licensed (see McKerrow's edi-

tion, 1905, p. 103). It is likewise probable that the plans for a private performance of *The Spanish Curate* were made before the summer of 1624, when Francis Manouch (Francesco Manucci), whose name appears at the top of the third column, left the service of the Wotton family (note the name of Sir Thomas Wotton at the top of the second column) to enter the service of Mr. Secretary Conway. The following excerpts from *The Calendar of State Papers* (ed 1859 Year 1624, pp 263, 288, and 426, Year 1628, Oct 8) give all the information that I have been able to discover about Manucci.

"1624 May. Sir Alb. Morton to Wm Chesterman. Hopes if Conway be not engaged he will take Mr Manucci, who has long served Lord Wotton, can have a good testimony from him, and will be an honest and faithful servant "

"1624 June Sir Albert Morton to Wm Chesterman. Francesco Manucci hopes to enter the service of [Secretary Conway], and is gone to Lord Wotton to obtain his recommendation "

"1624 [Secretary Conway] to Lord —. His servant Manucci protests ignorance that the horse he sold him was lame."

"1628 Oct 8 Bill of Francis Manucci for the stable at Ragley, and carrying horses thither for the service of Lord Conway."

[For the various spellings of the name Manucci, cf. E Phillips, *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1675, ii, 29: "Cosimo Manucci, an Italian, as his name imports, but an English writer"; and Langbaine, 1691, p. 338: "Cosimo Manouch, a gentleman living in the reign of Charles I. . . . Mr. Phillips supposes him an Italian, stiling him Manucci." In *Archaeologica Cantiana*, ed 1876, x, 334, we find: "1714. Edward Dering married Sarah Manooch, Dec. 12.")

The Anthony, Edward, John, and Thomas Derings of the lists seem to have been cousins of Sir Edward (see W. Berry: *Kent Genealogies*, pp. 397-403). Sir Thomas Wotton died in 1630 and Sir Wareham St. Leger in 1631. The only George Perd whom I have been able to discover was a prominent citizen of Barnstaple in Devonshire, a contemporary of Sir Edward's, and of his party in Parliament in the 1630's (see Chanter and Wainwright: *Reprint of Barnstaple Records*, 1900; and J. B. Gribble: *Memorials of Barnstaple*, n.d.). I have been able to establish no personal connection between Perd and the Derings, nor have I been able to identify Carlile, Donne, Heywood, and Slender. There are many Kemps in Kent and Sussex; one of whom was mayor of Dover at the time that Sir Edward was lieutenant of Dover Castle. The mayor's son, Edward, was granted arms in 1615 (see Hasted's *Kent*, ix, 528).

The Text. Dering's act and scene divisions, and those of the First Folio, are as follows:

<i>Dering</i>	<i>First Folio</i>
I, i, ii.	I, i, ii.
I, iii.	I, iii, 1-124.
I, iv.	I, iii, 125-end.
I, v.	II, ii, 1-95.
I, vi.	II, ii, 96-102.
II, i.	II, iii.
II, ii.	II, iv, 1-99.
II, iii.	II, iv, 100-end.

III, 1, 11	III, 1, 11
III, 111.	III, 111, 1-83
III, 1v.	III, 111, 84-end
III, v, v1.	IV, 1, 11.
III, vii.	IV, 111, 1-29.
III, viii.	IV, 111, 30-end
IV, 1, 11	V, 1, 11.
IV, 111.	V, 111, 1-29.
IV, 1v	V, 111, 30-end
IV, v.	V, 1v, 1-58.
IV, vi.	V, 1v, 59-127.
IV, vii.	V, 1v, 128-end.
IV, viii	V, v.
IV, viii, ix	Scenes from <i>II Henry IV</i>
V, 1-x.	" " " " "

The only scenes from *I Henry IV* entirely omitted in the Dering MS. are II, i, and IV, 1v

Variants. In the following list of variants in the Dering MS from the First Quarto text of *I Henry IV*, I have attempted to record only such readings as have some significance. Through Act I of Shakespeare's play, I have, I trust, listed enough readings to show the dependence of the Dering text on that of the Fifth Quarto (1613). I have used the following abbreviations:

Q₁. First Quarto (1598). Q₅. Fifth Quarto (1613) M Original reading of Dering MS D Sir Edward Dering's alterations.

I, 1 Scene-heading:

Q₁. *Enter the King, Lord John of Lancaster, Earle of Westmerland, with others*

Q₅. The same

M Enter Jhon E. of Lancaster Sr Walter Blunt, King Henry, and Attendance.

D Enter Jhon E. of Lancaster bare, King Henry, Sr Walter Blunt and Attendance.

3. new broiles Q₁Q₅M sweete rest D

4 Omit D.

5 entrance Q₁Q₅. bosome MD

5. soile Q₁Q₅. land MD.

6. dawbe her lips with Q₁Q₅. wash herself with M. wash herself in D.

19-21. Omit MD.

23. Omit D.

24. in Q₁Q₅ from MD.

25-27 M substitutes: "And force proude Mahomett from Palestine." and D adds: "The high aspiring Crescent of the turke, / We'll plucke into a lower orbe. And then / Humbling her borrowed Pride to th'English lyon, / With labour and with honour we'll fetch home / A sweating laurell from the glorious East / And plant new iems on royall England's crowne. / We'll pitch our honours att the sonnes vprise / and sell ourselves or winn a glorious prize."

- 28 now is Q_1 is Q_5 . is now M. now is D
 28 month Q_1Q_5M month's D.
 31 gentle Q_1Q_5D . noble M
 31 Cosen Westmerland Q_1Q_5 sonne of Lancaster MD
 34 and 49 *West.* Q_1Q_5 *Lanc* MD
 49 other did Q_1 . other like Q_5 other-like MD.
 50 For Q_1 Far Q_5MD .
 51 import Q_1 . report Q_5MD .
 62 deere, a Q_1 . a deare, and Q_5MD
 75 coosen Q_1Q_5M Blunt D
 77, 96, 108 *West* Q_1Q_5 . *Blunt* MD.
 80 to Q_1 of Q_5MD .
 91 coose Q_1Q_5 Blunt MD.
 103 Coosen Q_1Q_5 Omit MD
 I, ii, 27 and chast Q_1Q_5D . Om M.
 35 of the ladder Q_1Q_5D Om. M
 54 *After* apparant, D. adds "thou wouldst be trusted no more"
 57 rusty Q_1Q_5 . Om MD
 63 so Q_1Q_5 . also MD
 71. gyb Q_1Q_5 . gib'd MD.
 82 talkt very wisely Q_1Q_5 very wisely talkt M. talkt wisely D
 85, 86. for wisdomes cries out in the streets and no man regards it. Q_1Q_5 .
 but if thou hadst preferd hime to a pulpett thou hadst done better. MD
 88 vpon Q_1 vnto Q_5MD (vnto Q_{2-8})
 102-105. Omit MD.
 123, 124. Gadshill lies to night in Rochester, Q_1Q_5 Omit MD
 145-147. Well, . . . that the Q_1-Q_5 . Omit MD.
 155. Rossill and Gadshill Q_1Q_5 . Peto and Bardolph MD
 160-170. How . . . them. Omit MD.
 174. know them Q_1Q_5 . know two of them MD.
 I, iii, 26. is Q_1 . he Q_5MD . (was Ff).
 64 himselfe haue beene Q_1 . haue beene himselfe Q_5MD , (Q_{4-8}).
 67. his Q_1 . this Q_5MD . (this Q_{2-8}).
 70. *Blunt* Q_1Q_5M . *Lanc* D
 71. Lord Q_1 . Omit Q_5MD . (Omit Q_{2-8}).
 81. on Q_1 in Q_5MD . (in Q_{3-8}).
 83. that Q_1 the Q_5MD . (the Q_{3-8}).
 84. that Q_1 . the Q_5MD (the Q_{3-8}).
 89. mountaines Q_1 mountaine Q_5MD (mountaine Q_{2-8}).
 130. Enter Worcester. Q_1D . Omit Q_5M .
 135. But . . . Mortimer. Q_1 Omit M. (inserted by D).
 156. Edmund Q_1 . Omit Q_5MD . (Omit Q_{2-8}).
 167. me Q_1 . if Q_5MD . (if Q_{5-8}).
 201. *Hot.* Q_5MD . Omit Q_1 (*i. e.*, North. speaks the line).
 208. halfe fac't Q_1Q_5 false fact MD.
 265-271. Omit MD.
 295. Lo: Q_1 . loe, Q_{2-7} . to Q_5MD .

The evidence adduced from a comparison of texts would seem to indicate that the text of the Dering MS. is closer to the text of Q_5 than to any other. In the

list of variants in Acts II-V, I shall record only those Dering MS. readings and omissions which do not occur in the quartos or folios.

II, 11, 59, et seq. Peto Qq Poy. MD.

67. find him: Qq. find him. And there stand ready Harvey, Peto, and Rossill: goe thow and Bardolffe thether: Prince Hall and I will make good the foote of the hill and between us they cannot escape MD.

After II, 11, 70, the scene is rewritten, and reads "*Poy. Here: put on: put on. Prin So poynes looke vp the hill see what is done there: At sea the greater fish deuoures the lesse. And on the Land woulues liue by killing lambes: Now when the theeues haue bound the true men: And the true men rob'd the theeues Agayne: it wilbe Argument for A weeke Laughter for A time: and a good Jest forever.*"

Poynes returnes.

Poy: Come Hall goe: the theeues ar diuiding the true mens goods.

Prin: Come suddenly: suddenly:

*They two goe out & robe Falstaff & the rest:
Falstaff & Bardolf runne Away ouer the stage
as Falst. goes he speaks*

O Cowardly prince & poynes, where ar they?

ACT: 1—SCAEN: 6ta. [D]

Enter Againe Prince & Poynes

Prin. Gott with much ease [&c , as in Qq. lines 96-102]."

II, iii, 84, 85. in faith . . . true. Qq. Omit MD.

II, iv, 71-74. Omit D.

77, 78. and the rest . . doore, QqM. will be here anon. D.

87. That euer QqM. Call in Falstaffe: that euer D.

129. by the Lord Omit MD.

129. Ile stab thee QqM. Ile stabe thee I'll take say of yee. D.*

154 them . . . they Qq. Bardolph . . . he MD.

160. Ross. Qq. Om. MD.

161. Peto Qq. Bard. MD.

164. Ross. Qq. Bard. MD.

210. catch Qq. chest MD.

276, 277. so did . . . did you Qq. Om. MD.

277. lions Qq. A lion MD.

282. Peto. Qq. Bard. MD.

286-289 Yea . . . before Qq Om. MD.

315. O QqM. Owen D.

383-384. Shall . . . askt. QqD. Om. M.

406. *Exit Hostess.* D.

451, 452. *Bardoll, Bard.* Qq. *Francis, Fra.* MD.

518. good morrow QqM. farewell D.

519. Good morrow QqM. Good night D.

III, i, 189-263. Omit MD.

III, iii, 186. Peto Qq. Poins MD.

IV, i, 21. my mind Q1. Omit MD.

* *To take say* is a term of venery, meaning to test the grease or fat.

IV, ii, 46-75 Omit MD.

V, ii, 68 did Qq. will MD.

V, iv. [Westmoreland omitted from this scene, as from I, 1—Ed]

8. Retire brave. sonne vnto thie tent MD

15. coosen Westmerland Qq royall brother MD.

V, v, 34 we . . our Qq w^tvnted MD.

39, 40. Omit MD

B. STAGE-VERSIONS SINCE 1700

[I am indebted to Mr. Henry N. Paul of Philadelphia for bibliographical information about the printed editions listed below—Ed]

Stage Editions of *I Henry IV*

1. London, For R. W. 1700—known as Betterton's Quarto
2. London, Hitch & Hawes 1763—the text of Betterton's Quarto, further cut and amended by the text of Tonson 1734
3. London, J. Rivington 1770—a paginal reprint of 2
4. London, John Bell 1773—text of 3 with further cuts.
5. London, John Bell 1774—reprinted from 4
6. London, Bathurst 1785—New English Theatre—Johnson & Steevens text with Bell's cuts indicated.
7. London, Butters n.d. (c. 1789)—reprint of 6 with the cuts omitted
8. London, J. Barker n.d. (c. 1802)—reprint of 5
9. London, J. Roach 1802—text of 4.
10. London, Ridgway 1803—new text prepared by J. P. Kemble.
11. London, Ridgway 1804—10, with a new title-page.
12. London, Longman n.d. (c. 1807)—Inchbald's British Theatre, printed by William Savage—reprint of 10.
13. London, Longman n.d. (c. 1810)—Inchbald's British Theatre, printed by Thomas Davison—reprint of 12
14. London, J. Roach 1811—reprint of 9.
15. London, Theatre 1811—reprint of 10.
16. New York, D. Longworth 1811—Mrs. Inchbald's text with II, iv, 350 to 455 inserted.
17. London, Longman n.d. (c. 1815)—Inchbald's British Theatre, printed by James Ballantyne & Co.—reprint of 13.
18. London, Miller 1815—reprint of 10, stage directions revised.
19. Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd n.d. (c. 1815)—a cheap reprint of Mrs. Inchbald's text
20. London, Simpkin 1822—Oxberry's edition—printed from 18 with further cuts and changes.
21. London, Simpkin 1823—reprint of 20.
22. Boston, Wells & Lilly 1823—reprint of 20.
23. London, T. Dolby n.d. (c. 1825)—Dolby's British Theatre—text of 20 with some changes.
24. London, Cumberland & Son n.d. (c. 1830)—Cumberland's British Theatre—reprint of 23.
25. London, G. H. Davidson n.d. (c. 1840)—printed from plates of 24.
26. London, G. H. Davidson n.d.—reprinted on 68 instead of 60 pages.

27. London, Thomas Hailes Lacy n.d. (c. 1850)—Lacy's British Theatre—reprint of the Cumberland text. There are two different printings
28. New York, William Taylor & Co. 1850—Modern Standard Drama—printed from 24.
29. New York, M. Douglas n.d.—printed from plates of 28.
30. New York, Samuel French n.d. (c. 1859)—French's Standard Drama—printed from plates of 28
31. London, Samuel French n.d. (c. 1882)—Memorial Theatre edition—edited by C. E. Flower

C. COMMENT ON STAGE-VERSIONS

1. *Betterton*, 1700 (see 1, under B). "K. HENRY IV. With the Humours of Sir John Falstaff. A Tragi-Comedy. As it is Acted at the Theatre in Little-Lincolns-Inn-Fields by His Majesty's Servants Revived, with Alterations. London, 1700."—SPENCER (*Sh. Improved*, 1927, p. 359): The fact that no Part is indicated in the title appears to be a clue to the real situation. It seems likely that of the Henry IV material Betterton produced only this play, and that our various references to the performance of *Henry IV* are all to this version of *Part I*. It is not an alteration, but an acting edition, cut for the stage . . . (p. 361) One must deplore the loss of many a line; . . . yet this editor was no tamperer. Almost without exception the text is faithful, except for cutting, to that of the Folios [*i. e.*, to *F₂* or *F₄*; see Textual Notes on I, iii, 189, I, iii, 251; II, iii, 61.—Ed.] . . . The action proceeds without structural alteration up to III, 1; in Betterton's version this scene is chopped off immediately after the agreement on parcelling the land [III, i, 138] . . . The brief expository scene [IV, iv] . . . is excised. The first part of V, iv [1-58], is omitted. . . Even the stage-directions of the Folio are followed verbatim [Many of the lines whose loss we deplore are from the king's speeches; for example the opening speech of the play is cut to ten lines, and all reference to a crusade is eliminated. The king's tribute to Hotspur in I, i, 81-3 disappears. Forty-five lines are omitted from the king's speeches in III, ii, notably 50-87a. Lady Percy's long speech in II, iii is greatly reduced. Some cuts in II, iv, which became traditional in acting versions, are 8-16, 62-69; and, in III, iii, 30-36, "and Dives . . . darkness."—Ed.]

2. *Quin*, 1730-1753. James Quin's MS. copy of his part as the Falstaff of *I Henry IV* is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library. It is undated. The following note appears on the MS.: "Given by Garrick to T. King, and by him to W. Dowton in 1798." Quin seems to have followed Pope's text, with occasional emendations, rather than Betterton's stage-version. On two occasions, however, he follows Betterton (see Textual Notes on I, ii, 135, and III, iii, 30-36). Falstaff's actual participation in the Gadshill robbery is considerably reduced. At II, iv, 246, Quin opens Falstaff's speech with the unhappy addition which the stage has not entirely forgotten—it was still used by Sir Herbert Tree in 1916—"Ha, ha, ha! d'ye think I did not know ye? By the Lord, I knew ye, etc." Quin was the first of many actors to omit the whole of the "play extempore," II, iv, 350-455. I have found no indication of the date of this MS. Quin played Falstaff from 1730 to 1753.

3. *Kidderminster*, 1762. A MS. copy of the part of Falstaff in *I Henry IV*, for some undesignated actor, inscribed "Kidderminster, 1762," is now in the

Folger Shakespeare Library. It follows Quin's text fairly closely, for example in the addition at II, iv, 246, and the omission of II, iv, 350-455; but it restores some lines omitted by Quin. James Love first appeared as Falstaff at Drury Lane in 1762, but this MS was probably not his, for the text of the edition printed in 1763, "with alterations, as performed at the Theatres," and with Love's name in the cast, differs from the Kidderminster text.

4. *Hitch and Hawes*, 1763 (see 2, under B). This text, in general, follows Betterton, but the Quarto readings are often substituted for the Folio readings preserved by Betterton. II, iv, 350-455 is again omitted, as is the whole of III, 1. Falstaff's part in the Gadshill robbery is cut even more than in Quin, but the Quarto stage direction at II, ii, 94, omitted by Quin, is restored. Quin's additional line at II, iv, 246 is incorporated. In II, 1, everything after the entrance of the Chamberlain is omitted.

5. *Kemble*, 1803 (see 10, under B). "Revised by J. P. Kemble. Published as acted at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden." At II, ii, 76, the stage-direction reads: "The travellers run back again, followed by Bardolph, Peto, and Gadshill." This leaves Falstaff alone on the stage to utter his violent threats while his companions are actively engaged off-stage. Kemble has restored many of the King's lost lines, and his text includes most of the King's opening speech. He has omitted Quin's additional line at II, iv, 246; but he also omits the whole of the "play extempore" (II, iv, 350-455) and the whole of III, 1. Indelicate passages are refined. Hotspur's messenger in IV and V is christened Raby.

6. *Cumberland's British Theatre*, c. 1830 (see 24, under B). Elaborate stage-directions added, such as: after II, iv, 244: "Falstaff hides his face with his shield"; 245: "Peeps over the shield"; 248: "Throws away his sword"; 252: "Throws away his shield." This is the basic text for many English and American performances in the 19th century. Lacy's *British Theatre* (c. 1850), Taylor's *Standard Drama*, 1850, and French's *Standard Drama* (c. 1859) all take the text of this play from *Cumberland's British Theatre*.

7. *Charles Kean*, 1850. Prompt-book, dated 1850, now in the Folger Shakespeare Library. The text is Oxberry's, 1822, with minor cuts. The following are some of the bits of stage-business indicated in the margin: I, ii, 77, after *rascalliest*: "*P. Henry raises his cane Fal—sweet young prince.*" II, iv, 109, after *too*: "*Throws it in Francis' face.*" II, iv, 136: "*Francis presents the cup of sack, holding the napkin before his face.*" Quin's unhappy addition at II, iv, 246, is retained.

8. *Samuel Phelps*, 1846-1856. Prompt-book, dated 1856, now in the Folger Shakespeare Library, an interleaved copy of Rowe's 1709 text, which was used both in 1856 and for an earlier production; for there are notes indicating that II, iv, 350-455, and III, 1, 1-188, were originally given but were omitted in 1856. III, 1, 189-end was omitted in both productions.

9. *Cambridge A D C.*, 1886. This acting-version, based on the Cambridge text, and privately printed, is interesting largely because of the liberties taken in the re-arrangement of scenes. The three scenes of Act I are given as one scene: the opening stage-direction reading: *A Room in the Palace. . . King Henry, seated, the Earl of Westmoreland, Sir W. Blunt, and others, some seated, some standing. At back, in an inner room, Prince Henry, Falstaff, and Poins. They are talking and laughing; their voices interrupt at intervals. The king's*

opening speech begins at line 18b. No attempt is made to explain the sudden arrival of the Percies at what is the end of Shakespeare's scene 1. II, iv, 14-70, including the whole Francis episode, is omitted, but the "play extempore" (II, iv, 350-455) is retained. III, ii, is transferred to the end of Act II, following immediately the Boar's Head Tavern scene. III, i, omitted in many acting-versions, is retained in part, the episode with the ladies (189-263) being omitted. IV, 1, 13-123 is added to III, i. III, iii, follows this composite scene. Act IV, the final act of this version, is composed of IV, ii, V, i, ii (in part), iii, iv, and v.

10. *Daly*, 1896. Acting-version, privately printed, N. Y. William Winter's copy, in the Folger Shakespeare Library, has this note. "Although all preparations were made, even to printing the book, this play was never brought out. Daly was short of funds to pay for the costumes, James Lewis, who was to have played Falstaff, died, everything went wrong. The costumes were bought by Mansfield for his production of *King Henry V.*" This version consists of a "blending" of Parts I and II, selections from Part I forming the first three acts, and selections from Part II, the final, fourth, act. Again there is a radical rearrangement of scenes. I, i and I, iii are combined and curtailed, and form scene 1 of the new version. I, ii, II, ii, and II, iv follow, as the last three scenes of the first act. I, ii is not radically changed, except for the transference of the famous soliloquy of Prince Hal (I, ii, 186-208) to the end of the Boar's Head Tavern Scene (Shakespeare's II, iv). II, ii, the Gadshill scene, is slightly shortened. II, iv remains almost intact, the "play extempore" (350-455) being retained. Daly's Act II opens with a shortened version of III, ii, the Reconciliation scene, followed by III, iii. This, in turn, is followed by a scene composed of II, iii, Hotspur and his wife, and III, i, the Bangor scene, with the episode of the ladies retained. Daly's Act III consists of IV, i, which is followed by IV, ii, Falstaff and his troops, with additions from the recruiting scene in Part II, and with Falstaff's Honour soliloquy from V, i appended. Daly's last scene consists of details from the battle-scenes of Act V.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Blackw.	Blackwood's Magazine
D.A.B.	Dictionary of American Biography
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography
Engl. Stud.	Englische Studien
J. Eng. and Germ. Philol.	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
Mod. Lang. N.	Modern Language Notes
Mod. Lang. R.	Modern Language Review
Mod. Philol.	Modern Philology
N. and Q.	Notes and Queries
N.E.D.	New English Dictionary
Philol. Q.	Philological Quarterly
P.M.L.A.	Publications of the Modern Language Association
Rev. Eng. Studies	Review of English Studies
Sh.-Jahrbuch	Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft
Stud. in Philol.	Studies in Philology
T.L.S.	Literary Supplement to The Times (London)

LIST OF BOOKS

The following are the principal books which have been used in the preparation of this edition. See also, list of editions collated, p ix

- ABBOTT, EDWIN A. *A Shakespearian Grammar* 1870
- ACHESON, ARTHUR *Shakespeare's Lost Years in London, 1586-1592* 1920
- Actors by Daylight, Pencilings in the Pit* (a periodical) 1838-1839
- ADAMS, JOSEPH Q. *A Life of William Shakespeare* 1923
- ADDISON, JOSEPH *The Spectator* (no 47) 1711
- AINGER, ALFRED *Lectures and Essays* (vol 1) 1905
- AINSLIE, DOUGLAS *see* CROCE, B 1920
- ALBRECHT, O E *Four Latin Plays of St Nicholas* 1935
- ALBRIGHT, EVELYN M. *Shakespeare's Richard II and the Essex Conspiracy* (P M L A , xlii) 1927
- " *Shakespeare's Richard II, Hayward's History of Henry IV, and the Essex Conspiracy* (P.M L.A , xlvii) 1931
- ALDEN, RAYMOND M. *Shakespeare* 1922
- ALLEN, JOHN W. *see* SECCOMBE, THOMAS, and . 1903
- AMNER, RICHARD [Notes attributed by Steevens to Amner, but probably by Steevens himself, printed in 1780 Supplement to *Var.* '78, and in Steev. 1793] 1780
- An Egley [sic] upon the Most Execrable Murther of Mr Clun, One of the Comedeans of the Theator Royal* (Anonymous Reprinted in THORN-DRURY, G : *A Little Ark.* 1921) c. 1664
- ANDERS, HEINRICH R : *Shakespeare's Books* 1904
- ARNE, THOMAS A., AND OTHERS: *Shakespeare's Garland, a Collection of Songs . . Performed at the Jubilee* 1769
- ARNOLD, MORRIS L. : *The Soliloquies of Shakespeare* 1911
- ARROWSMITH, WILLIAM: *The Editor of "Notes and Queries" and His Friend, Mr. Singer* 1858
- ASTON, ANTHONY: *A Brief Supplement to Colley Cibber, His Lives of Actors etc.* (edited by Watson Nicholson, 1920) c 1747
- AX, H : *The Relation of Shakespeare's Henry IV to Holnshed* 1912
- BABCOCK, ROBERT W : *The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry* 1931
- BADHAM, CHARLES: *Criticism Applied to Shakspeare* 1846
- " *The Text of Shakspeare* (Cambridge Essays. 1855-1858) . 1856
- BAESKE, WILHELM: *Oldcastle-Falstaff in der englischen Literatur bis zu Shakespeare* (Palaestra, 1) 1905
- BAGEHOT, WALTER: *Shakespeare* (Prospective Review, ix Reprinted as *Shakespeare, the Individual in Estimates of Some Englishmen and Scotchmen.* 1858) . . 1853
- BAILEY, JOHN CANN: *A Note on Falstaff* (in *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare*, edited by Gollancz) 1916
- " *Shakespeare's Histories* (in *Continuity of Letters*) 1923
- BAILEY, MARGERY: *Another Thrust at the Fat Knight* (Univ. of California Chronicle, xxxii) 1930

- BAKER, DAVID ERSKINE: *Biographia Dramatica* 1782
- BAKER, GEORGE P.: *The Development of Shakespeare as Dramatist* 1907
- BAKER, HARRY T.: *The Two Falstaffs* (*Mod. Lang. N.*, xxxiv) 1919
- BAKER, HENRY B.: *History of the London Stage, 1576-1903* 1904
- BAKER, SIR RICHARD: *A Chronicle of the Kings of England* (edition of 1733) 1660
- BALDWIN, THOMAS W.: *The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company* 1927
- BALDWIN, THOMAS W.: *William Kemp Not Falstaff* (*Mod. Lang. R.*, xxvi) 1931
- BALE, JOHN: *A Breve Chronycle Concernynge the Examynacyon and Death of the Blessed Martyr of Christ, Syr Johan Oldecastell* 1548
- BARCLAY, JAMES: *An Examination of Kenrick's Review of Johnson.* 1766
- BARETTI, GIUSEPPE: *Discours sur Shakespeare et Voltaire* 1777
- BARTLETT, HENRIETTA, and POLLARD, ALFRED W.: *A Census of Shakespeare's Plays in Quarto* 1916
- BATHER, F. A.: *Puns of Shakespeare* (in *Noctes Shaksperianae*, Winchester College Shakespeare Society) 1887
- BATHURST, CHARLES: *Remarks on the Differences in Shakespeare's Versification in Different Periods of His Life* 1857
- BAYFIELD, MATTHEW A.: *Shakespeare's Versification and the Early Texts* (*T.L.S.*, xvii) 1918
- A Study of Shakespeare's Versification* 1920
- BAYNES, THOMAS S.: *Shakespeare Studies* 1894
- BECKET, ANDREW: *Shakespeare's Himself Again* 1815
- BEECHING, HENRY C.: *The Character of Shakespeare* (British Academy. 7th Annual Shakespeare Lecture) 1917
- BEHN, MRS APHRA: *Second Prologue to the Earl of Rochester's version of Beaumont and Fletcher's Valentinian* 1685
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